

ANTIQUITIES
SACRED and PROFANE:
OR, A
COLLECTION
OF
CRITICAL DISSERTATIONS
ON THE
Old and New Testament.

Necessary for all those who desire to have a thorough
Knowledge of the HOLY SCRIPTURES.

Written in French by P. CALMET, a Benedictine, Abbot
of St. Leopold's of Nancy.

Selections Done into ENGLISH, with Additional Notes,
By N. LINDAL, M. A. Vicar of Great Waltham in Essex.

Illustrated with Copper Plates.

Do not be carried away with a Notion, that the first Interpreters of the
Holy Bible have left no room for new Discoveries, or that it is impossible to
clear up those Difficulties which have not as yet been explained. In Matters
of this Nature we ought not to be bias'd by AUTHORITY and NUMBERS.
The Majority of Commentators take the easiest Course, and the easiest Course is
to copy after others, and take what they say for granted. But let a Man
carefully examine one single Chapter, and he'll soon be convinced how much the
Inspired Writings stand in need of some farther Illustrations.

CALMET, Gen. Pref.

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(iii)

To the Honourable

Sir Charles Wager, Kt.

One of the

Lords Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High-Admiral of *Great Britain*, and Vice-Admiral of the *Red Squadron* of His Majesty's Fleet;

T H E S E

T R A N S L A T I O N S

Are Humbly Dedicated.

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T H E
P R E F A C E.



I will be necessary for the Reader's Satisfaction to give a brief Account of these Dissertations. Father Calmet, of the Order of St. Benedict, published at Paris, in the Year 1707, in three and twenty Volumes in Quarto, A Literal Commentary in French upon all the Books of the Old and New Testament. A second Edition came out in 1715, and there is lately publish'd a Third Edition in nine Volumes in Folio. So many Editions, in a few Years, of so Voluminous a Work, are an infallible Sign of the universal Approbation this learned Commentary has met with; and indeed it is no wonder, since it contains all that is necessary for a clear and thorough Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures.

The

The PREFACE.

The most difficult and important Matters, which could not be fully explain'd in the Body of the Commentary, without running it out to an immoderate Length, are discuss'd in these Discourses. These Discourses are the Life and Soul of the Whole, and are exceeding curious and useful, being a Treasure of the Hebrew, Greek, Roman, &c. Literature. For this reason they were all extracted and printed by themselves at Paris in three Volumes, by the Author himself, for the sake of those who are not willing, or able to go to the great Price of the whole Work, and yet would be very glad to reap the Benefit and Advantage of the Light these learned Dissertations afford.

From these three Volumes the Translator has selected the following Dissertations; designing, if he meets with Encouragement, to publish hereafter such of the remaining ones as he thinks may be acceptable to the English Reader.



T A B L E

OF THE

General HEADS, to which all the
DISSERTATIONS are referred.

NB. This Table contains of Subjects of Father Calmet's whole Work, & does not belong to this Volume only.

I. Poetry and Music.
THE Poetry and Music of the Antients, particularly of the Hebrews. Their Musical Instruments, with Curs.

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II. The Book of Psalms.
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III. Several Theological Points.
The Form of the Bible, and Way of Writing among the Antients. Inspiration. Whether Ezra the Author or Editor only of the Bible. Whether he changed the old Hebrew for the Chaldean Letters, &c. Whether

V. Jewish Ceremonies.
Original and Antiquity of Circumcision, &c. Baptism of the Jews. Of John the Baptist. Of Jesus Christ, &c. Elections by Lot, &c. &c.

VI. The Civil and Military Government of the Jews.
The Civil Polity and Methods of administering Publick Justice. The Sanhedrim.

bedrim. The several Punishments that occur in Scripture, &c. &c. Whether any Executioners. Military State. Employments at the Court and in the Army. The Rechabites, &c. &c.

VII. Money.
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VIII. Laws relating to Marriage.
Marriages of the Hebrews. Divorce. Vow of Jephtha. Relation between the Jews and Lacedemonians, &c.

IX. Diseases.
The Physick and Physicians of the ancient Hebrews. Their Food, &c. Habits. Funerals. Nature, Causes, and Effects of the Leprosy. Job's Disease, &c. &c.

X. Chronology.
The Years, Months, Hours, of the Chaldeans, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Hebrews. Daniel's Seventy Weeks, &c. St. Peter's Journey to Rome. Chronological Tables of the Kings of Assyria, Persia, Chaldaea, Media, Monarchy of the Greeks in the East. Asmonaean Princes. High Priests of the Jews, &c. &c.

XI. History.
The Excellency of the History of the Hebrews above that of any other Nation. Of the neighbouring Nations of the Jews, the Philistines, Phoenicians, Idumaans, Moabites, &c. A Summary of the History of

the Eastern Nations from Solomon to the Babylonish Captivity, &c. &c. &c.

XII. Geography.
A Map of the Land of Promise, with Remarks. The antient Abode of the Hebrews, &c. The Land of Ophir. The Country to which the ten Tribes were transported, &c. Where they are at this time, &c. &c. &c.

XIII. Genealogy.
St. Matthew and St. Luke reconciled. The Order and Succession of the High Priests, &c. &c.

XIV. The Religious State of the Jews.
The State of Religion in Judah and Israel after their Separation. The Pharisees, Sadducees, Herodians, Essenes, &c. &c.

XV. The Religion and Deities of the Heathens.
The Original of Idolatry. The Temples of the Antients. The Idolatry of the Israelites in the Wilderness, of the God Rephan or Remphan. The Original and Gods of the Philistines, Astaroth, Beelzebub, &c. The Gods of the Phoenicians or Canaanites. Baal. Astaroth. Adonis. Of Molock the God of the Ammonites, of the Gods of the Moabites, Baal-peor, &c. Good and bad Angels. The Demon Asmodaus. Naaman's Petition to how before Rimmon. The Inscription on the Altar of Athens, To the unknown God.



DISCOURSE

CONCERNING

POETRY

IN GENERAL,

And concerning that of the Hebrews in Particular.

By Mr. ABBOT FLEURY.

Mr. Abbot Fleury composed this Discourse several years ago, with a Design to insert it in a Treatise concerning the Poetry of the Antients, which he had then Thoughts of publishing. He has since been pleas'd to communicate it to me, with leave to impart it to the Publick.

I have likewise given my Sentiments of the Hebrew Poetry, in a Dissertation upon purpose for that end, and which immediately follows.

As there are certain Times and Circumstances, wherein it is natural for Men to sing or dance, to sing or cry out, tho' such kinds of Sounds and Actions are in themselves neither

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A DISSERTATION upon Book I.

the easiest nor most simple; so likewise strong and lively Passions cause Men to break out into a Language, which seems to cool and sedate Temper, but is in fact, as it abounds more with Exaggerations, Comparisons, bold Figures, and pompous Words, than the common Forms of Speech. Again, the same Principle that excites Men to sing, puts them upon measuring their Words, in order to make them run the more smooth and tuneable, by observing the Quantity and Number of the Syllables, their Sound and Harmony, and the Cadence or Close that from time to time is to make its Returns. This is what gives birth to Verses and Couplets, as lofty and figurative Expressions are the distinguishing Marks of the Poetick Style. Hence therefore it is no more strange to find, in all Ages, and among all Nations, Verses and Poetry of one sort or another, than it is to find that they sing and dance; the former being so steady a Consequence of the latter, that even the most barbarous Nations are no Exceptions in this Case. The Antients observed that the *Scythians* and *Germans* had their Musick and Poetry; and we find the same Things, at this very day, among the Negroes, the *Iroquois*, and the Inhabitants of the *Caribby Islands*.

Improved first
by the East-
ern Nations.

As the *Eastern* Nations were naturally of a refined Temper and lively Passions, and as they were the People of the World the first civilized, so were they the first who cultivated and improved by Art this innate Inclination to Musick and Poetry. The *Egyptians* and *Syrians* are those whom the *Greeks* have left us the fullest Accounts of. There is still extant among the *Greek* Poets an Hymn on the Death of *Adonis* (a), which seems to be an Imitation of that in the Prophet *Ezekiel* (b), and which undoubtedly, as well as the whole Fable, is originally *Syrian*. And the Threatning of God, in the same Prophet (c), to cause the Noise of their Songs to cease, and the Sound of their Harps to be no more heard at *Tyre*; and his commanding, in the Prophet *Isaiah* (d), the *Tyrian* Harlots to take their Harps and go about the City, singing many Songs, and making Melody; are manifest Proofs how much Musick was in vogue there.

Syrians.

(a) Theocritus and Bion.

(b) Ezekiel viii. 14. *Adonis* the same as *Tantalus*.

(c) Ezekiel xvi. 13.

(d) Isaiah xlii. 12.

As

DISC. the POETRY of the ANTIENTS, &c.

As for the *Egyptians*, *Plato* informs us (a), that Musick, ^{Held in great Veneration by the Egyptians.} (under which he comprehends Poetry) was not only of a very long standing among them, but that they had the highest Regard imaginable for it, as being a Part of their Religion and Laws. He says, they consecrated to certain Deities all manner of Songs and Dances, prescribing the Days and Ceremonies to be for ever inviolably observed by all; and in case any Change or Innovation was attempted, the Priests and Priestesses were to call in the Assistance of the Secular Arm, and immediately put a stop to it; and the Attempter, unless he submitted, was to be looked upon all his Life after as a profane and irreligious Person.

Of all the ancient *Oriental* Writings none but those of the *Hebrews* have reached our Times, and consequently we can form a Judgment of no Poetry but of theirs only. Now all the Remains we have of the *Hebrew* Poetry are in the Holy Scriptures, where we find that the *Hebrews* likewise made use of this Art in their Religious Worship; and altho' they might have also their Profane Poetry, yet is it plain that their Notions in this Matter were the same with those of the *Egyptians*, whether the *Egyptians* had them from the *Hebrews*, or whether they were derived to both from one common Fountain. It is very probable, that it was held in the same Veneration by all the other Nations of the first Ages of the World; for the *Grecian* Worship in particular was made up in a great measure of their Poetry, which was looked upon as Sacred and Divine at its first Appearance among them.

By the Hebrews and others.

All the Poetical Works in the Holy Scriptures are either ^{The Poetical Works of Scripture.} Psalms or Hymns, to express the various Sentiments and Affections of the Mind, or Collections of Moral Sentences to instruct Men in their Duty. The largest and most ancient of these Works is the Book of *Job*, composed of both the forementioned. Particulars; for as the main Scope and Design of it is this great and important Point of Morality, That God sometimes afflicts good Men, not to punish them, but to exercise and brighten their Virtues; so likewise the Sentiments and Maxims that relate to the Justice of God, and the Methods of his Providence; to the Reward of Virtue, and Punishment of Vice; to an entire Resignation to the Divine Will, and the Peace and Security of a good Conscience, are fully handled; and moreover, the

(a) *Plato*, lib. 2. de Legib.

A DISSERTATION upon Book I.

Affliction of *Job*, and the Indignation of his three Friends, are drawn to the Life.

The Proverbs and the Psalms.

The *Proverbs* of *Solomon* are nothing else but so many Rules of Moral Duty, as are several of the *Psalms*. But these last, for the most part, as well as all the Songs or Hymns, that are dispersed up and down the Holy Scriptures, express the Affections of the Mind towards God or towards Man. Those that are addressed to God, are either to adore, laud, and magnify his most Holy Name, or to render him Thanks for all his Benefits, or to ask Pardon and Forgiveness for past Offences, or to implore some future Temporal or Spiritual Blessing. These are the Subjects of the greatest part of these Sacred Hymns; the rest are employ'd in expressing the Passions of Grief, Joy, Indignation, Hatred, and the like, whose Object is either the Person speaking, or other Men represented generally under the Character of the Righteous or Wicked.

Scripture-Poetry very noble and sublime.

Poetry so full of moving and affecting Sentiments, must of Course, as to its Figures and Expressions, be very noble and sublime; if it be true that the Energy or Force of Figures, and true Sublimity of Style, are the natural Effects of the Passions. Accordingly we find this to be the great and distinguishing Beauty of the *Hebrew* Poetry; in this point no Poetry excels, if any equals, it. All is figurative, and the Figures are very often and suddenly changed, and not only the Figures, but the Persons also who are speaking, frequently and insensibly vary.

One while it is the Prophet, another while it is God himself; now again it is the Righteous Man or the Sinner that speaks, sometimes a Voice and Utterance are given even to inanimate Things, as Rocks, and Mountains, and Rivers, and the like. The Majesty of God is display'd under strong and lively Images; he is represented as sitting upon the Cherubims, and riding upon the Wings of the Wind; at his Wrath the Earth shakes and trembles, at his Rebuke the Foundations of the World are discovered. The Similes and Allusions are thick sown, and are all taken from Things obvious and familiar to those for whom they were written; for the Palm-Trees and Cedars, the Lions and Eagles, so frequently alluded to, were Things well known to the Inhabitants of *Palestine*. For this Reason we must not, from our Notions of Things, judge of the other Comparisons which appear to us less noble and beautiful; neither are we to imagine

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imagine that every Word and Circumstance of a Similitude are to be applied, the Resemblance generally falls upon some one single Circumstance, and the rest are added, not as Parts of the Comparison, but to give some agreeable and natural Image of the Thing from whence the Comparison is taken: *Thy Teeth are as a Flock of Sheep which go up from the washing, whereof every one beareth Twins, and there is not one barren among them*; that is to say, thy Teeth are white, even, and well set.

As for the Poetick Style, it is so different from the Prose, that *The Poetick Style very different from the Prose.* it is in a manner quite another Language; so that a Man, who has *Hebrew* enough to read the Historical Parts of the Bible, when he has gone thro' *Genesis*, and comes to *Jacob's* Blessings, will find himself entirely ignorant of the Matter, neither will he understand but just the Beginning and End of the Book of *Job*.

This great Difference arises from the many Words and Phrases that are not the same with those in Prose; from the Tropes and Figures, that are very frequent and bold; from the Construction, which is very irregular, and supposes abundance of Words to be understood. On the other hand, this Style abounds with Repetitions, and the same Thoughts are expressed twice over in different Terms: *Have Mercy upon me, O God, after thy great Goodness; according to the Multitude of thy Mercies; do away mine Offences* (a). The same is observable almost throughout this whole Psalm. They did this, either to afford the Mind a longer time to contemplate the same Thought, or because these Songs or Hymns were sung alternately by two different Choirs, or for some such like Reason.

But however this be, these Repetitions are the most obvious and common Mark of the Poetick Style. Hence chiefly it is that I take *Lamech's* Discourse to his two Wives, wherein he informs them of his having killed *Cain* (b), to be poetical; and if this Conjecture be true, it is the most antient Piece of Poetry now in the World. The Thoughts or Sentiments that are clothed with this elegant and figurative Language, are not only true, solid, and useful, (as indeed who can doubt it, know-

(a) Psalm li. 1.

(b) Our Author seems here to have mistaken the Sense of *Lamech's* Words.

ing them to be the Inspirations of the Spirit of God; but are likewise very often beautiful, shining, and sublime.

Instances of this are the cxxxixth Psalm, where the Knowledge of God, and the Impossibility of flying from his Presence, are described in a wonderful elevated Manner. The civth, where we behold the righteous Man searching after even his most secret Sins, and those of other Men wherein he partakes; and civth, where we have a beautiful and noble Description of Nature, and of the Providence of God watching over it. To these might be added most of the others, too many to be enumerated. Neither are the Thoughts set down at random, but are ranged with a great deal of Art and Contrivance. Each Song and each Psalm is a compleat Piece, whose Parts follow one another in their natural Order. Sometimes there is a Connection for several whole Psalms together, as the ciid, civth, cvth, cvith, cviith, which are all Hymns of Praise and Thanksgiving. The ciid praises God for the Blessings of Grace; the civth for those of Nature; the cvth for the Benefits he hath bestowed upon his People; the cvith for his Goodness in pardoning their Offences; these two last make one continued History; the cviith renders God Thanks, in behalf of all Mankind, for his Aid and Assistance in the four great Calamities of Life, Famine, Captivity, Sickness, and Shipwreck. Instances where the Design is particular, are Psalms the xviiith, xixth, xxiid, lxxviii, lxxxiith, xcist, and the two Songs of *Moses*; that in *Exodus*, after the Passage thro' the Red-Sea; and that in *Deuteronomy*, a little before his Death.

Acrosticks.

Some Pieces, where the Order was entirely arbitrary, because they consist only of the Sentiments of the Passions, or Mixtures of Morality, which have no necessary Connexion, are composed after the Acrostick Manner, according to the Order of the Letters of the Alphabet; that they might, in all likelihood, be the less burdensome to the Memory. Of this kind are the *Lamentations* of *Jeremiah*, several Psalms, as the xxxivth and cxiith, and *Solomon's* Description of a virtuous Wife, with which he concludes his *Proverbs*.

Want of moving Sentiments in the moral Parts made up by beautiful Paintings, &c.

It is observable of the Book of *Proverbs*, of great Part of *Job*, and of several of the Psalms, as the ist, xvth, xxxviith, whose Subjects are purely Moral Matters, that the want of tender and moving Sentiments is amply compensated by beautiful Paintings,

Paintings, fine Metaphors, and noble Comparisons, from whence is derived the Name of Parables, or *Proverbs*. The Obscurity of the Style is no greater than what is necessary to exercise the Mind in an agreeable manner, whilst the important Truths conveyed under such natural and lively Images, make deep Impressions on the Heart; and therefore as *Moses's* Poetry is the more strong and masculine, that of *Solomon* seems to be the more refined and polite. Examine, among other things, how he represents, in several Passages of the Preface to his *Proverbs*, the artifices of Women to ensnare young Men, and the fatal Consequences of a criminal Passion. You'll find there the Flames and Chains of Love, the Darts that pierce the Heart, and the Wings wherewith the Lover flies like a Bird into the Snare that is laid for him, and all the other Thoughts, that appear so bright and gallant in profane Poetry, painted to the Life; but with this very material Difference, that *Solomon's* Descriptions are intended only to raise our Horror and Aversion.

Altho' then we can know of the *Hebrew* Poetry, is the Design, the Thoughts, the Figures, and the Language. The Knowledge of this last is indeed confined to those who are Masters of the *Hebrew* Tongue; others must be content to behold its Beauties thro' the Veil of a Translation, which deprives them of all their Lustre, more especially with regard to the Psalms, where the Veil is double, for the *Vulgate* Version is taken from the Translation of the *Septuagint*. Let a Man thus translate the most beautiful Passages of the *Latin* Poets, or rather to make the Case exactly parallel, let him render into *English* the *Latin* Version of the *Greek* Poets, and see whether they will not be inferior. Hence therefore we may judge of the great Beauty of the *Hebrew* Poetry, since it shines so visible even thro' a second and Translation.

But besides these, there were many more considerable Charms and Graces, that are entirely unknown to us, and even to those few themselves, that are best skilled in the *Hebrew* Language. For the ancient Pronunciation of this as well as of all the other dead Tongues being entirely lost, we can have no Notion of the Harmony of the Words and Quantity of the Syllables, wherein the whole Beauty of *Poesy* consists. We have not so much as any Rules, as we have in the *Greek* and *Latin*, to find out the Quantity of the Syllables, the Names and Number of the Feet,

What we can know of the Hebrew Po-etry.

Several Charms and Graces unknown to us.

Feet, and the Construction of the Verses, and ^{yet} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Hebrews~~ observed all these Things. We find, in their Poetical Works, Letters added or taken away at the end of the Words, which are plain Proofs of their being confined to a certain Number of Syllables, and the word *Sema* seems to be of no other use, but to fill up a void Space, and ~~fill~~ ^{fill} out the Verse. St. *Jerome* (a) speaks of these Verses as Things well-known to him, and compares those of *Job* to Hexameters, and those of the *Psalms*, *Lamentations*, and the other Hymns or Songs, to the Verses of *Horace*, *Pindar*, and the rest of the *Lyrick* Poets: But since his time, the *Jews* have entirely lost the ancient Art of Versification, and have substituted one in its room borrowed from the *Arabs*.

We are ignorant likewise of the Manner of the Singing and Dancing that accompanied these Divine Hymns. We are sure indeed that they were sung, and that they were composed for that purpose, from their being stiled *Sir* or Hymns, and *Mizmor* or Psalm, and from several express Declarations of Scripture, as at the Passage thro' the *Red Sea*, and from the Inscriptions over the *Psalms*, where frequent mention is made of the Masters in Musick. And we may in some measure judge of the Fineness of their Vocal Musick, from the Beauty of the Words, and from all that Art and Contrivance just now taken notice of.

It is certain also, that their Singing was accompanied with Dancing; for the *Choirs* (b) the Scriptures so often speak of, are Companies of Dancing-Men and Dancing-Women. Mention is made of Dancings at the time of publick Rejoicings for Victories, and at the Celebration of some Religious Ceremonies, as at the Procession made by *David*, when he brought back the Ark of the Covenant to *Sion*, and at the Dedication of the Walls of *Jerusalem*, in the time of *Nehemiah*, where the two *Choirs*, who had begun singing on the Walls, came and made an end together in the Temple. Our Notions then of these Sacred Songs must needs be very imperfect, seeing we have nothing left us but the naked Letter, stript of all its external Ornaments. They were doubtless other great Things in the mouth of the Musicians, set off with all the Splendor and Magnificence

(a) Pref. in *Job*. See this Matter set in a clear Light in the following Dissertation.

(b) *Choirs* which are translate Dances, is rendered in the Vulgate by *Chorus*, Exodus 15, 19.

of the Festivals they were designed for; and therefore to form a tolerable Idea of their Beauty, we must imagine ourselves placed in the Temple of *Solomon*, amidst innumerable Multitudes, crowding the Courts and Galleries, and beholding there the Altar loaded with Victims, and surrounded with the Priests, all cloathed in white Garments, and the *Levites*, at a distance, disposed into Companies, some playing on Instruments, others singing and dancing in a grave and solemn manner.

The *Hebrews* never had, as we know of, any Comedies, ^{Hebrews had no Dramatick or Heroick Poems.} Tragedies, Epic Poems, or any of that kind of Poetry *Plato* calls *Poetry of Imitation*, or that imitates the Manners of Men. The *Song of Solomon* is so far a Dramatick Poem, as that different *Persons* are introduced speaking. The same may be observed in the *Psalms*, and all the other Poetical Works in Scripture, there being no Poetry without it; but as *Solomon's Song* consists only of Sentiments, it wants what seems absolutely necessary to Dramatic and Heroick Poems, a continued Scene of Action. We have only in Scripture, Hymns, *Psalms*, Odes, or, as we call them, Songs; that is to say, that kind of Poetry which *Plato* affirms to be alone the most antient; and indeed it does not appear that the *Greeks* copied from others their Dramatick Poetry; all their Poets of this kind are of a later Date than the *Babylonish* Captivity.

The *Psalter* is a Collection of 150 *Psalms*, composed upon ^{The more we consider the *Psalms*, the more we find in them.} different Subjects, and by different Hands. When one reads them at first in a cursory manner, they seem to be nothing else but Repetitions of the same thing over and over; but the more one considers them, the more full one finds them of different Thoughts, and of always new and surprizing Figures. This pleasing Variety is to be met with in all the celebrated Pieces of Antiquity, but is rarely to be found in our modern Compositions; and for that Reason they are for the most part extremely dull and tiresome. These Figures are bold, but natural: Interrogations, Apostrophes, and Exclamations.

In those *Psalms*, where Design is required, we find it very closely followed and perfectly well executed. For example, the *xliiith Psalm* is a Thanksgiving of *David*, after God had delivered him out of the hands of his Enemies. He immediately proposes his Design: (1.) He represents his deplorable State. (2.) His Prayer. (3.) How God hearken'd unto it. (4.) How

he resolved to send him Help. Here he paints out, in a Poetical Manner, the Power of God, that makes all Nature tremble. (5.) How God discomfited all his Enemies. (6.) How he delivered *David*. (7.) Why he did so? because of the righteous Dealing of *David*. (8.) The happy Condition wherein he was placed. (9.) His Advantage over his Adversaries, their Misery and Fall. (10.) The Favours and Blessings he still hopes for. (11.) He concludes with praising God as he begun (a). This Psalm contains all these Particulars exactly in the manner I have set them down, and this Order of Things appears to me very beautiful; he was in Affliction; he prayed for Assistance; God sent him Help; his Enemies are confounded; he was not only delivered, but exalted above them; and, in his turn, cast down under his Feet all his Persecutors.

The Narration of the Historical Psalms different from that of a mere History.

It is to be observed, that the narrative Style, in the Historical Psalms, is very different from that of a mere History. None but the principal and most remarkable Events are taken notice of, and if any Circumstance indulges the Prophet in his Poetick Flight, he never fails of raising it to the Sublime. See the History of *Joseph* in the cvth Psalm; God called for a Dearth upon the Land, and destroy'd all the Provision of Bread: But he had sent a Man before them (before the Children of *Israel*, of whom he was speaking) even *Joseph*, who was sold to be a Bond-Servant. Observe the Sublimity of the Narration, how it soars immediately as high as the Purposes and Decrees of God! Observe likewise how beautiful the Figure! God calls for the Dearth, just as if he was laying his Commands on some rational and intelligent Creature. There are no words in our Language that can properly express what follows in the Original. The Scriptures in this, and some other Places, compare Bread, that is, the Necessaries of Life, to a Staff, on which a feeble Person leans as he walks; so that to take away Bread from Men, is the same thing as to take away from an old infirm Person the Staff that supports him. But instead of all these Circumlocutions, the Scriptures, in strong and bold Metaphors, peculiar to the Hebrew Tongue, express it thus, *The Famine breaks the Staff of our Bread*. After this, the Psalmist represents *Joseph* in Irons, to denote, in a word, his Imprisonment, and immediately returns to God, who delivers him by his Word and by his Wisdom with which he inspires him; and

(a) See xvii Vulgate.

accordingly

accordingly the King sent and delivered him; the Prince of the People let him go free. He made him Lord also of his House, and Ruler of all his Substance, that he might inform his Princes after his Will, and teach his Senator's Wisdom. We have here, in this narrow Compass, the whole History of *Joseph*, his Captivity, his Deliverance, his Advancement to Power, and all by the Direction and Appointment of God. There is something of this kind of Narration to be seen in *Virgil*, where he represents, upon the Shield of *Eneas*, the most shining Passages of the Roman History.

The cxxxixth Psalm is an Instance of sublime and elevated, as well as of exquisitely fine and delicate Sentiments; O Lord! thou hast searched me out, and known me; thou knowest my Down-sitting, and mine Up-rising: Thou knowest all my outward Actions, and what is more, Thou understandest my Thoughts long before; thou art about my Path, and about my Bed, and spiest out all my Ways. For, lo! there is not a Word in my Tongue, but thou, O Lord! knowest it altogether. And no wonder, for Thou hast fashioned me behind and before, and laid thy Hand upon me, to preserve and guide me; such Knowledge is too wonderful and excellent for me, I cannot attain unto it. Then varying the Figure, he breaks out on a sudden into this Exclamation, Whither shall I go from thy Spirit, or whither shall I fly from thy Presence? He takes in the whole Extent of the Universe, considered in all its Dimensions; If I climb up into Heaven, thou art there; if I go down to Hell, thou art there also. And again, in a more noble Figure, If I take the Wings of the Morning, and remain in the uttermost Parts of the Sea. To this he does not coldly say, It would be all in vain, or even, as he said in the foregoing Verse, Thou art there; but makes use of a much more fine and elaborate Thought, as of a Man that accused himself of extreme Folly, in endeavouring to conceal himself from God: So far shall I be from flying from thy Presence, that even there also shall thy Hand lead me, and thy right Hand shall hold me. What chimerical Notions soever I may frame to myself, I can never think of subsisting one moment without thee: Tho' I could fly, as I said, on the Wings of the Morning, it would be thy Hand that would guide me, and thy right Hand that would support me. Here he seems to have quite exhausted his Imagination;

A DISSERTATION upon Book I.

nation; but behold a new and more studied means of hiding himself from the All-seeing Eye of God: *If I say, peradventure the Darkness shall cover me, then shall my Night be turned into Day.* Still this is all mere Folly and Extravagance; *The Darkness is no Darkness with thee, but the Night is as clear as the Day; the Darkness and Light to thee are both alike.* Let our modern Wits, after this, look upon the honest Shepherds of *Palestine* as a Company of rude and unpolished Clowns; let them, if they can, produce, from profane Authors, Thoughts that are more sublime, more delicate, or better turn'd; not to mention the profound Divinity and solid Piety, couch'd under these Expressions. The rest of the Psalm contains admirable Reflections on the Formation of Man in his Mother's Womb, and concerning Predestination; whence the Prophet takes occasion to express his Love and Esteem for the Righteous, and his Hatred and Contempt for the Wicked.

Variety of Tropes and Figures in all the Psalms,

Variety of beautiful Tropes and Figures every where shine throughout the whole Book of Psalms, tho' the Number is not so great in the historical Psalms, as in those that consist of Prayers and Exhortations. In the xcist Psalm, one of those that are the most familiar to us, the Poet himself begins with laying down his Design, namely, to declare the Protection of God towards Men; and this he does in two Expressions, the words whereof exactly correspond with one another. In the two next Verses the Person protected is introduced speaking; but makes use of two different Figures. In the second Verse he addresses himself immediately to God. In the third, he speaks of him in the third Person. In the fifth Verse, the Poet again speaks, addressing himself to the protected Person, and enumerates, in great Variety of Comparisons and Metaphors, the several Methods and Ways of Protection. At the ninth Verse, the just Man interrupts him, with saying, *For thou, O Lord, art my Hope,* to denote the Reason of what had been said; then the Poet immediately answers, *Thou hast set thine House of Defence very high, there shall no Evil happen unto thee,* &c. and goes on in the four following Verses (addressing himself all along to the protected Person) to declare other and greater Effects of the Divine Protection. Among the rest, the continual Assistance of good Angels, and their Power over the Demons, represented in Scripture under the Character of venomous Creatures;

Disc. I. the POETRY of the ANTIENTS, &c.

Creatures. In the three last Verses, God himself is introduced speaking, to confirm and authorize all that had been said before, who likewise declares some farther Effects of his Protection, concluding with a Promise of long Life, and a Sight of his Salvation. They who are never so little versed in the Poets, are not at all surprized at this sudden shifting of the Persons, without any notice to prepare them for it. Nothing is more common in *Horace*, not only in his Odes, but in his Satires and Epistles; and I see no Reason why the xcist Psalm should be looked upon as Dramatick upon this Account, unless the greatest Part of the others be reckoned so too.

By the Light of these few Examples, we may discover an infinite Number of the like Beauties; for the Psalms every where abound with them, and not only the Psalms, but *Job*, where the Poetry is generally more bold and sublime, and all the other Poetical Works of Scripture. Read, for Instance, the Song of *Moses* at the end of *Deuteronomy*, and the Song of *Barak* and *Deborah*.

And in all the Poetical Works of Scripture

But after all, to say nothing of the Difference between our Customs and Manners, how very imperfect is our Knowledge of the Beauties of these Works? It is certain, as hath been observed, that all we know of the *Hebrew* Poetry is confined to the Design, the Thoughts, and the Figures. As for the Language, none but those that are skilled in the *Hebrew*, can judge of it; and where is the Man that can boast he is a perfect Master of that Tongue? But for the other Beauties, I mean the Harmony of the Words, the Measure of the Verses, and the Airs or Tunes of the Hymns and Songs, I will be bold to say not a Man upon Earth knows any thing of the Matter. Now there is no one but knows how essential all these Graces and Ornaments are to Poetry.

Our Knowledge of the Hebrew Poetry very imperfect.

We are entirely ignorant of the Pronunciation of the *Hebrew*, as well as of the *Greek* and *Latin*, and other dead Tongues. And as is evident, from the different ways in the Septuagint, *St. Jerom*, and other antient Authors, of writing the same *Hebrew* Word in *Greek* or *Latin* Letters, the Pronunciation has for many Ages been lost. We have not even the Privilege of knowing, as we do in the *Greek* and *Latin* Poetry, the Measure of the Verses, and Quantity of the Syllables. In fine, we know no more of the Nature of the Airs, or Tunes of the Psalms

Psalms and Songs, than we do of those of the *Greek* and *Latin* Odes; and yet they were composed on purpose to be sung, as is plain from the Sacred History, and the Inscriptions over the Psalms.

Plato, according to the Notions of the wisest of the Antients, is of Opinion, that Airs and Words ought to be inseparable, and that to compose Verses without a Tune, or Tunes without Words, as those play'd on Musical Instruments, are great Abuses of these Things. That the Airs or Tunes of the Songs or Hymns were extremely fine, we have several good Proofs; (1.) The Beauty of the Words, and the artful Manner of their Poetry, which make it probable that every thing else was answerable to them. (2.) The Variety of musical Instruments, whose Names are mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. (3.) The great Number of Musicians, who, being instructed in their Art by their Predecessors, and making Musick the chief Business of their Lives, render'd themselves Masters of it; among whom, doubtless, there were some at least that were extraordinary in their way.

The Musick
of the An-
tients.

If I may be allowed to give my Opinion of what we have no distinct Knowledge of, I imagine that their Musick was composed with great Simplicity, and that the Beauty and Excellency of it lay in aptly expressing and humouring the Sense of the Words, in moving and affecting the Heart in an agreeable and tender manner, and in exciting those Passions and Sentiments the Poet intended to inspire; but that it had not that Mixture and Variety of different Parts, and those Sweetnesses of our modern Musick: I ground these Conjectures upon the Air and Manner in general of the Writings of those early Ages.

Literal
Translations
lose all the
Beauties of the
Original.

We are likewise, as has been hinted, at a great loss how to judge of the Beauty of the Words, because our Translations are too servile and too literal. Were a Man to render the Odes of *Horace* into our Language word for word, they would lose all their Life and Spirit: *Silver bath no Colour*, *O Crispus Salustius! thou Enemy to thin Plates of Metal concealed in the avaritious Earth, unless it shines in a temperate Use*. I took these Verses just as they lay before me. Let us try the very first of all his Works: *O Mecnas! sprung from Forefathers Kings; O my Support and sweet Ornament! There are some whom it delights to have gathered together in the Course*

the Olympick Dust, and whom the Boundary, avoided by the verdant Wheels, and the illustrious Palm-Tree lifts up to the Gods Lords of the Earths. As these Passages were not culled out on purpose, I suppose the Case would be the same with almost any other. I have not imitated the Transposition of the words as they are in the *Latin*, because our Language will not admit of it, and there are some of the Words which may be rendered still more literally, *There is no Colour to Silver*, for *Silver bath no Colour*; and in the other Instance, *my Bulwark*, instead of *my Support*. And after all, there ought to be a greater Affinity between our Language and the *Latin*, from whence it is derived, than between the *Greek*, or *Latin*, and the *Hebrew*, with which they have not, as we know of, any manner of Relation. Besides, these Translations are made immediately from the Original, and therefore to give an Instance of a Translation, like that of the Psalms, we must render into our Language a Stanza of *Pindar* from the *Latin* Version; one of the easiest is as follows.

*O Hymns ruling over the Lute! what God? what Hero?
what Man shall we praise? Certainly Pifa is Jupiter's, and
Hercules instituted the Olympick Combat, the first Fruits of
the Spoils of War; but it is Theron that must be sung with
the Voice, because of his Race in a Chariot with four Horses
Conqueror, the Just, the Hospitable, the Support of Agrigentum,
Flower of noble Ancestors, Governor of Cities.* There are many Places in *Pindar*, which translated thus word for word, would appear downright Nonsense.

What has been said concerning the Beauty of the Psalms in the Original, ought not in the least to lessen our Esteem for the *Vulgate* Version. All Poetry, as is plain from the Instances above, must of necessity lose the greatest part of its Graces and Beauties in verbal Translations. This is an unavoidable Misfortune, and consequently the Translation is by no means to be found fault with upon that Account.

The *Seventy*, in rendering the Old Testament into *Greek*, have kept as close to the Letter as possible, fearing that the least Paraphrase might alter the Sense. Had they not taken this Method with relation to the Psalms, all the noble Figures and beautiful Expressions of the Original had vanished, and instead of the Thoughts and Sentiments of the Prophet, we should have

have had, it is to be feared, those of the Translators. The Primitive Christians at *Rome*, and in other Places where *Latin* was the vulgar Tongue, understood nothing of *Hebrew*, and therefore were obliged to translate the Scriptures from the *Greek* Septuagint; and it is well known, that the Church made use of this Version till that of St. *Jerom* came to be received, that is to say, for more than six hundred Years: so that all Christians, for so many Ages together, being used to sing the Psalms according to this antient Version, the Catholick Church, cautious of making the least Alterations even in Externals, hath thought fit to retain this Version from the *Greek*. It is true indeed, that it differs in many Places from the *Hebrew* Text, as it is now, and as it was in St. *Jerom*'s Time, and that there are some Passages, according to our Version, more obscure and difficult; but then there are others where we find that the *Seventy* followed a more correct Copy, or a better *Reading*. And in what Place soever our Version is different from the *Hebrew*, the Sense is always Sound and Catholick; and that is sufficient. We ought not to be more nice and scrupulous than all those pious and holy Men, who, from the very Beginning of Christianity, have taken from this Version, as it is at present, the Subject-Matter of their Prayers and Praises, and of their Exhortations and Instructions to the People.

Private Persons, however, have the Church's Leave and Approbation to consult the various *Readings*, in order to find out the best Senses, and display all the Beauties of the Psalms; as Cardinal *Bellarmino*, among others, has done with very good Success. As for the rest of the Poetical Works of Scripture, we have them all translated immediately from the *Hebrew* by St. *Jerom*.

To conclude; we must not wonder that our Taste of Poetry is so very different from that of the Antients. The Reason is, to speak the plain Truth, because our modern Compositions are such miserable Stuff in comparison of theirs. We write indeed at present in a more correct and polite manner than our Poets of old did, or even than those of the last Century; nevertheless we are not in the main one whit altered for the better. Love-Songs and Drunken-Catches are still the Productions of our Top-Wits; these are the noble Subjects that employ their Pens; and we have found the means, in defiance of all Antiquity, whom

The Conclusion, showing the true Use of Poetry.

yet we pretend to imitate, to stuff our Tragedies and Heroic Poems with little mean amorous Intrigues and Follies, without any manner of regard to the Gravity of those Works that are said to be so solemn and serious; and without the least Apprehension of confounding the Distinction and Characters of Poems, which were so religiously observed and kept up by the Antients.

For my part, I can never persuade myself that this is the true Use of a Poetical Genius. No, I can never believe that God endows a Man with a fine and lively Imagination, with beautiful and sublime Sentiments, with an easy and natural Expression, and the other Qualifications of a Poet, to no other end but that he should employ them upon trifling and wanton Subjects, in soothing his own criminal Passions, or in exciting lascivious Thoughts in others. I much rather think that these Divine Accomplishments were intended for quite different Purposes, to give us a Relish of solid Truths, to render Virtue and Goodness more amiable, and inflame us with the Love of all that may feed and improve our Souls, as the agreeable Tastes and pleasant Flavours of our Meats and Drinks were designed as Incentives to those Things that nourish and preserve our Bodies.

For auster all, why are Profit and Pleasure, Instruction and Delight separated? Why are the Precepts of Religion and Discourses of Morality rendered like bitter Potions by a harsh and dry Style? or like insipid Dishes by their dull and tedious Lengths? So that to get them down we must fortify ourselves beforehand with many serious Reflections, and call in our best Reason to our Assistance. On the contrary, why are all our Talents, Study, and Arts of Eloquence employed in dressing up, for young and tender Minds, *Ragoos* and *Dainties* to corrupt and poison their Morals, under a Pretence of pleasing their Palates? Either therefore Poetry in general must be condemned (which the Learned and Equitable will never agree to) or its Course must be diverted to a nobler Channel, turned to Subjects worthy of its Divine Original, and made to go hand in hand with true Philosophy, that is, with sound Morality and solid Piety. I am sensible that an Undertaking of this kind would be entirely new in our Language, and that hitherto we have had no Instances of Sacred Poetry that has had any tolerable Success;

Success; and doubtless one great Reason of it, is the Corruption of the Age, and the Spirit of Libertinism that every where prevails: but may it not likewise, in some measure, be owing to the Fault of our Writers? I can meet with no Hymns that come up to the Character of those in Scripture, and in the Translations that have been made of the Psalms themselves, too little Care has been taken to keep up the Spirit and Force of the Expressions, or to preserve the beautiful Tropes and Figures that give a Lustre to the whole; and what we call Paraphrases, are Things spun out to such immoderate Lengths, that the Thoughts and Sentiments of the Prophet lie buried among a huge Heap of Rubbish. Perhaps it would be better to imitate than translate them, and as these Divine Poems contain a great many Things that don't at all square with our Customs and Manners, the best way would be to attempt something of the like nature, upon Subjects that are more known and familiar to us; upon the Mysteries of our Holy Religion; upon the sudden and wonderful Progress of the Gospel; upon the Virtues of the Saints and Martyrs; upon the Benefits and Mercies that our Nation, our Country, and our City have received at the hands of God; and upon all the general Heads of Morality, as the Happiness of good Men, the Contempt of the Things of this World, &c. with an Eye always to our own Usages, Customs, and Notions of Things.

I don't know whether an Attempt of this nature would not have many Difficulties to encounter in the execution; however, it must be owned, that the Design at least is noble; and if we despair of ever being able to accomplish it, we must not look with an Eye of Envy upon those who have succeeded in it. We must therefore give the *Hebrew* Poetry its just Praise and Commendation, tho' at the same time we should find it to be inimitable.



A
DISSERTATION
Concerning the
P O E T R Y
OF THE
ANTIENT HEBREWS.



THE many different Opinions concerning the ^{Different Opinions about the Nature of the Hebrew Poetry.} Nature of the *Hebrew* Poetry, and the Errors and Mistakes of those who have undertaken to clear up this Point, are evident Proofs of our Ignorance in this Matter. The most antient and learned Authors upon this Head are *Josephus*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, and *St. Jerom*, whose great Name and Reputation have drawn in for the most Part those, who have since writ upon this Subject, to embrace their Sentiments. They had been informed that the Songs of *Moses* were writ in Verse; and *Josephus* does not scruple to assure us in several Places (a), that they were writ in Heroick Verse. *Origen* and *Eusebius* (b) are

(a) Antiq. l. 2. c. ult. lib. 4. c. ult. lib. 7. c. 12.

(b) Euf. Præp. l. 11. c. 3.

St. Jerom's
Opinion.

of the same Opinion; and St. Jerom very much improves the Notion, and tells us (a), *That the Psalter was composed of Iambic, Alcaic, and Saphic Verses, like Pindar and Horace, and that the Songs in Deuteronomy (b) and Isaiah, the Books of Job and Solomon, are written in Hexameters and Pentameters.* He says elsewhere (c), that the Song in *Deuteronomy* consists of Iambic Verses of four Feet, just as the cxixth and clxvth Psalms, whereas the cxixth and cxiith Psalms consist likewise of Iambic Verses but of three Feet only. He observes in the *Lamentations* of *Jeremiah* a sort of Saphic Verses, and others of three Measures: In fine, he repeats what he had said concerning the Book of *Job* in his Preface to that Book, affirming, that from these Words, Let the Day perish wherein I was born, the Verses are Hexameters, composed of Dactyls and Spondees, intermixed here and there with other Feet of the same Measure, tho' not of the same Number of Syllables, because of the great Variety of that Language. Sometimes there is no regard to the Quantity of the Syllables, and we find only a bare Ryme, or an agreeable Cadence, which is discernible by those only who are instructed in the Rules of Poetry. In a word, he speaks of the Book of Psalms, in several Places (d), as of a Work consisting of Lyric Verses, like those of *Pindar, Alcaeus, Horace, Catullus, and Sereus.*

We very justly admire the profound Capacity of St. Jerom, and pay a great Deference to the Opinions of so eminent a Father of the Church; but, however, it must be owned, that a great many of our learned Criticks in the *Hebrew* Tongue don't observe now in the Psalms, and the other Poetical Works of Scripture, the same Feet and Measures St. Jerom saw there; and even the most zealous Advocates of this holy Father say no more, than that we are not to understand him as if he meant we were to find in the Psalter and Book of *Job* perfect Hexameters and Pentameters, or Lyric Verses, exactly of the same Feet and Measures with those of *Horace, Pindar, and Sapho*, but only something near a-kin to them, some Cadences that have a Similitude or Resemblance of these Measures; *Simili-*

(a) Praef. in Chronic. Euseb.

(b) Deut. xxxii.

(c) Epist. 155. ad Paulam Urbicam.

(d) Epist. ad Paulin. & lib. 9. Comment. in Ezek. xxx.

tudinem

tudinem (a) quendam Heroicorum Versuum intelligere debes, & haec de ceteris Metrorum Generibus.

Philo, speaking of the *Essenes*, assures us, they had antient Poems delivered down to them by their Poets of old (b); he means the Sacred Authors of the Scripture-Poetry. The Verses (says he) are of several Forms and Measures; some consist of three Members, and are to be sung at the time of going to the Temple to worship; others are Hymns to be recited at the Altar, whilst the Sacrifices are offering, and the Libations pouring out before the Lord; some again are to be sung standing, without any Motion; and others are designed for Choirs and for Dances.

But *Scaliger* (c) can see nothing of all this, he can't perceive the least Signs of any Feet in the Verses of the antient Hebrews; on the contrary he asserts, that their Language, as well as that of the Syrians, Arabians, and Abyssines, is incapable of being confined to Feet and Measures. *Nam ut in Hebraico, Syriaco, Arabico, & Abyssino idiomate ulla metri Species concipi possit, nemo efficere possit; quia id Naturæ Sermonis non patitur.* He adds, that there are no Hexameters in *Job*, nor Iambic or Alcaic Verses in the Psalms: *De Psalterio magis miror, cum neque in eo, neque in Threnis ullum Canticum sit metricis Legibus astrictum, sed mere soluta Oratio, Caractere Poëtico animata.*

Augustinus & Eugubio is no less warm for this Opinion; he says, that the Hebrews have neither Heroic nor Iambic Verses, nor any Measures like those of the Greeks and Latins, but only some faint Resemblances of them, such as are to be met with in the Songs of the Barbarians. One finds in their Poetry certain Cadences, which give the Style a different Turn from Prose, one observes a Manner of Expression and certain Figures, which make the Language deviate from the common Forms of Speech. *Carmen Hebraicum non idem est atque Græcorum & Latinorum; Hebraicum nulla Tempora, sed Numerum duntaxat observat. Itaque neque Heroicum Carmen apud Hebræos extat, neque Iambicum, alia Genera; sed simile quiddam, & quale Barbari diversis Ritibus canunt.* This kind of Poetry

(a) Vide Proleg. in Div. Biblioth. S. Hieron. nov. Edit. Art. 5.

(b) Mælex 246. &c. Philo de Vita Contemplativa ad finem.

(c) Scaliger in Chronic. Euseb.

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is more simple, more natural, more majestic, and more becoming the Greatness of God, than a Poetry ty'd down to Method and Rules; in which it is extremely difficult to express, in a natural manner, the Sentiments of the Spirit of God, without injuring, at the same time, the Sublimity of the Sense, and the Loftiness of the Thoughts.

As are several other learned Critics.

Scaliger's Opinion has been espoused by several learned Critics besides *Augustinus d' Eugubio*, as *Lewis Cappel*, *Martinus*, *Samuel Boblius*, *Vasmuth*, *Pfeiffer*, &c. *Grotius* (a) may also be reckoned among those Writers, who hold, that the Poetry of the antient *Hebrews* had neither Ryme nor Measure. And for my part I shall make no difficulty of listing myself in their Number, and shall endeavour to defend their Opinion, after I have first laid down and confuted the Notions of those who have undertaken to ascertain the Manner of the *Hebrew* Poetry, by comparing it with that of the *Greeks* or *Latins*, or with that of the living Languages. I shall give myself no Trouble about those Authors, who have advanced nothing but what they have from others, or those who profess they understand nothing of the Matter, or believe it is impossible to be cleared up: I shall consider those Writers only, who have proposed some new Scheme or Hypothesis upon this Head.

The Schemes of some Moderns examined and confuted.

Mercerus.

Mercerus, upon the third Chapter of *Job*, says, he had been informed that *Franciscus Vatablus* had discovered the true Nature of the Verses in *Job* and the Book of *Psalms*, and that he had actually drawn up the Rules and Principles of them, in order to let the World into this great Secret. Every one allows the profound Capacity of *Vatablus* in Matters of this nature. *Mercerus* pleased himself with the Thoughts, that the Discoveries of this Great Man would one day be made publick, but there are no hopes at present of their ever seeing the Light; nay, it is even doubted whether *Vatablus* did ever write at all, or at least whether he has left any thing finished, upon this Subject.

Theodorus Herbert.

Theodorus Herbert imagined he found in the Bible Verses like those of our Times, that is, with Rymes, according to certain Rules he prescribes. He observed (as he says himself) some of these Verses in *Psal.* vi. 2. viii. 5. cv. 20. cvi. 5. cxvi. 7. cxviii. 25. cxix. 35. cxlvi. 7. *Job* xxi. 4. *Prov.* xxv. 19. But

(a) *Grot.* in *Luc.* I. 46.

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Dis. II. the POETRY of the HEBREWS.

what can be inferred from hence? Does it follow therefore that this artificial sort of Poetry was common among the *Jews* from the Time of *Moses*, *Job*, or *David*? Do a few Verses found in a Prose-Book prove the whole to be writ in Verse?

Some *Hebrew* Rabbins maintain, that their Poetry in Ryme is of a very long standing, and was in use at the time that their Forefathers sojourn'd in *Palestine*. They ground this Assertion of theirs upon certain *Hebrew* Verses in Ryme, found in the Kingdom of *Valencia*, upon the Tomb of one of the Officers of *Amasias* King of *Juda* (a): But this hath too much the Air of a Fable, to gain any Credit with those who are concerned only for the Truth.

Some Hebrew Rabbins.

A modern Author, one *Meibomius* (b), pretends, that for these two thousand Years last past all the World have lived in ignorance of the Nature of the *Hebrew* Poetry but himself; and it is solely upon this extraordinary Knowledge of his, that he grounds all those Corrections and Amendments he has made in the Original Text of Scripture. *My Design* (says he, in his Epistle directed to all the Christian Kings and Princes in *Europe*) is to publish a new Translation of the Holy Bible, with an Explanation of the most difficult Places, a Specimen whereof I here present you with; if you give it the Reception it deserves, I pass my Word to favour the Publick with the rest of the Old Testament, and make known the Measure of the Verses wherein it is written.

In his Preface, he makes his Boast of having corrected, in the Sacred Text, above three thousand Faults, which made so many Alterations in the Sense of it, and all by the means of a Light darted into his Soul from above, and the help of the Rules of the *Hebrew* Poetry, which have lain concealed ever since the Days of *Jeremiah* and *Daniel*, and were unknown to *Haggai* and *Ezra*.

He adds, that if the antient Sages of *Judea* were to take a Trip into the World again, they would admire in him this inestimable Gift of Heaven; that the *Seventy* would readily acknowledge the Uselessness of their Labours; that *Origen* would throw away his *Hexapla*; that *St. Jerom* would compliment him upon having carried the Day from all the *Latin* Transla-

(a) *Rab. Moses Ben Charif. Darkenoom.*

(b) *Journal des Savans.* 1699.

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A DISSERTATION upon Book I.

tors, and congratulate him upon his Discovery of the *Hebrew* Poetry, and profound Knowledge in the Sacred Tongue.

This Author, with his Poetry, turns the whole Bible upside down, and as yet affords us but a very small Sketch of his Art, jealous of letting us into the Secret of so noble an Invention, he keeps the Key close to himself. The Publick, in all appearance, have set light by his Essay, and don't seem at all desirous of his Performances, since *Meibomius* has not hitherto made good any thing of what he so largely promised.

GOMARUS.

Franciscus Gomarus, in his Book, intitled *Davidis Lyra*, takes upon him to prove, that the Verses in Scripture are like those of the *Greeks* and *Latins*. In order to this, he applies himself to lay down the Rules and Principles of the *Hebrew* Poetry, to ascertain the Number of the Feet, and distinguish the several sorts of the Verses. His Book is divided into two Parts: In the first, he establishes Rules for finding out the Quantity of the *Hebrew* Syllables; he mentions the several sorts of Feet in the *Hebrew* Verses, and compares them with those of the *Greeks* and *Latins*. In the second Part, he proceeds to the Application of his Rules to the Verses in Scripture; he takes them to pieces, shews the Nature of their Composition, and produces Examples to confirm all he lays down. This Work of *Gomarus* gained him immediately the Applauses of several learned Criticks, as *Buxtorf*, *Lewis de Dieu*, *Constantine l'Empereur*, *Heinsius*, and *Hottinger*: But *Lewis Cappel* strenuously attacked him, and answered all his Arguments. He says, that *Gomarus*, in his Book, takes two Principles for granted, which he would find a very difficult matter to prove effectually: The first is, that the Vowel-Points, as they are now read in the *Hebrew* Bible, were not the Invention of After-Ages, but came immediately from the inspired Penmen themselves. The second is, that no Alterations have happened to the Holy Scriptures, either thro' the Carelessness of Transcribers, or by the Length of Time.

One of *Gomarus's* Rules is this, *Scheva non vocalis est, sed illius sub Consonante mobili Absentia Nota*; *Scheva* is no Vowel, but denotes only the Absence of a Vowel under a Consonant that is pronounced. *Cappel* overthrows this Principle.

(1.) By the Authority of several Grammarians, who all teach, that *Scheva* hath the true Nature of a short Vowel.

(2.) Be-

(2.) Because by this Rule Multitudes of *Hebrew* Words are rendered incapable of being pronounced, even in the most barbarous manner: As for Instance, *Febarku* (a). Moreover, by this means an infinite Number of Words, that really consist of three, would necessarily be reduced to two, Syllables.

(3.) This Rule of *Gomarus* destroys another Principle of the *Hebrew* Grammar, *Scheva* is pronounced under a Letter marked with a Dages. For Example, in *Pakkedu*, where the Dages must either be taken away, or it must be shown how it is possible to pronounce the double Letter, if the *Scheva* is not heard.

(4.) *Cappel* observes, that where we read a *Scheva*, the Antients, as the *Seventy*, and *St. Jerom*, read sometimes one Vowel, sometimes another; which is a clear Evidence that we are not tied down so strictly to that Vowel-Point, as *Gomarus* would have us, and that there is a Necessity of pronouncing it upon many Occasions.

Another Principle laid down by *Gomarus*, is this, *There are no common Syllables in Hebrew, but all are long or short; and the short Syllables do not, as in Greek and Latin, become long by Position*. If the *Hebrew* Tongue was like the *English*, or most of the *European* Languages, where, in writing Verses, no regard is had to the Quantity of the Syllables, this Rule of *Gomarus* might take place; but since he asserts that the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin* Tongues resemble one another, and that the Rules of their Poetry are very near the same, it is not to be conceived upon what Foundation he builds this Principle. He is no less unhappy in the Application of it, for he is plainly proved to relapse into that Barbarousness and Difficulty of Pronunciation so often objected to him. *Cappel* maintains, there is no distinguishing the short from the long Syllables in *Hebrew*, as long as the true Pronunciation of them is not settled, and that it is impossible to read or pronounce the *Hebrew* Verses according to the Rules of *Gomarus*. *Gomarus* acknowledges, that his Rules are never applicable to above two or three Verses at a time of the same sort. *Cappel* infers from this Confession, that there can be no such thing as fixing the Rules of the *Hebrew* Poetry, as it would be but lost Labour to endeavour to lay down the Rules of the *Greek* and *Latin* Poetry, were there

(a) יברכך

E

in

in those Languages no entire Pieces written in Verses, that steadily observed the same Method and Rules. Would not a Man make himself ridiculous, if, upon finding a few irregular Verses scattered up and down the Works of *Sophocles* and *Pindar*, he should undertake to prescribe Rules for a sort of Poetry so uncertain, so immethodical?

Thus by confessing that all the *Hebrew* Verses are of a different kind from one another, that they are intermixed without any Order or Method, *Varia, Promiscua*, *Ἀτάκτα*; that they are independent, that is, have no manner of Relation to one another, and that few or none of the same sort are to be found together; *Gomarus* undermines, before he is aware of it, the whole Design of his Book, since it is an impossible Thing to establish Rules for a Poetry so unsettled and unconfined. *Cappel* observes, that his Adversary is obliged to suppose so great a Number of regular and irregular Verses in the same Song or Hymn, that it would be impossible not to find the like every where, and that it would be full as easy to shew that the whole Bible is in Verse, as it was for him to prove that the Psalter only is so. In fine, he maintains, that by *Gomarus's* Way and Method a Man might make it appear, that all the Orations of *Cicero* and *Demosthenes*, that the Histories of *Livy* and *Thucydides* are truly and really Poems; the Ridiculousness of which Consequences are sufficient Proofs of the Falleness of the Principles from whence they are drawn.

Pfeiffer (a) undertakes, by the help of *Gomarus's* Rules, to put the *Pater-noster* into Verse; and to let us see that he undertook nothing but what he could perform, he has actually reduced the Lord's Prayer into several sorts of Verses, without changing so much as one Word.

The Author of the *Bibliothèque Universelle* has advanced a new Hypothesis concerning the Poetry of the antient *Hebrews*; he will have it that their Verses are in Ryme, and alledges these as the principal Reasons of his Opinion: (1.) He observes, that the *Hebrew* Tongue will not, no more than the *French* or *English*, admit of those Transpositions of the Words which the *Greeks* and *Latins* used both in their Prose and Verse. (2.) The *Hebrew* Nouns have the same Termination or Ending throughout all the Cases of the Singular and Plural Numbers. In the

(a) Pfeiffer de Poesi Hebræorum.

Plural

Plural the Masculine Nouns end in *im*, and the Feminine in *oth*; this shows how easy it is to compose Verses in that Language in Ryme, and how difficult to do it, as the *Greeks* and *Latins* did, in Measure. (3.) The *Hebrews* have a vast Number of long Syllables, and but very few short ones; consequently it would be a hard Matter to vary the Feet as often as is necessary to make good Verses in imitation of the *Greeks* and *Latins*; on the contrary, Rymes are so ready at hand in *Hebrew*, that it is almost impossible to write without ryming, even when one least designs it. (4.) This Author does not pretend to say, that the Poetry of the antient *Hebrews* was very regular and exact, he believes it was never reduced to any Rules of Art. Their Rymes are not always the most lucky, and there are several Passages in their Poems where there are no Rymes at all to be found: In all probability, says he, they did not regard these things equally at all times, but were satisfied now and then with the Cadence only. (5.) The Number of the Rymes is not fixed, there are sometimes a great many of one sort, and but few of another; the Order of the Rymes is not regulated, and the Length of the Verses is still less uniform: The *Hebrews*, says he, seem to have given themselves little or no Trouble about these Matters. (6.) In their Rymes they had a greater regard to the Sound of the Words, and Likeness of the Cadence, than to a Similitude of Letters or Syllables. (7.) Poetical Licences, like those in the Poetry of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, are to be observed in the Poetry of the *Hebrews*; they borrowed from the neighbouring Nations, *Chaldea* and *Arabia*, their Ways and Manners of Expression, particularly in those Places where the *Hebrew* Words would not have rymed, whereas those they borrowed ryme perfectly well. (8.) Lastly, a good Argument to induce us to believe that the *Hebrew* Verses were writ in Ryme, is the little Trouble that is required to reduce into Ryme all the Songs, Hymns, and Poetical Works of Scripture. Accordingly this Author has published the Song of *Moses* in Ryme, and assures us he has applied his Endeavours with Success to the Psalms, and reduced them into Ryme likewise. It must be noted, that there are Rymes in the Scene of *Plautus's Panulus*, written in the *Punic* Language. This last Proof is, without doubt, the best as well as the most proper to decide the Matter in question; for if there are any constant, uniform,

and studied Rymes to be plainly seen in the Poems of the *Hebrews*, it is very visible that their Poetry is in Ryme. But in order to reduce into Ryme the Psalms and Hymns of Scripture, this Author curtails, lengthens, and shortens the Verses just as he thinks fit, without keeping any Proportion, or observing any Rule. By such a Method as this, any one of *Cicero's* Orations may be easily made to ryme.

It can't be denied but that there are Rymes, and sometimes designed ones, in some Places of the Psalms, and the other Poetical Works of Scripture; but it does not follow therefore that the Poetry of the antient *Hebrews* is in Ryme. The best way to know whether the *Hebrew* Verses are in Ryme, is to pitch upon such Verses as plainly discover, by some Circumstance, where they end exactly; which will be a means to prevent its being objected, that we cut off the Verses where we please in order to make them ryme. The cxixth Psalm is an Acrostick, and therefore the Beginning and End of the Verses are certainly known. This Psalm is of a great Length, and nothing is more easy than to find out the Nature of the Verses, by comparing them with one another. Now altho' we meet with a great many Rymes in this Psalm, yet we can't be sure they were intended or premeditated; they are neither constant nor uniform. We find sometimes four or five Rymes one after another, then two or three, after that three or four Verses without any Ryme at all, or a single Verse that does not ryme with any other. Can a Poem upon this Account be said to be writ in Ryme? The *Lamentations* of *Jeremiah* are likewise Acrostick Verses, but I can find no regular or constant Rymes, nor any that can be said to be designed or made on purpose. When two Verses together end alike, we may be certain that it was the pure Effect of Chance.

The Truth of what has been said, will appear more evident, if you cast an Eye on the 3d Chapter of the *Lamentations*, where each Verse begins with a Letter of the Alphabet, according to their natural Order; for in the first, second, and fourth Chapters we are not so sure where the Verses end, because there are more than two under the same Letter, which is placed only at the Beginning of the first Verse. We find also in the *Song of Songs* some Rymes and agreeable Cadences, that, in all probability, were designed and intended; but they are neither uniform

nor

nor steady, nor to be met with every where throughout the whole Book. It is almost impossible, whether you design it or no, not to hit upon Rymes in *Hebrew*. I defy any Man, let him study to avoid it as much as he pleases, to talk to another Person in this Language, without falling into a Gingle of Words, or using Periods and Sentences which shall have the same Termination, by reason of the *Affixes* and the great Number of Words that end alike, as has been already observed. The cxith and cxiith Psalms, which are likewise Acrosticks, are further Proofs of what I have advanced; there is not so much as one Ryme in them that we can be sure of. But, however, we find there somewhat of Importance in relation to the Subject I am upon, namely, that the *Hebrews* had Verses of different Lengths; for the Verses in the cxixth Psalm, and in the third Chapter of the *Lamentations*, are twice as long as those in these two Psalms: and it may be the *Hebrews* had Acrostick Verses, whose first Part to the Place where the Verse breaks off, began with a Letter of the Alphabet; and the second Part of the same Verse, after the breaking off, began with the next Letter, according to the Order of the Alphabet; and this Notion seems to me to be the more just, because the Sense is suspended where the Verse breaks off, and is not completed before the End of the second Part of the Verse: But wherever the Verse is supposed to end, I am very well assured that no regular and settled Rymes can be found, from whence a Man may, with the least colour of Reason, infer, that the Poetry of the antient *Hebrews* was in Ryme.

After having examined these several Opinions, it remains now that I give my own Sentiments of the Matter under Consideration. I take the Essence and Soul of Poetry to consist in a lively, animated, affecting Manner of Discourse, enriched with bold and surprizing Figures. I am of Opinion, that the Art of versifying alone no more makes the Poet, than the Numbers and Measures make the Poetry. The Antients tell us, that *Plato*, *Florus*, and other Authors, composed Poetical Works in Prose; and *Horace* says of himself, that his Verses come nearer Prose than Verse; and *Quintilian* thought *Lucan* ought rather to be ranked among the Orators than the Poets.

Poetry may be distinguish'd into two sorts, natural and artificial. Natural Poetry is as old as the first Man. Cool Reason and Judgment

The Author's
Opinion of this
Matter.

Two sorts of
Poetry, natu-
ral and arti-
ficial.

Judgment speak in direct and plain Terms, but Passion breaks out with Life and Spirit. Vehemence of Expressions, daring Figures, and Elevation of Thoughts, in proportion to the Grandeur and Quality of the Subject, make up what I call natural Poetry, which gave Being to methodical and artificial Poetry. This last paints the Passions and Sentiments in a strong and pathetic manner, and this is common to it with natural Poetry; but then it represents them in select studied Terms, confined to a certain Measure and Cadence, and this distinguishes it from natural Poetry: So that it may be said, artificial Poetry is the Art of painting the Passions with Study and Attention, but natural Poetry expresses them without any Art or Reflection.

Their Difference.

Each Nation, each Country, each Temper or Constitution, each Passion has its natural Rhetorick and Poetry. Indignation, Anger, Joy, Grief, Hatred, and Love always break forth with Energy and Force; Art and Reflection come not in till all is over. Nature furnishes Art with all her Materials, and lays the Foundations of all her Improvements. As Poetry and Musick were inseparable among the Antients, who knew no Poet that was not at the same time Musician too, and who called making Verses, singing, and Verses, Songs; what has been said of Poetry may likewise be applied to Musick. There is a natural Musick which preceded and gave birth to the artificial: Both tend to the same end, namely, to express the Sentiments of the Poet in such Sounds and Terms, as have a Correspondence to what he feels within himself, and would inspire others with.

Some Remains of the antient natural Poetry.

We may observe, long before the time of *Moses*, some Remains of the antient natural Poetry in *Lamech's* Discourse to his two Wives (a), in *Noah's* blessing *Shem* and *Japheth*, and cursing *Canaan* (b); in *Jacob's* last Words to his Sons upon his Death-Bed (c); in the Book of *Job*, supposing it to have been written before *Moses* lived. All these Things are poetical, and are so many Proofs of the Antiquity of this natural Poetry I am speaking of, which consisted altogether in the Style, and not at all in the Measure of the Syllables. The whole was nothing else but figurative, sublime, and sententious Expressions, wherein they generally affected a kind of Repetition of the same

- (a) Gen. iv. 23, 24.
(b) Gen. ix. 25, 26, 27.
(c) Gen. lxi.

thing

thing in different Terms, in the two Parts of the same Sentence, and sometimes we find a sort of Ryme and Cadence, which are so obvious and remarkable, that we need not be at much pains to discover them.

This was the Nature of the Poetry of the Antients before the Invention of artificial and methodical Poetry was found out. The *Greeks*, even after the Times of *Hesiod* and *Homer*, had not entirely lost the Notion and Use of natural Poetry. *Demosthenes* (a) very rightly distinguishes the Poets who observed the Rules of Art, from those who writ what they call *Adomenna*, or Songs. *Diogenes Laertius* (b) calls by the same Name the *Sayings* he attributes to the Wise men of *Greece*; and *Cassaubon* makes no doubt but that they were Remains of the antient Poetry in use before *Homer*. *St. Clement* of (c) *Alexandria* compares the *Hebrew* Psalms, as to the Measure and Style, to certain Hymns termed *Scolia* among the *Greeks*, which they were wont to sing at their Feasts. They were loose and irregular Verses, wherein, without having any regard to the Measure of the Feet, and Quantity of the Syllables, they expressed their Thoughts in a lively and concise manner. There are Instances in *Athenaus* (d) of this free and unconfined way of writing; but, in process of Time, they made use of greater Art, and a more regular Method.

Such, in my Opinion, was the Poetry of the antient *Hebrews*, *The Nature of the Hebrew Poetry*. without Art or Study they imitated Nature, and expressed her Motions and Sentiments. They spoke and wrote in a so much more enlivened and emphatical manner, as their Thoughts were not suffered to grow cool by Reflection and Study. In all their Ways of Discourse, in their Poems, their Narratives, their Invectives, their Exhortations, their Instructions, their Hymns, you meet with nothing that is far-fetched or affected; which is the Reason of their being so animated, so moving, so natural, so beautiful.

It does not appear that the Poetry of the *Hebrews* ever underwent any Change: We find it the same in the time of *David*, of *Isaiab*, of *Jeremiab*, and of *Daniel* as it was in the time of *Moses*. *It was always the same.*

- (a) Agud. Casaub. in Laert. l. 1.
(b) Diog. Laert. in Vit. sept. Sapient.
(c) Clem. Alex. Pedag. l. 2.
(d) Athenaus, l. 10. c. 14. Dipnosoph.

time

time of *Moses*; and the Hymns or Songs in the New Testament are of the same nature with those in the Old. Is it possible that a methodical and artificial Poetry should be thus of the same Style and Nature, should keep exactly to the same manner of writing, and to the same Rules, without any Additions or Diminutions, for the Space of above a thousand Years?

No artificial
Poetry when
Moses writ.

When *Moses* writ, most certainly there was then no Poetry reduced to the Rules of Art in any Part of the World that we know of. The *Chaldeans* and *Egyptians*, the most antient Nations among whom Literature was cultivated, don't seem to have had the least Knowledge of a Poetry confined to a certain Number of Feet, and a certain Quantity of long or short Syllables, or that consisted of uniform and regular Rymes.

The most an-
cient Verses of
the Eastern
Writers.

As to the Business of Verses, the most antient we have of the *Eastern* Writers came from the *Arabians*. Some of their Poets lived before *Mahomet*, and are like those of the present Age as to Rymes; they make no Distinction between long and short Syllables. It is reported that *Harmonius*, the Son of *Bardejanus*, in the second Century of the Church, composed musical Airs and Verses in the *Syriack* Tongue, in imitation of the *Greeks*. But what is all this to our purpose? how modern are these things when compared to the Time of *Moses*? The *Greeks* have no Poem of an older Date than those of *Homer* and *Hesiod* who lived above six hundred Years after *Moses*? What Man therefore, when he considers these things, can believe that the Lawgiver of the *Hebrews*, that *Job*, that *David* observed the Rules of an artificial and methodical Poetry, or that the Art of Poetry was arrived to Perfection among the *Hebrews* so many Ages before any other Nation had the least Intimation of any such thing?

Had the Poetry of the Hebrews been artificial, it would be as visible now as heretofore.

Besides, Had the Poetry of the Antient *Hebrews* been reduced to any Rules of Art, would these Rules be intirely unknown, now that the Oriental Languages are so thoroughly and successfully studied? If there were Heroic Verses in *Moses*, in *Job*, and in the Psalter, would they not be as visible to us at present, as they were to those Authors who fancied they saw them there heretofore? If these Verses had any Uniformity, or Regularity in their Measures, in their Forms, and in their Cadences, is it possible that no Man shou'd have had the least Glimpse of them to this very day? Would the Authors of these
Sacred

Sacred Poets never have made use of any Term of Art? Would not some or other have prefix'd before the Psalm or Hymn he had compos'd, the Measure of the Verses, as we find they frequently give us the Name of the Musician by whom it was to be sung, or the Instrument on which it was to be play'd?

The Manner in which the Songs or Hymns of Scripture were composed, affords another good Proof against their Opinion, who hold, that they were made according to Art and the Rules of a methodical Poesy. These Songs, for the most part, were extemporary Productions, and the sudden Effects of a divine and supernatural Impulse. Now a Piece of artificial Poetry is incapable of being produced thus on a sudden without any Pre-meditation; and the divine Impulse, or Inspiration, allows no time to reflect on the Rules of Art.

Other Proofs
against the
Hebrew Poetry's being
artificial.

Your common Poets, in order to compose, stand in need of a certain Fire of Imagination, which they term Rapture; but this Fire or Heat of Fancy furnishes only the Thoughts and Flights, it is the Business of Art to range and dispose the Words, and this Disposition is made at leisure, and with Deliberation. But we find not the least Footsteps of this artful ranging of the Words in the Sacred Writers; they speak all on a sudden, and in the midst of Hurry and Tumult. *Moses* immediately, upon the Passage thro' the Red-Sea, breaks out into the Song that gave Occasion to our present Inquiries. *David* composed several of his Psalms in the midst of the greatest Straits and Difficulties, and in Circumstances wherein it would have been a very hard matter for him to have been Master of so much Presence of Mind, as the Attention to the Rules of an artificial Poetry requires.

The Hymns or Songs, I am speaking of, were many times composed by Women or illiterate Men, whose Tongues were made use of but as mere Instruments or Organs by the Spirit of God. Will any one say, that such Persons commenced Poets on a sudden, and uttered Poems in Ryme, or made according to the Rules of the Art of Poetry? *Anna*, the Mother of *Samuel*, *Deborah*, *Judith*, *Tobias*, the Blessed Virgin, *Zacharias*, *Simeon* composed their Songs extempore, without any Pre-meditation or Study: Their Poetry therefore, considered itself, was entirely natural, tho' with respect to the Spirit of God, who was the Author of it, it was of a supernatural Order,
infinitely

infinitely above all humane Art or Contrivance. Let them show us wherein the Difference lies between the Hymns or Songs composed by these Persons, who never applied themselves to Learning, and those of *Moses, David, Isaiah*, who were all Men of Letters, and could not have been ignorant of the Rules of Poetry, supposing there had been any such in their Times: But if they can find no manner of Difference or Distinction between these several Poems, as to their Form or Art, they must be forced to own that the Poetry was purely natural; for the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost causes no Change in the natural or acquired Habits of those who are inspired. Their Minds are raised, illuminated, enlivened: But as he, who was eloquent before he was inspired, maintains the same Character after his Inspiration; so those, whose Understandings were less cultivated and improved, become not afterwards more knowing in *Sciences* purely human, as is the Art of Poetry.

But as for the Style, and those enliven'd, surprizing, figurative, and sublime Expressions to be met with in the Hymns and Songs of Scripture, it is no difficult Matter for Persons, without any previous Study or Art, but transported with a Divine Impulse, to break out into Poetical Forms of Speech. As this Style was very agreeable to the Genius of the *Eastern* People, and a way of Expression they naturally affected, it is the less to be wondered at, that they should on a sudden, without any Pre-meditation, express themselves in this manner, and continue to do so for so many Ages together.

Poetry, confined to Method and Rules, must needs be cramp'd and fetter'd; and the unavoidable Necessity one lies under of transposing the Words, in order to come at the Measures of the Verses, obliges one to stuff a Poem with *Epithets*, and obsolete Terms and Phrases: Very often we must give the Thought an affected Turn, especially when we write in haste, and without taking a great deal of Time and Pains. Now, in the Verses of the *Hebrews*, we observe none of these Transpositions, nay their Language will not bear them, we don't find that Number of *Epithets* to spin out the Verse, nor those affected Turns, which, for the sake of the Measure, are necessarily made use of in artificial Poetry, and in the Poems of the *Greeks* and *Latins*. If we meet with some Terms that are not so commonly used, it is because the animated, sublime, and pathetic

the Poets of the *Psalms* and Hymns require uncommon and pompous Expressions. These give a Majesty and Weight to the Discourse, and perhaps were designed likewise to facilitate the Pronunciation and Singing, and to make the Verses run the smoother, rather than upon account of the Feet or Measures.

Had the Poetry of the *Hebrews* been like that of the *Greeks*, they would not have fail'd of taking notice of the Art of it, and laying down its Rules and Methods. It is not probable that they would have entirely neglected an Invention of such Importance, or that no one, either out of Curiosity, or Interest, or Inclination, should ever take it in his head to write upon this Subject, and make a Collection of the Rules and Precepts of the Art of Poetry. But we don't find one single Word in the Language of the *Hebrews*, or in their whole History, which so much as intimates to us, that there ever were any professed Poets among them: Not but that they writ Songs or Hymns a long while after the Art of Poetry was invented in *Greece*. These Songs don't seem at all to differ from those of *Moses* and *David*; both the one and the other were composed in order to be sung, as was all the Poetry of the antient *Greeks* and *Latins*: but with this Difference, that among these last the Air or Tune of the Verses was fixed and ascertained by their Measure and Cadence, whereas among the *Hebrews* almost all the Songs might be sung to all sorts of Tunes; as in Church-Musick different *Psalms* are sung to the same Tune is judged most proper. The Manner in which the *Jews* sing and read the Holy Bible in their Synagogue, is no modern Invention, since the musical Accents in the Text, which show when the Voice in singing is to be raised or fallen, are themselves of very great Antiquity; and the steady Adherence of the *Jews* to Ceremonies and Practices so little troublesome as this, is a farther Reason to induce us to believe, that their Manner of Singing came to them from the Antients. And as their Musick is applicable not only to the Verses of an artificial Poesy, but likewise to Poems composed without any Rules of Art, and even to mere Prose, it plainly shows, that nothing can be inferred in favour of Ryme or Measure in the Verses of the *Hebrews*, from their being sung before at religious Festivals, or Times of publick Rejoicing.

It

DISSERTATION

It is then very credible, that the Poetry of the Hebrews, confided wholly in the Grandeur, Nobility, and Sublimity of the Thoughts and Style, in the Figures, in lively and pathetic Expressions, in the manner of Discourse, in a Turn more sublime, more expressive, more proper to paint the Images of Things before our Eyes, than the common Poets of that Age, that their Poems were the Productions of a happy Genius, animated and inspired by the Spirit of God, which being assisted by the Divine Impulse, above the Constraint of the Rules of methodical Poetry, expressed its Thoughts and Sentiments in a sublime and poetical manner. The Hebrews were not fond of Novelty, nor were they of France & Italy as the Greeks and Romans: but satisfied with their ancient Poetry, and Music, which was grave, solemn, affecting, agreeable, and made use of but in religious Matins, they took no Pains to polish and refine them.

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DISSERTATION

Concerning the

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

OF THE

HEBREW S.

ST. Chrysostom and Theodoret (a) observe, That it was purely out of Condescension, that God permitted the *Hebrews* to make use of Music and the Sound of Instruments in his Temple. He ordained nothing about these Matters in the *Law*, and it was a long time before they were brought into the *Tabernacle*. *David* was the Man who first established them, and introduced into the Worship of the Lord, Singers, and Players on Instruments: This he did

(a) Chrys. & Theodor. in Psal. CL.
chap. i

for the sake of a heavy flegmatick People, whose Devotion he was willing to enliven, and in whom he was desirous of inspiring a Love and Veneration for the Holy Ceremonies, in order to prevent their falling into Idolatrous and Superstitious Practices. The *Christian Church*, in her Primitive Age, whilst the Warmth and Fervor of Devotion was at the highest, had neither Musick nor Instruments in her Assemblies, and perhaps never would have had Any, had it not been for the Weakness and Infirmities of the Faithful, who stand in need of some external Aids to keep up the Fire of their Devotion, and to raise their Hearts and Minds to God.

But by how much the Pomp of Musick and the Sound of Instruments is inferior to the true Worship, and that high Degree of Purity, God requires at the hands of his Servants; by so much does it excel the *Legal Ceremonies* and Bloody Sacrifices. The wisest and most holy Persons under the *Law*, were of opinion, that a Design so pious and useful deserv'd their Notice and Application; and the re-establishing Musick in the Temple, was look'd upon as one of the Principal Articles of the Reformation of the Worship of God. How often has the Lord declared his Preference of the Sacred Hymns, and the Sacrifices of Praise, before the Blood of Bulls or Goats? *Whoso offereth me Thanks and Praise, he honoureth me* (b). And how often have the Prophets exhorted the People to render unto God the Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving, instead of Burnt Offerings, and the Fat of Lambs? But, at the same time, they have taken particular care to let them know, that Righteousness and Holiness were the Life and Soul of their Musick and Praise, and that without Purity and Innocency of Life, their Songs, Their Instruments, were an Abomination to God. *Take thou away from me the Noise of thy Song, I will not hear the Melody of thy Viols. But let Judgement come down at Waters, and Righteousness as a mighty Stream.*

After having, in the foregoing Dissertation, spoken of the Musick of the *Ancient Hebrews*, my Design in this, is, To

(b) Psal. l. 23.

(c) Amos v. 23, 24.

inquire into the Nature of their Musical Instruments. It is somewhat strange, that a Point of Criticism so Excellent and Curious, and of such Importance, should have been hitherto neglected to so great a degree. Interpreters and Commentators, for the most part, without giving themselves the trouble of examining Matters to the bottom, content themselves with saying, that the Knowledge of the Musical Instruments of the *Hebrews* is entirely lost; and that it is impossible, at this Distance of Time, to draw Them out of that Obscurity under which they lie, as it were, buried. But however, thus much at least is in our power to do, to make appear, that the greatest part of the *Terms* put off upon us as signifying several Sorts of Instruments, mean Nothing less; and that those *Terms* which really denote Musical Instruments, are not perhaps so unknown as is given out. In fine, supposing we can't come at a distinct Knowledge of the Meaning of the *Hebrew Words*, may we not be able to give a clear Notion of Those made use of in the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate*? and is it an inconsiderable Thing in the History of a curious and exact Reader, to have a just and precise Idea of what is meant by the *Psalterium*, the *Tympanum*, the *Nablum*, the *Sistrum*, the *Cythara*, and the *Lyra* of the *Ancients*? If I do not proceed so far as to discover the Nature of all the Instruments of the *Hebrews*, I spare myself at least I shall make known some of Them, give very plausible Conjectures concerning the rest, and clear up abundance of obscure Passages, by my Remarks upon the Instruments of the *Ancients*.

Bartolocci, part 2. page 134. of his *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, has given us a pretty long Dissertation concerning the Musical Instruments of the *Hebrews*. He observes, that *Mishmor*, which signifies a Song or Psalm, is derived from the *Hebrew Zamar*, to cut; because, as he supposes, the ancient *Hebrews* did, as the *Arabians* do at this day, cut short, and break off suddenly their Singing, and then begin again All together, after having made a considerable Pause. The *Hebrews* distinguish their Trumpets, *Tuba's*, from their Horns, *Bucchin's*; and they say, that the Trumpets

in the second Temple were changed into Horns, because the Horns are not so costly and magnificent as the Trumpets.

The *Rabbins* say that they never made use of less than two *Nabes* in the Temple, nor more than six; they affirm that this Instrument was like the *Deka* Δ of the *Greeks*.

The *Shalims* were Instruments with three Horns, according to the *Jews*. It was used both upon joyful and mournful Occasions; in the Temple, and in private Houses. They were a kind of Flutes. See *Matt.* c. xi. v. 17. & c. ix. v. 23.

The Instrument called *Abub*, was made use of in the Temple of *Solomon*. It was, say the *Rabbins*, a small smooth Instrument, consisting of a Pipe made of a Reed; *Solomon* finding it too plain and simple, had it covered over with Gold; but by that means it lost a good part of its Harmony: The Gold was therefore taken off again, and the Instrument regain'd its former Sound. Other *Rabbins* are of opinion, that *Abub* was only the Stick with which they did beat the *Tympanum* in the Temple.

Magrepba was, according to some, an Instrument like our Organ, composed of ten Pipes, each of which had ten Holes, and each Hole gave a particular Sound; they pretend it had a thousand different Notes. Others say that *Magrepba* signifies a Broom, with which they swept the Ashes of the Burnt Offerings of the Altar.

This is the Substance of the Dissertation of that Learned Man, and the little Information he gives us of the Nature of the Musical Instruments of the *Hebrews*, is a sufficient Proof of the great Ignorance of the *Jewish* Writers themselves in these Matters. But, to proceed:

In the first place, it will be necessary to observe, that, seeing the Musical Instruments of the *Greeks* and *Latins* came to them from the *East*; they had doubtless a very great Resemblance to those of the *Hebrews*, which were the same with the Instruments of the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, *Phœnicians*, and *Syrians*. It is not therefore an impossible thing to trace out the Fountain-Head by the Streams, and to discover, in a great measure, the Form and Uses of the Instruments of the *Jews*, and other *Eastern* Nations, by those of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. The *Greeks*, a vain-glorious boast-

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ing People, pretended that the greatest part of their Musical Instruments were the Invention of their Gods, or their ancient Poets. They seldom represented *Apollo*, *Minerva*, *Mercurius*, and *Pan*, without some Musical Instrument in their Hands. But this false Pretension of theirs, is sufficiently contradicted by the Holy Scriptures themselves. Religion, the Gods, Musick, Poetry, owe not their Original to *Greece*, but are the Growth of a far more distant Soil. The *Latins* are more sincere and ingenuous; they acknowledge they receiv'd their Musical Instruments from the *East*. *Juvenal* says (d),

*Iam pridem Syrus in Tyberim defluxit Orontes,
Et Linguam, & Mores, & cum Tibicine Chordas
Obliquas, nec non gentilia Tympana secum
Vexit —*

Livy observes, (e) that it was not till after the Wars with *Aniobus the Great*, that such Numbers of Women who sung and play'd on Instruments, were to be seen at *Rome*, or that the *Romans* diverted themselves at their Banquets with Conforts of Musick.

The *Greeks* themselves, for all their Boldness in confidently asserting Untruths, are often fain to have recourse elsewhere for the true Original of their Instruments. One while they fetch them from *Phrygia*, or *Lydia*; another while from *Asia*, or *Egypt*, or *Persia*, as we shall see hereafter. As for the *Hebrews*, they had them from the *Chaldeans*, from whom they were descended; and from the *Egyptians*, among whom they sojourn'd for so many Ages; and from the *Phœnicians*, and other Nations of *Arabia*; to whom, by the Situation of their Country, they were near Neighbours. They never assumed to themselves the Honour of inventing them; but however, they can't be deny'd that of having brought them to great Perfection, and of having put them to a very

(d) *Juvenal. Satyr. III.*

(e) *Tit. Liv. lib. 39. Tunc Plautia, Sambucifera, & Convivialis ludiorum oblectamenta addita epulis.*

laudable

laudable and holy Use, the celebrating the Praises of the true God; a Privilege which distinguishes them from all other Nations, among whom Musick was indeed made use of in their religious Ceremonies, but never with so much Diligence and Application, so much Pomp and Magnificence, as among the Jews.

If we might believe the Rabbins, and the greatest Part of the Commentators, we should be obliged to acknowledge among the Hebrews a far greater Number of Instruments, than were ever known among any other Nation. According to their Reckoning, there are no less than thirty-four, but I shall immediately, at first dash, cut off fourteen of that Number; the Names whereof are as follows:

Neghinoth.

I. *Neghinoth* (f), render'd by the Seventy, *Hymns*; and in the Vulgate, *Songs*. The literal Meaning of the Hebrew Word is, *the Women who play on Instruments*; or, *the Pieces that are play'd on Instruments*. In comparing together all the Passages where this Term is used, I can find but these two Significations: for instance, *Job xxx. 9. (g) And now am I their Song, Neghinath.* And in *Psal. lxx. 12. I was the Song of the Drunkards.* And in the Titles of several of the Psalms, *To the Chief Musician, upon Neghinath*; or, (h) *To the Chief set over the Woman who play on Instruments.*

Hannebiloth.

II. *Hannebiloth* is translated in the Septuagint and Vulgate, by, (i) *She who has gotten the Inhabitant*. The modern Commentators, for the most part, take it for some Musical Instrument, derived from a Root which signifies to *love*, and to *play on the Flute*; so that the proper Signification of *Nebiloth* would be, *a Flute*; or, in general, *a Wind Instrument*: but I understand it of *Dances*, or *Chorus's of Dancing Women*; in the same manner as *Mahaloth*, which we find placed over the LIII and LXXVIII Psalms, and is derived from the same Verb: The Chaldee Paraphrast un-

(f) נגינת 70. Travo. Vulg. Canticum. We seem to suppose it some Musical Instrument in our English Bible, as well as most of the other Terms.

(g) נגנתם על הנבלים - Ita & Jer. Lamen. III. 14. & 69.

(h) Psal. lxx. נגנת על הנבלים

(i) Psal. v. הנבלים 70. Tris. της κληρονομίας.

der.

derstands it in this Sense; and *Halab* properly signifies to dance.

III. *Hasheminith* (k), *The Eighth*. This they would have *Hasheminith* likewise meant of an Eight-string'd Instrument. But in the *Chronicles* we find, the Eighth Band of Musicians, which, in all Appearance, is the same with this here, call'd by the Name of *Sheminith*. *Mattithiah*, and *Elipheleh* and others play'd upon the Kinnors, or Harps, and presid'd over the Eighth, in the Hebrew, *Al-Hasheminith* (l).

IV. *Shiggajon* (m), which the Seventy have render'd simply, a Psalm of David, and others (n), *Pro ignoratione David, for David's Sin of Ignorance*, means rather, *a consolatory Song in his Affliction*; as much as to say, *Tristitia*, or an *Elegy*. See what I have said upon Psalm the viiith, and the Title of the third Chapter of *Habakkuk*, where we find, *Shiggajonoth*, which is derived from the same Original as *Shiggajon*. There are at this Time among the Turks, Women who dance and play on Musical Instruments, whom they call *Tschingines* (o).

V. *Gittith* (p), which the Seventy have translated, *Wine-Presses*, as if it had been *Gittoth*, instead of *Gittith*. This last Term signifies, *of or from Gath*. There is not the least Proof of its being understood of a Musical Instrument; and the Construction of the Hebrew seems to imply, that the Psalms with this Title, were address'd to the President of the *Gathian* Band; either because David had in his Court a Band of *Women-Musicians* from the City of *Gath*, as he had a Company in his Guards from the same Place, or because this Name was given to the *Israelitish* Singing-Women, for Reasons unknown to us. I have made appear in my Dissertation on the Musick of the Hebrews, that there

(k) Psal. vi. אל השמינית 70. Tris. της ογδοης. Vulg. Pro Ocho.

(l) Chron. xv. 21. בנגינת אל השמינית Our English Translation of this Place is thus, With Harps on the Sheminith to excel, which according to Calmet should be With Harps to preside over the Sheminith, or Eighth Band of Musicians.

(m) Psal. vii. שגיגון 70. Tris. της σιγης.

(n) Alii apud Chryf. Tris. της αγνοιας το David; alius, Tris. της αγνοιας David.

(o) Thevenot's Voyage, Chap. 41. and 42. Tris. της χορευσης.

(p) Psal. viii. גיתית 70. Tris. της ληνου. Vid. Psal. LXXXI. LXXXIV.

were

were not only Companies of Women Musicians belonging to the Court, but also to the Temple.

Almorb. VII. *Almorb*, or *Alamot*, or *Hal-morb* is render'd in the *Septuagint* (q), by *hidden Things*; and in the *Chaldee*, *Sr. Jerom.* and *Symmachus*, upon the *Death of the Son*. I have largely shewn in the Beginning of the Ninth Psalm, that this Term signifies, *Young Damsels*. The same Word occurs in the *Chronicles* in this Sense (r). There is no manner of Reason to understand it of a Musical Instrument.

Michtam. VIII. *Michtam*, which the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* (s) have render'd by, *An Inscription upon a Column*; and *Aquila*, *Symmachus* and *St. Jerome* (t), *A Psalm of humble and upright David*, signifies, *A Psalm inscrib'd with the Name of David*, i. e. a Psalm attributed to that Holy Prince. For Proof of this, you may see what I have said upon the xvi, lvii, lviii, lix, lx, lxi Psalms. Those who will have it, to mean a Musical Instrument, only seek to hide their Ignorance and Laziness under that Cover.

Ajeleth Hashabar. VIII. *Ajeleth Hashabar* (u) is translated by the *Septuagint*, *The Assistance of the Morning*; and by the greatest Part of Commentators, *The Hind of the Morning*, or, of *Aurora*. This is likewise the Name of a Company of Men or Women Musicians. The Construction of the *Hebrew Text* is a sufficient Proof of it; tho' it must be own'd that the Reason of this Name is entirely unknown to us.

Sboshannim. IX. *Sboshannim*, which is render'd in the *Vulgate*, and *Septuagint* (w) by, *Those who shall be changed*: In *St. Jerom.* and *Aquila* (x): *Upon the Lillies*; and in *Symma-*

(q) Psal. ix. למנצח על מוח. ὁ τῶν κρυφίων.
 (r) 1 Chron. xv. 18, 20. בנבליים על עולםוח.
 (s) Psal. xvi. מלחם לרוד. Συνογραφία. Vulg. Tituli Inscriptio.
 (t) Aquila. Ταπεινός, καὶ ἀμωμὸς. Sym. Ταπεινός, καὶ ἀμωμὸς, Hieronym. Humilis & Simplicis David.
 (u) Psal. xxii. על אילת השחר. ὁ τῆς ἀνιούσας τῆς ἡμέρας. Vulg. Pro Suseptione Matutina.
 (w) Psal. xlv. למנצח על ששנים לבני קרח. ὁ τῶν ἀλλοιωθησάντων. Vulg. Pro his qui commutabuntur.
 (x) Aquil. Ἐπὶ τῶν κρίνων. Jerom. pro Liliis.

cbus,

cbus (y) concerning the Flowers, is understood by most of the modern Commentators, of an Instrument with six Strings. We may translate the Hebrew of the whole Title over Psalm xlv. where this Term first occurs, in this Manner: *A Psalm of Instruction, address'd to the President of the Musick of the Sons of Korah, to be sung upon the Instrument with six Strings. A Song of the Well-beloved.* Or rather, *A Psalm of Instruction, address'd to the Chief of the Musick of the Sons of Korah, who presides over the Rejoicings, &c.* Accordingly this Psalm is a Nuptial Song, a Song of Mirth and Joy. All the other Psalms (z), which have the same Title, are upon the like Subjects; *Sboshannim* cannot without some straining be deduced from *Sheesh*, six: It undoubtedly signifies *Rejoicings*; and the Construction of the Hebrew naturally points out, a Company of young People rejoicing as at a Wedding, or Persons singing upon the like Occasion. The Text says expressly, it is a Song of the *Well-beloved*, that is, an *Epithalamium*, sung by the young Damsels, who assisted at the Nuptials.

X. *Mabalath*, or *Maeleth*, as it is read in the *Septuagint* *Mabalath*. (a) and *Vulgate*, signifies properly Dancing. This Psalm therefore was address'd to the Chief of the Musick, who presided over those religious Dancings, so often mentioned in Scripture: For Example, after the Passage thro' the Red-Sea (b), the Dances of the young Virgins that came to the Tabernacle at *Shiloh* (c), and *Those* after *David* had overcome *Goliath* (d); at *Solomon's* coming to the Crown (e); the *Chorus's* of young Damsels, who danced at the Ceremony of bringing again the Ark to *Jerusalem* (f).

(y) Sym. ὁ τῶν ἀνθῶν.
 (z) See Psalm. lx. lxi. lxxx.
 (a) Psalm liii. למנצח על מחלת. ὁ τῶν Μαλεθῶν. Vulg. pro Maeleth.
 (b) Exod. xv. 20.
 (c) Judges xxi. 21.
 (d) 1 Sam. xviii. 6.
 (e) 1 Kings i. 40.
 (f) Psal. lxxviii. 25.

[K]

XI. 70.

Of the Musical Instruments Book I.

XI. *Jonath-Elem rebokim*, rendered by the *Seventy* (g), *For the People removed at a Distance from the Sanctuary*: And by most others (h). Upon the silent Dove remov'd afar off, signifies, according to several modern Interpreters, a Musical Instrument. But I find nothing, either in the Original Text, or in all those Passages of Scripture, where mention is made of Instruments, to induce me to be of their Opinion. It is rather a Band of Musicians, so call'd for Reasons we cannot now guess at.

Higgajon.

XII. *Higgajon* is found at Verse the 16th of Psalm ix. and at Verse 14th of Psalm xix. and at Verse 3d of Psalm xcii. the greatest part of the ancient and modern Commentators explain it by Meditation, Reflection, or Song (i). And I believe it to be the true Meaning of this Term, which comes from a Root that signifies to Meditate, or to speak with Consideration. In Psalm xcii. 3. it is join'd with the *Kinnor*, a Musical Instrument (k). And it seems to be the same with the Ten-string'd Instrument: Upon the *Hafur*, or Instrument of Ten Strings, and upon the *Nabal*, upon the *Higgajon*, with the *Kinnor*. This is the only Place that favours the Notion of those, who assert that this Term signifies a Musical Instrument.

Maschil.

XIII. *Maschil* (l) signifies properly, *He that instructs*. I take it when joined to the Term *Mismor*, to denote an instructive Psalm; we find it prefix'd to twelve Psalms (m). In Psalm the xlvii. 7. (n) it seems to signify a Skilful Singer; Sing with Understanding, sing *Maschil*; that is to say, as a knowing and skilful Master.

Al-tashbith.

XIV. *Al-tashbith*, do not destroy, or corrupt. These Words are found over four Psalms (o); it may be, they denote only that they were to be preserved with great Care, with-

(g) Psalm lvi. יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ רָחֵם.

(h) Aquil. ὁ ἀπὸ περιστερῶν ἀλάλα. Hieron. Pro Columbâ mutâ.

(i) דְּהִינִי 70. & Aquil. ὁ ἀπὸ Symmach. Μῆλος.

(k) Psalm xcii. 3. עֲלֵי עֲשׂוֹר וְעֲלֵי נָבֵל עֲלֵי דְהִינִי בַכִּנּוֹר.

(l) Psalm xxxii. מִשְׁכִּיל 70. Παλιός συνίστατος.

(m) Psalm xlii, xliii, xlv, xlv, liii, lxxiv, lxxviii, lxxxix, cxlii.

(n) Psalm xlvii. 7. יָסַד מִשְׁכִּיל.

(o) Psalm lxxvii, lxxvii, lxxvii, lxxvii.

OUT

out any Alterations. I see no Reason to think they signify a Musical Instrument, tho' there are some Interpreters of that Opinion.

Hitherto we have met with no Term that incontestably stands for a Musical Instrument; so that the Number of thirty-four, is reduced to twenty, and of these twenty, which I am now going to examine, we shall find some to be Synonymous Terms, and to mean the same thing, and therefore cannot be reckoned as different Instruments. I shall distinguish them into three Classes. 1. String'd Instruments. 2. Wind-Instruments, or the several Species of Flutes. 3. The different sorts of Drums, Tympana, and Crepitacula.

There are eight stringed Instruments; 1. The *Nable*, Eight Stringed Instruments. 2. The *Kinnor*. 3. The *Hafur*, or Instrument of Ten Strings. 4. The *Cytbara*. 5. The *Psalterium*. 6. The *Symphonia*. 7. The *Sambuca*. 8. The *Minnim*, or *Mnanaim*, the *Magadis*. But the Instrument of Ten Strings, and the *Cytbara*, are undoubtedly the same; as are the *Nable*, and the *Psalterium*. So these eight are reduced to six.

There are Seven Sorts of Wind-Instruments, Trumpets, or Seven sorts of Flutes. 1. *Hazazeroth*. 2. *Shophar*, the Trumpet. 3. *Keren*, Wind-Instruments. the Horn. 4. *Hugab*, the Organ. 5. *Masrokitba*, the Flute. 6. *Mabalath*, Chorus, (this is thought to be the Bag-Pipe;) 7. *Halil*, the Flute. Some join to these *Jobel*, or *Jubal*, pretending it to be the Name of a sort of a Trumpet; but I have refuted this Notion in another Place (p). In all likelihood *Halil* and *Masrokitba* mean the same Thing, and that this last is the same with the Greek *Syrinx*, which signifies a Flute. So that in reality there were but six sorts of Wind-Instruments.

There are four kinds of Instruments, which have no Four other sorts of Instruments. manner of Relation with the foregoing ones. 1. *Tuph*, *Tympanum*, a Drum. 2. *Zalzelim*, a Sistrum, or Cittern. 3. *Shalishim*, a Trigone. 4. *Metilatbaim*, small tinkling Bells.

We don't meet with but seven sorts of Instruments in the Writings of Moses; the *Kinnor*, the *Hugab*, the *Tuph*, the *Mabalath*, the *Hazazeroth*, the *Shophar*, and the *Jobel*. In Samuel, and the Books of the Kings, in the Prophets and

(p) See my Comment. on Levit. xxv. 10.

[K 2]

Chro-

Chronicles, besides these Seven, we find the *Nabelim*, the *Metfilothaim*, the *Menanaim*, and the *Zalzelim*. *Daniel* supplies us with Flutes, or the *Mafrokitha*, the *Cythara*, the *Sambuca*, the *Psalterion* and the *Symphonia*; which are no where else to be found in Scripture. In fine, in the *Psalms* we see almost all of them, except those that are peculiar to *Daniel*, and whose Names are derived from *Greek*. I shall now proceed to the Examination of each of these Instruments.



String'd Instruments.

The Nable,
Fig. I.

THE Nable, or *Nebel*, is an Instrument made of Wood (q). The Scriptures generally join it with the *Kinnor*, the *Tympanum* (r), and the *Metfilothaim* (s); it was made use of in the pompous and solemn Ceremonies of Religion. It appears from three Passages in the *Psalms* (t), that it commonly went with the *Hafur*, or Instrument of Ten Strings: The *Nable* and *Hafur* would seem to be the same, were they not expressly distinguish'd in *Psal.* xcii. *Upon the Hafur, and upon the Nable* (u). This is all the Scripture informs us of this Instrument. The *Seventy* render it generally by *Psalterion*, and sometimes by *Naulum*, or *Nabulum*.

Now the *Nable* of the Antients was a stringed Instrument, as *Sopater*, quoted in *Athenaus*, tells us (w): It was

(q) 1 Kings x. 12. and 2 Chron. ix. 11.

(r) 2 Sam. vi. 5. 1 Chron. xiii. 8.

(s) 1 Chron. xv. 16. and xxv. 1, 6. and 2 Chron. v. 12. Nehem. xii. 17.

(t) *Pfal.* xxxiii. 2. וְכִנּוֹר וְנָבֶל and *Pfal.* cxlv. 9.

(u) *Pfal.* xcii. 3. וְעַל הַחֲפֹרִי וְעַל הַנָּבֶל.

(w) *Athen. lib.* 4. cap. 23. pag. 175.

Οὐτὶ τῶ Σιδωνίᾳ Νάβλα,
Λαρυγιοφάνιος ἐκκεχόρδαται τύπος.
Καὶ ἐν μουσικῇ δὲ θητιῶ Φησὶν,
Νάβλας ἐν ἀβροῖς γραμμῶντων ἐκ εὐμελῆς.
Ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν πλεουσίᾳ ψυχῆς ταγίς,
Ἐμπνν ἀνίσι μῶσαν.

call'd

called *Sidonian*, because the *Phanicians* were, supposed to be the Inventors of it. This Author says, it was a hollow Piece of Wood, placed on one side, and opposite to the Strings, the which rendered a very harmonious Sound. *Eusebius* (x) says likewise, that the *Nable* was a stringed Instrument, as well as the *Cythara*. And *Ovid* tells us, they plaid upon it with both Hands, as we do on our Harp (y):

*Disce etiam duplici genialia Nablia palma
Plectere: conveniunt dulcibus illa modis.*

In fine, the *Seventy*, who commonly translate *Nebel* by *Psalterion*, took it for a stringed Instrument of very near the same Shape with the Harp. The *Psalterion*, as St. *Jerom* (z), *Cassiodorus* (a), and St. *Isidorus* affirm, was like a *Delta* Δ, having its hollow Part above: the Strings are stretch'd from the Top to the Bottom; it is plaid upon below, and the Sound comes from Above; whereas the hollow Part of the *Cythara* is at the Bottom, and they play upon it at the Top. This is what St. *Augustin* (b), St. *Basil* (c), St. *Jerom* (d), *Cassiodorus* (e), and St. *Hilary* (f) inform us. *Cassiodorus* says, that the *Psalterion* is plaid upon with a Bow; and this does not at all contradict what we just now read in *Ovid*, who tells us, that the *Nable* was plaid upon with both the Hands; for the same Instruments might be plaid upon with a Bow, or a Quill, or the Fingers.

Josephus (g) says, the *Nables* belonging to the Temple at *Jerusalem* were made of *Electrum*, a very precious sort of Metal. This perhaps might be true of *Those* in his

(x) *Euseb.* in *Pfal.* xxx. 1.

(y) *Ovid.* l. 3. de Arte.

(z) *Jeronymia* in *Pfal.* xxxi. & ult.

(a) *Cassiod.* Prefat. in *Pfal.*

(b) *Aug.* in *Pfal.* xxxii.

(c) *Basil.* in *Pfal.* 1.

(d) *Jerom.* in *Pfal.* cxlix. & cl.

(e) *Cassiodor.* in *Mat.* in *Pfal.*

(f) *Hilar.* in *Pfal.* Proleg.

(g) *Joseph.* Antiq. l. 8. c. 2. Νάβλαι καὶ Κιννύραι ἐκ ἤλεκτρος κατεσκευάσθη.

Time;

Time; but we read expressly in the *Kings* (b), and *Chronicles* (i), that *Solomon* made them of the Wood of *Almugim*. *Josephus* says elsewhere (k), that the *Nable* has twelve Strings, and is plaid upon with the Fingers; more Strings might be added in Process of time. As for the *Greeks*, they put on a vast Number. *Juba* (l) asserts, that it was *Alexander* of *Cytherus* who fill'd it full of Strings, and consecrated it as a Master-Piece of his Industry, in the Temple at *Ephesus*. *Athenaus* (m) speaks of another *Psalterion*, called *Lyrôphœnix*, or *Epigonicum*, from the Name of its Inventor, which was afterwards changed into *Psalterion rectum*, termed by *Varro* *Orthopsallicum*, in all Probability because it was plaid upon from the Top to the Bottom, as it stood upright, like the ancient *Nebel*.

The Modern *Psaltery* is plaid upon with a sort of a Bow; that is, a small Rod of Iron or Wood, a little bent. It is a flat Instrument, in the Form of a *Triangle*, or *Trapezium*: It has thirteen Rows of Strings, made of Iron, or Brass Wire, tun'd to an *Unison*, or to an *Octave*, and mounted upon two *Bridges*, placed at the two Sides. These Strings are stretch'd from one side to t'other: Consequently it is very different from the Ancient *Psalterion*, whose Strings were stretch'd from the Top to the Bottom.

The Cythara.
Fig. II.

The Ancient *Cythara*, which is so often mentioned in Scripture, and called by *Daniel Kirros* (n), was, according to all the Fathers, who have given us a Description of it, an Instrument of a Triangular Form, whose Strings were stretched from the Top to the Bottom, and whose hollow Part from whence the Sound proceeded, was at the Bottom: They plaid upon it at the Top, with the Fingers, or with a Bow, as has already been observed. It is the same, in all Appearance, with the Ten-string'd Instrument of the *Hebrews*, called in their Language *Hafur*, as much as to

(b) 1 Kings x. 12.

(i) 2 Chron. ix. 11.

(k) Joseph. Antiq. l. 7. c. 10. 'H δὲ Νάβλα δώδεκα φθόγγοις ἔχουσα τοῖς δακτύλοις κρείται.

(l) Juba apud Athen. l. 4. c. 25.

(m) Athen. loco cit.

(n) Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10.

say,

say, the *Tenth*. I have represented it here with many Strings, like our Harp, tho this be of a more modern Date. The Author of the Commentary upon the *Psalms*, which go under the Name of *St. Jerom*, says, that the *Cythara* has but six Strings; and the Author of the Epistle to *Dardanus*, among the Works of the same Father, gives it twenty-four, and says it is plaid upon with the Fingers. But it is certain that the Number of the Strings was never fixed, and that they plaid sometimes with the Fingers, and sometimes with a kind of Bow.

The *Kinnor* (o) is rendered by the *Seventy*, by *Kinnyra*, ^{The Kinnor.} *Psalterion*, and *Cythara*. It was in use before the Flood (p); ^{Fig. III.} this is the Instrument *David* play'd upon before *Saul* (q). It was made of Wood, like the *Nable* (r) I have just now spoken of. It was the *Kinnor* that the *Babylonian* Captives hung upon the Willows, growing on the Banks of the *Euphrates* (s): The Women play'd upon this Instrument (t). It was very common at *Tyre* (u); and was chiefly design'd for the eighth Band of Musicians belonging to the *Tabernacle* in the time of *David* (w). *Isaiab* seems to insinuate, that it made a melancholy, dull, and hollow Sound (x): *My Bowels* (in my Grief) shall sound like the *Kinnor*. We read in *Hesychius*, that *Kinnyros* in *Greek*, signifies sad and mournful. And *Horace* says (y),

*Nec loquax olim, neque grata : nunc &
Divitum Mensis, & amica Templis.*

Josephus (z) says, that the *Kinnyra* of the Temple had six Strings, and was play'd upon with a Bow. Elsewhere he

(o) כִּנּוֹר Kithara, Ψαλτήριον, Κινύρα.

(p) Gen. iv. 21.

(q) 1 Sam. xvi. 16, 23.

(r) 1 Kings x. 12. and 2 Chron. ix. 11.

(s) Psal. cxxxvii. 2.

(t) Isaiab xxiii. 16.

(u) Ezekiel xxvi. 13. Is. loc. citat.

(w) 1 Chron. xv. 21.

(x) Isaiab xvi. 11.

(y) Hor. l. 3. Ode 11.

(z) Joseph. Antiq. l. VII. c. 10. 'H μὲν Κινύρα δεκα χορδαὶ ἐκκείμενὴ τίσεται τλήρη.

says,

says (a) that Solomon made great Numbers of them of *Electrum*; but in this Particular he contradicts the Scriptures, where it is expressly said, that Solomon's *Kinnyras* were made of Wood. It is evident from the *Maccabees* (b), that the *Kinnyra* and the *Cythara* are not the same, since they are mentioned in the same Place as two different Instruments.

But it is necessary to make here this general Remark with *Euphorion* (c), cited in *Athenaeus*, That the stringed Instruments of the Ancients are very often confounded, and do differ but very little from one another, except in Name only. As they are exceeding ancient, many Alterations have happened to them, which has been the Occasion of their having new Names given them, tho' in the main they have still remain'd the same. Accordingly, when we find that some give them three Strings, some seven, some ten, some twelve, some twenty-four, and that these tell us, they were plaid upon with a Quill or Bow, and those again with the Fingers; or that some inform us, that the Strings were stretch'd from the Top to the Bottom, and others, that they went Cross-ways from one side to t'other; we must not for this Reason immediately conclude that the Instruments are different, and that it is impossible things so unlike should be called by the same Name. Nothing is more common in things of this Nature, than to call them sometimes by a general Name, and at other times to express them by a particular one. Let a Man examine the ancient *Monuments*, and he'll soon see in how many different Manners the *Lyra*, or *Cythara* of the Antients is represented, and by how many different Names it is stiled. We know the *Seventy* have rendred the *Hebrew Kinnor*, by *Kinnyra*, *Cythara*, and *Psalterion*. The same Instrument is called by the *Greeks*, *Kinnyra*, *Lyra*, *Phorminx*, *Cythara*, *Chelys*, *Pectis*, *Barbitos*. The *Romans* have made use of the same Terms, to which they have added *Testudo*. We commonly express it in our Language by *La Lyre Antique*, *The Antient Lyre*.

(a) Idem, l. viii. c. 2.

(b) 1 Maccab. iv. 54. and xiii. 51. Κίθαρας καὶ Κινύρας.

(c) Euphor. apud Athen. l. 14. c. 4. Τὰ πολυχόρδα τῶν ἐργάνων νόμασι μόνον παρελήλασθαι, καμπύλαιον δ' αὐτῶν εἶναι τὴν χρῆσιν.

The

The *Lyra*, as is said, was invented by *Mercury*, or *Apol-* ^{The Lyra invented by} *lo*, or *Orpheus*; or rather *Mercury* having made a Present of his *Lyra* to *Apollo* (d), it was consecrated to this last, and went under his Name. It had at first but three Strings, and afterwards seven (e); it was play'd upon sometimes with a Bow, and sometimes with the Fingers (f).

Sen Chelyn-digitis, & eburno verbere pulsas.

The ancient *Lyra*, invented by *Mercury* (g), was made of a Tortoise-shell which he found by Chance, over the hollow Part whereof he spread a fine thin Skin, and then contrived a *Neck*, by erecting two small Arms which were join'd at the Top, in the Form of a *Gibbet*, by the Neck which went a-cross. Above the Skin which cover'd the Tortoise, was a Reed cut in two, to which were fastened seven Strings that went from the Top to the Bottom. Such was the ancient *Chelys* or *Lyra* of *Mercury*, the which was placed in the Heavens, amongst the *Celestial Signs*, and is represented in almost the Shape of a Tortoise. From this rude and mis-shapen Machine, came (as they say) the *Lyra* we see upon antique *Marbles* and *Medals* in the Hands of *Apollo*, *Hercules*, *Arion*, &c. It consists of two Pieces of Wood like two S's joined above and below. Above it is a plain piece of Wood; but below it is hollow, from whence the Sound of the Instrument proceeds. It may be compared as to its Form, to a flying Insect, called the great *Horn-Beetle*; the two Horns represent the Arms that support the *Neck*, to which the Strings are fastened, and the Body of the *Beetle* is like the hollow part of the *Lyra*. But to have a clear Notion of these things, the best way will be to consult the Cuts of these Instruments, which I have caus'd to be engrav'd just as they are represented in the Antient Monuments. This Instrument is entirely out of use among us.

(d) Servius in *Æneid*. 4.

(e) Diodor. Sicul. l. i. p. 10.

(f) Ovid. ad *Pisones*.

(g) Hymnus in honorem *Mercurii*, inter opera *Homeri*.

[L]

The

The *Lyra* was plaid upon with a Bow, or with the Fingers; *Homer* puts a Bow into the Hand of *Apollo*, playing upon the *Lyra* (b). *Hercules* learning to play upon the *Lyra* of *Linus*, knock'd him down, as the Story goes, with the Bow (i). Upon some ancient *Marbles*, the same *Apollo* is represented sometimes playing with his Fingers, as our *Harpers* do, and sometimes with a Bow. The *Lyra* at first had no more than three Strings (k); afterwards a fourth was added, and at last they made them up Seven. *Timotheus* coming to *Lacedæmonia* about some six hundred Years before the Birth of *Christ*, put on three more. But the *Ephori*, or Magistrates of *Sparta*, fined him for it, and obliged him before the whole Assembly, to take off the three Strings he had added; and then they hung up his *Lyra* in a publick Place, and banished him from *Sparta* (l). The Words of the Decree pronounced against him are very remarkable (m):

WHEREAS *Timotheus* the *Melesian*, upon his Arrival in our City, out of a Contempt of our Antient Way of playing upon Musical Instrumeats, and contrary to the received Usage and Custom of having seven Strings to the *Lyra*, has gone and added a much greater Number, and by that means has corrupted the Ears of our Youth, and changed the Form and Nature of our Musick, which from being simple, plain, and grave, is now become too diversify'd, light and airy: And whereas he is likewise accus'd of spreading pernicious Doctrines in relation to the *Eleusinian Rites* of *Ceres*, and of having represented before the Eyes of young People, the Pains of *Semele* in Travail, after an unbecoming and indecent Manner: It is agreed upon by the King and the *Ephori*, that *Timotheus* be forthwith condemned to cut off all superfluous Strings from his *Lyra*, and to leave no more than seven re-

(b) *Homer*. Hymn. in *Mercur.*

Κίθαριν δὲ λαβὼν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χεῖρ' αὖτε

Λιγὲς ἀγαθὸς υἱὸς ἀναξ' ἑκατέρωσ' Ἀπόλλων

Πλάττωτο ἐπειρήτιζε κατὰ μέλος. —

(i) *Ælian*. lib. 3.

(k) *Diodor*. lib. 1.

(l) Vide *Plutarch*. *Apothegm. Lacon.*

(m) Vide ad finem lib. 1. *Boetii* de Mus. Et apud *Casaub.* in *Athen.* l. 8. c. 11.

maining:

maining: To the end all Persons may be deterred by his Punishment, from introducing into *Sparta* ill Customs and Usages, and to the end the Honour of the Sacred Rites may not be expos'd to Ridicule.

Terpander and *Phrynides*, two other Musicians, met with almost the same Treatment from their Hands. This gave the *Lacedæmonians* occasion to boast, that they had three times sav'd their Musick from Corruption (n). Such was the Severity of that Nation, and their Adherence to antient Usages. *Pindar* (o) every where gives seven Strings to the *Cythara*, as well as *Horace* (p);

Tuque Testudo resonare septem Callida nervis.

Simonides is reported to have added at length the Eighth, and *Timotheus* the Treble, or smallest String (q). See Fig. V. But after all, it was not owing either to Ignorance or Unpoliteness, that the Antients refus'd to admit of a greater Number of Strings to their Instruments; they had a good Taste and Ear, and knew extremely well what was Musical and Harmonious, as *Plutarch* observes (r), but they were bent upon having a masculine, strong, and serious kind of Musick, which was capable of inspiring a Love of Virtue, and a Veneration for the Gods.

What I have been saying, relates only to the Musick of the Greeks; we have reason to believe, that among the Hebrews the Musical Instruments were brought to great Perfection, in the Days of *David* and *Solomon*, and in the succeeding Reigns; and that Care was taken to improve and cultivate all those useful or agreeable Inventions that were found out among other Nations. Upon the Medals struck in the time of *Simon* the High-Priest, we see the ancient *Lyra*, very well represented in the same Form with that in the Hands of *Apollo*. See Fig. VI. But it is a difficult Matter to ob-

(n) Τίς ἤδη συκοφαντοῦν διαφθερομένην τὴν Μουσικὴν.

(o) *Pind.* *Pyt. Od.* 2. Ἀδριανὸν χάριν ἐπ' αὐτῷ φέρουσας. Vid. *Eund.* *Nem.* od. 5.

(p) *Horat.* l. 3. *Od.* 11.

(q) *Plin.* l. 7. c. 56.

(r) *Plut.* de Musica.

[L 2]

serve

serve the exact Number of Strings. From the ancient *Lyra*, or *Kinnor*, are derived the greatest Part of those string'd Instruments we have any Knowledge of; whether they are play'd upon with the Fingers, or with a Bow; whether the Strings are stretch'd Side-ways, or from the Top to the Bottom. As for Instance, the *Lute*, an Instrument consisting of a hollow Body, with a long Neck, to which are fastened the Strings, that are made straiter or slacker by the means of small Pegs placed there. *Fortunatian* attributes the *Lyra* to the *Romans*, and the Harp to the *Barbarians*, intimating that this last was of a Foreign Invention:

Romanusque Lyrâ plaudat tibi, Barbarus Harpâ.

The Violin, the Cymbal, the Base-Viol, are all deriv'd from the same Source. The *Turks* have at this day *Lyra's* of several Sorts (s), but none that have more than eight Strings, others seven, and the least of all Three. These last are very plain, they have a Neck about three Foot long, and are not unlike a Ladle with a square Handle, a little bigger than ordinary. They play upon them with the Fingers, or with a Quill. The hollow Part of the Instrument, whence the Sound comes, is covered over with the Skin of a Fish, called by the modern *Greeks*, *Glanion*. The *Guitar* came from *Spain*, as well as the *Lute*; and both the one and the other are of *Moorish*, or *Arabian* Extraction. The *Guitar* had at first but four Strings, which at present are increased to ten. Its Name is visibly derived from *Cythara*.

Symphonia.
Fig. VII.

The *Symphonia*, considered as a Musical Instrument, is not to be met with in the *Hebrew* Text, but only in the *Chaldee* of *Daniel* (t). It is generally believ'd to be the same with the *Cymbal*, an Instrument the least regarded now-a-days. St. *Isidorus* by the Term *Symphonia*, seems to have understood something else (u), namely, a sort of *Tabor* or *Drum*, which, by being beaten on the sides, render'd a grave and shrill

(t) Bellon. Observat. l. 3. c. 48.

(s) Dan. iii. 5.

(u) Isidor. Orig. l. 3. c. 21.

Sound,

Sound, which form'd an agreeable Mixture to the Ear. But as the Word *Symphonia*, in *Daniel*, was taken from the *Greeks*, it is to them we must have Recourse for its Signification. Now *Symphonia* in *Greek*, signifies a *Symphony*, or Concert of several Voices, or Instruments (w); or rather an Instrument that has several *Tones*; such are the Many-Stringed Instruments, and such is the *Cymbal* just mentioned. See Fig. VIII.

The *Sambuca*, found also in *Daniel*, is likewise to be rec-^{Sambuca.} kon'd among the Stringed Instruments, notwithstanding what Fig. VIII. St. *Isidore* (x) affirms to the contrary; who says, that the Word *Sambuca* comes from the *Elder-Tree*, of which, according to his Opinion, it was at first made. *Athenæus* (y), *Vitruvius* (z), *Festus*, speak of it as of a Stringed Instrument with a shrill Sound; it had generally but four Strings, and was chiefly play'd upon by the Women. St. *Clemens* of *Alexandria* attributes the Invention of it to the *Troglodytes* (a); *Juba* to the *Phœnicians* (b); *Neantbus* of *Cyzicus* to one called *Ibicus* of *Rhegio*; others to *Sambucus* (c). It appears from what *Athenæus* says, that the *Sambuca* was very near the same with the Antient *Magadis*, and *Pectis*, and *Trigonos*, Stringed Instruments, whose Forms, tho' not precisely known, yet cannot be very different from that of the Modern *Psaltery*, only they had not so great a number of Strings. See Fig. VIII. There was likewise a Warlike Engine named *Sambuca*, made use of in Sieges and Sea-Fights; but this is nothing to our present purpose.

The *Minnim*, or *Mnanaim*, which some will have to be^{The Minnim.} Flutes, are to be number'd likewise among the Stringed In- Fig. IX. struments. I shall speak of them hereafter under the Head, which treats of the several Sorts of Flutes.

(w) Ælian. Platonic. Com. in Timæum. Συμφωνία δὲ ἐστὶ δυνάμις ἢ πλειόνων Φθόγγων ἐκτύπησι καὶ βαρύντησι διαφερόμενων κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πλῆθος καὶ κρῆσις.

(x) Isidor. Origin. l. 3.

(y) Athen. l. 14. c. 3. p. 633. ex Ephorione de Isthm. Χρησταὶ δὲ αὐτῇ Πάρθεος, καὶ

Τρογλοδυτῆς τετραχρῶδης ὄντι.

(z) Vitruv. l. 6. c. 1.

(a) Clem. Alex. l. 1. Strom. p. 307.

(b) Juba, l. 4. Hist. Theatr. apud Athen. l. 4. c. 23.

(c) Apud Athen. ibidem.

Wind

Wind-Instruments.

Trumpets.

Trumpets.
Fig. IX.

Shophar.

Proceed now to examine the different Sorts of Wind-Instruments, *Trumpets* and *Flutes*.

Shophar (d) is the general Name made use of by the Hebrews, to express their Trumpets by. They had two Sorts, the one call'd *Chazozeroth*, and the other *Horns*, because made of that Matter, or from their Shape or Form. *Moses*, when he describes the Thunderings and Lightnings at the Promulgation of the Law from Mount *Sinai*, says, *The Voice of the Shophar, or Trumpet, sounded long, and waxed louder and louder* (e). He calls the Instrument which serv'd to give Notice of the Year of *Jubilee*, that is, every fiftieth Year, by the same Name. The Privilege of founding the *Shophar* in Religious Ceremonies, was reserv'd to the Priests alone. There were seven in the Army at the Siege of *Jericho*, at the Sound whereof the Walls of that City fell down to the Ground (f).

There must needs have been great plenty of these Instruments in that Country, since *Gideon* put one in the Hand of every one of the three hundred Men he made choice of, to attack the *Midianites* (g). In the time of War it was the General's Business to blow the Trumpet, or *Shophar*, in order to assemble the Troops, to charge the Enemy, or to sound a Retreat. *Ehud* (h), *Saul* (i), *Joab* (k), perform'd this Office in quality of Generals. *Solomon* (l) and *Jehu* (m) were placed

(d) שופר 70. Σάλπιγξ, or σάλπιγξ κεραιίνη.

(e) Exod. xix. 19. xx. 28.

(f) Joshua vi. 3, 4, &c.

(g) Judges vii. 18, 19, &c.

(h) Judges iii. 27.

(i) 1 Sam. xiii. 3.

(k) 2 Sam. xi. 28. xviii. 16, &c.

(l) 1 Kings i. 34, 39.

(m) 2 Kings ix. 13.

upon

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upon the Throne with the Sound of the *Shophar*: In a word, nothing is more common, than the Mention of this Instrument throughout the Scriptures, in the time of War, in the Solemn Assemblies, upon Festival-days in the Temple, in Treaties and Alliances. But we don't find one Word concerning its Form, or the Matter it was made of.

Chazozeroth is the Name of those Trumpets *Moses* caus'd to be made in the *Wilderness* (n). There were two of Silver, and some others of Copper. They were sound'd to call the People together, when *Moses* had any thing to impart to them from God. They were us'd likewise in War, and upon great and solemn Days, as Days of publick Rejoicing, and when they offer'd their Burnt-Offerings and Peace-Offerings. They are very frequently made use of in Scripture, especially in the Temple. We don't know whether they were Streight or Crooked; the Scriptures say nothing about it, and the Trumpets belonging to other Nations, which we find described in their Writers, afford us no light in this matter, neither are they uniform. I imagine that the *Chazozeroth* were long and streight, in order to distinguish them from the *Horns*, which were crooked and bent.

The *Rabbins* talk moreover of the *Jobel*, which they pretend is to be understood of a *Ram's Horn*: But I have sufficiently confuted this Notion of theirs, in my Commentary on *Leviticus* xxv. 10. The Year of *Jobel*, signifies the Year of *Release* or *Freedom*; because Estates return'd back to their antient Possessors, and they that were in Slavery were set at Liberty.

The several Sorts of Flutes.

THE Hebrews had several Sorts of Flutes, some of a simple, and others of a more compounded Nature. The first were call'd *Halil* (o), as much as to say *bored*, or *Dancers*; for the Root whence *Halil* comes, signifies *to bore*, or to

(n) Numb. x. 2, 8, 9, 10.

(o) חליל Hal. v. 22. חליל חליל See Psal. xxxi. 29. Jer. xlviii. 35.

dance.

dance. We read in the *Hebrew* (p), *Mahalah*, which is generally translated *Chorus*, and is sometimes suppos'd to mean a *Bag-Pipe*, Fig. XII. But I don't find any of those Passages, where this Term occurs, but what may very well be understood of a *Chorus* of Dancing-Women, or rather, of a certain Dance of Women, or young Damsels; for these kind of Dances were very common among the *Hebrews*, even in their Religious Ceremonies (q), and perhaps in the Temple itself. The Psalmist exhorts the *Levites*, and the *Israelites*, in general to praise the Lord in the great Congregation of the Saints, and in his Sanctuary with the *Timbrel* and *Dance*. See Psalm cxlix. 3. cl. 4.

Mafrokithe.

Mafrokithe in *Daniel* (r), is to be understood likewise of a Flute. This Word is derived from a Root, signifying to *Whistle*. It is plainly the same with the Greek *Συριγμός*, *Syrigmos* (s), which comes from *συρίζω*, *Syrizo*, to *whistle* or *play on the Flute*. *Salmasius* upon *Solinus* observes, that the ancient Flutes had not above one or two Holes; for which Reason they generally plaid upon two Flutes at the same time, the one on the right, and the other on the left Side of the Mouth. The Flute on the right Side had but one Hole, and rendered the gravest Sound; *That* on the left Side had two Holes, and its Sound was more shrill. And the playing in this Manner, if the Flutes were not alike, was called, *Tibiis imparibus*; but when the Flutes were both the same, *Tibiis paribus*. If they had each but one Hole, it was termed *Modus Dorius*, which was the gravest of all; but when the Flutes had two Holes a piece, *Modus Phrygius*. *Vossius* is of a contrary Opinion to *Salmasius*: He will have it, that the two Flutes thus play'd upon at the same time, had each three or four Holes, and were exactly of the same Length, but not of the same Bigness. The Sound of the Least was the deepest; and *that* of the Biggest the most shrill. This seems to be a little upon the *Paradox*: but he largely proves his Assertion, and gives

(p) מַחֲלָה Exod. xv. 20. & passim.

(q) Exod. xxxii. 19. Judges xxi. 21. Psalm lxxxvii. 7. cxlix. 3. cl. 4.

(r) Dan. iii. 5.

(s) Athen. l. 14. cap. 9. p. 638.

very

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very good Reasons for it. See his Treatise, *De Poematum Cantu, & Viribus Rhythmi*, pag. 108, 109, &c. Now the Flutes which were applied to the right side of the Mouth were the smallest, as he makes appear from *Pliny*, l. 16. c. 36. and from *Theophrastus's History of Plants*, l. 4. From whence he concludes, that the Flutes on the right Side had a graver Sound than those on the left.

Hugab, which is generally translated in the *Vulgate* by *Hugab*, or *Organum*, an *Organ*, is rendered variously by the *Seventy*; sometimes by *Cythara* (t), or *Psalmus*, and sometimes by *Organum*; Interpreters for the most part take it in this last Sense. However, we must not imagine it was like our Organs. It consisted of several Pipes or Flutes joined together, on which they play'd, by applying the several Pipes one after another to the Under-Lip, as we see daily practis'd at *Paris* by certain People, who go about the Streets. *Moses* tells us, the *Hugab* was invented before the Flood (u). *Job* mentions this Instrument in two Places (w), and the *Psalmist* speaks of it in his last Psalm. It occurs no where else in Scripture. This Word is derived from a Root, signifying to *be desperately in Love with*. Hence the Greek Term *agapan*, to *love*.

Heathen Authors are very much divided about the Origin of these sort of Flutes with many Pipes. Some attribute the Invention of them to the God *Pan* (x);

—Primus (Pan) Calamos conjungere plures
Instituit.—

Others (y) affirm, that *Marsias* was the first Contriver of them. *Pindar* seems to think it was *Minerva* (z): But this Variety of Opinions is purely owing to their Ignorance

(t) Gen. iv. 21. Vulg. Organum. מַחֲלָה 70. Cythara. Job. xxi. 12. 70 Psalmus. Vulg. Organum. Psalm. cl. 4. 70 & Vulg. Organum.

(u) Gen. iv. 21.

(w) Job xxi. 12. & xxx. 31.

(x) Virgil. Eclog. 2.

(y) Vide Athen. l. 4. p. 184.

(z) Pindar. Pyth. Ode xii. de Pallade. Παρθένος αὐτὴν τεύχεν πάνφωνον μέλος.

[M]

of

of the true History and Antiquity of those Instruments which the Greeks visibly received from the Eastern Nations.

The Pipes these Flutes were compos'd of, were joined together with Wax. They were all of the same Bigness, but of different Lengths. They play'd upon them with their Breath, as they pass'd successively along the Under-Lip (a).

Unco sape labro Calamos percurrit biantes.

These sort of Instruments are to be seen in your old *Basso-Relievo's*, and in the Hands of *Satyrs*. The Shepherds usually wore them about their Necks. *Virgil*, speaking of *Polyphemus*, says (b),

Solamenque mali de collo Fistula pendet.

They had generally but seven Pipes (c):

*Est mihi disparibus septem compacta cicutis
Fistula.*—

However, we meet with some upon ancient Marble Stones, that have at least ten; and a Shepherd in *Theocritus* says, his had nine (d). We are inform'd (e) that the *Turks* make use of them at this Day, and have some with fourteen, or fifteen Pipes. They call them *Muscal*, and the *Greeks*, *Muscagli*. When they were first invented, they were without any Holes, so that all the Variety of the Notes proceeded from the different Lengths of the Pipes, but in process of time they were made with Holes. Their Sound was loud and shrill; whence *Horace* gives them the Epithet of *shrill* (f):

*Quem Virum, aut Heroa, Lyrâ, vel acri
Tibiâ sumes celebrare, Clio?*

(a) *Lucret.* lib. 4.

(b) *Virgil.* *Aeneid.* 3.

(c) *Idem.* *Eclog.*

(d) *Theocrit.* *Idyl.* 8. Συρίγγ' ἔχον ἐνὶ στήθεσσι

(e) *Pietro della Valle*, *Epist.* 61.

(f) *Horat.* lib. 1. *Od.* 12.

They

They were at first made with Canes and Reeds, and those about the *Orcomenian* Lake in *Greece* were the most famous for this purpose (g). But as these Cane-Pipes wanted continual looking after to keep them in Tune, they were obliged afterwards to make them of Metal. At length the bored Flute, with many Holes like ours, answering more effectually, and with greater Ease, all the Ends designed by these several Pipes, these last were laid aside, and the Flute succeeded in their Place. These ancient Pipe-Flutes, I have been speaking of, gave Birth to the Organ, the largest and most harmonious of all Musical Instruments, the use of which is almost wholly confined to Churches.

The Organ is far from being of so modern a Date as many imagine. *Ctesibius*, a famous Mathematician of *Alexandria*, in the Reign of *Ptolemy Physcon*, about one hundred and twenty Years before Christ, is generally supposed to be the Inventor of it. *Tertullian* attributes it to the famous *Archimedes* (h), *Heron* and *Vitruvius* have left us exact Descriptions of it (i); but all these mean the Water-Organ, very different from our Wind-Organs. *Lucretius* seems to be of the Opinion, that the Organ was an Invention of his Time: The Arts, says he, are continually improving, and in our Days the Organ was first invented (k);

Modo Organici melicos peperere Sonores.

But undoubtedly he was mistaken, as I have just now shewn.

Suetonius (l) tells us, that *Nero* employ'd one part of the Day in hearing the Water-Organs lately invented. *Porphyry*, in his Panegyrick upon *Constantine*, speaks likewise of Organs, and gives us a pretty long Description of them. It appears from all these Writers, that they were Water-Organs.

(g) *Plin.* lib. 16. c. 36.

(h) *Tertul.* lib. de Anima.

(i) *Vitruv.* lib. 10. c. 13.

(k) *Lucret.* l. 5.

(l) *Sueton.* in *Nerone*. Reliquam dici partem per Organa Hydraulica novi ignotique Operis circumduxit.

[M 2]

Sub

*Sub quibus unda latens properantibus incita ventis,
Quos vocibus crebris Juvenum labor haud sibi discors,
Hinc, atque hinc, Animaque agitant.*

Julian the Emperor made an Epigram in praise of the Organ. Claudian describes the Organ as an Instrument compos'd with great Art, and of a very strong and loud Sound :

*Vel qui magna levi detrudens murmura tactu
Innumeras Voces Segetis modulatur abena;
Intonat erranti digito, penitusque Trabali
Veste laborantes, in Carmina concitat undas.*

M. Spon (m) assures us, that he saw at Constantinople an ancient Basso-Relievo, representing a Water-Instrument, in form of an Organ, under a Column, on which was the Emperor Theodosius.

These Water-Organs, which were play'd upon by the means of the Wind, that the Weight or Fall of the Water forced with great Violence into the Pipes, remain'd in Being till the Downfall of the Roman Empire in Italy. They were lost with many other fine Inventions, when the Barbarians, like an Inundation, ravag'd the Empire, and over-run all Europe (n). Some Endeavours were used towards their Recovery, but all in vain. They were obliged to take up with Wind-Organs, such as we have now in our Churches. St. Augustin (o) had no knowledge of any other, *Non solum illud Organum dicitur, quod grande est, & inflatur Folliis, &c.* And Cassiodorus (p) says, the Organ is like a Tower adorned with a very great Variety of Pipes, from whence proceeded an exceeding loud Sound, caus'd by the Wind blown into them by Bellows; *Quibus flatu Follium Vox copiosissima destinatur, &c.* St. Jerom (q) makes men-

(m) Spon Voyage de Constan. p. 234.

(n) Vid. Voss. de Poemat. Cant. & Rythmi Vir. p. 105.

(o) Aug. in Psal. lvi. & cl.

(p) Cassiod. in Psal. cl.

(q) Hieron. seu alius Ep. ad Dardan. Tom. 9. p. 156.

tion

tion of an Organ with a Dozen Pair of Bellows, which were made of the Skins of two Elephants. It had fifteen Pipes of Copper, and could be heard a thousand Paces off. Organs are said to be brought first into France in the Year 757 (r), and presented that same Year to Pepin, who was then at Compiègne. In the Year 826 they set about making a Water-Organ at Aix-la-Chapelle for the Emperor Lewis le Debonnaire; but all these things are very different from the Scripture Hugab.

This Term is render'd in the Chaldee by *Abuba (s)*, which is the same with *Ambubaia*, mentioned by Horace (t) and Suetonius (u). Now *Ambubaie* were the ancient Syrian Flutes or Organs, and those who play'd on them were called by the same Name (w).

Minnim, and *Mnanaim*, are two sorts of Instruments of Minnim, a very uncertain Signification; some take them for Stringed-Instruments, others for Wind-Instruments and Flutes. The first of these Terms is no where used but in *Psal. cl. 4.* and the other in the second Book of *Samuel vi. 5.* The *Seventy* and *Vulgate*, followed by most Interpreters, translate *Minnim* by *Strings*, and the Chaldee by *Hardeblin*, which, say they, means the same thing; the Zurich Version, and that of Junius by *Organa*. There are those who will have it to signify all sorts of Stringed-Instruments, whilst others understand it of all sorts of Wind Instruments. As for *Mnanaim*, it is render'd in St. Jerom by *Sistrums*, and in the *Seventy* in *Cymbals*.

I am of Opinion that *Minnim* and *Mnanaim (x)* mean the same thing, both signifying the *Magadis* of the Greeks, or rather of the Syrians; for from them it came to the Greeks (y). The Names are very much alike, and by pro-

(r) Annal. Francorum.

(s) אַבּוּבָא.

(t) Horat. lib. 2. Sat. 2. *Ambubaiarum Collegia, &c.*

(u) Suet. in Ner. c. 27. inter Scortorum totius Urbis, *Ambubaiarumque ministeria.*

(w) Vide si lubet Interp. Horat. et Casaub. in Suet.

(x) מִנִּימִין Minnim, מְנַנַּיִם Mnanaim.

(y) Strabo, lib. 10. p. 324. Athen. l. 4. c. 25.

nouncing

nouncing the *Hajin* like a g. as is frequently done in *Hebrew*; for Instance, in *Gaza* and *Segor*, instead of *Haza* and *Sebor*; *Mnanaim* will be turn'd into *Minganim*. Now from *Minganim* one may easily form *Magadis* or *Mingadis*. This Instrument is to be met with every where in Antiquity; there were two sorts, the one a Flute, the other a Stringed Instrument.

The Sound of the first, says *Athenaus* (z), was grave and shrill; the other was an Instrument, to which *Anacreon* gives no less than twenty Strings (a). *Euphorion* says, that the *Sambuca*, tho' it was a good while first, was made from the *Magadis*: However, the *Sambuca* was in use before in *Chaldea* in the time of *Nebuchadnezzar*. *Menacmus* affirms, that the *Magadis* is the same with the *Pectis*; and *Aristoxenus* says, they were both play'd upon without a Bow. The Difference between these two Instruments, according to *Phillis* of *Delos*, was, the *Pectis* served only for *Iambics*, whereas the *Magadis* was more universal, and made use of in all *Tunes* and *Symphonies*. *Artemon* takes the *Magadis* to be the Instrument, the Number of whose Strings were augmented by *Timotheus*. *Telestus* asserts, that it had five Strings, and was play'd upon, by running over the Fingers from one end to the other. *Diogenes* the *Tragedian* insinuates, that it was play'd upon on both Sides, and consequently that the Strings were stretched from the Top to the Bottom. *Apollodorus* confirms this Opinion, by saying, it was like the antient *Psalterium*. We find all these Particulars in *Athenaus* (b). Hence we may easily reconcile those who translate *Minnim* by *Strings*, with those who make the *Mnanaim* to be the *Magadis*, since both of them are Stringed Instruments. But, after all, these things afford no sufficient Foundation to form a determinate Idea of the Nature and Shape of these Instruments.

(z) Athen. l. 4. c. 25. p. 182. ex Alexandride in Oplomacho. μάγαδιν λαλῶσα μικρὸν ἕμα σοι, καὶ μέγαν. that is, Ὅσον καὶ βαρὺν φθέγγον ἐπιδείκνυσθαι. Vide & lib. 14. c. 3. p. 634. ex Thio in Omphale. Λυδοὶ τε μάγαδιν ἀνδρὸς ἡγείεσθαι βοῆς.
(a) Idem ibid. ex Anacreonte. Ψάλλω δὲ ἑκοσι χορδαῖσι μάγαδιν ἔχων.
(b) See Athen. l. 4. c. 9. p. 636.

The

The different Sorts of Timbrels or Drums, Cymbals, Sistrums, &c.

THE Hebrew Name for Drums, or Timbrels, in general, is *Tuph*; from whence the Greek and Latin, *Tympanum*. This Instrument is of very great Antiquity; it is mentioned in *Genesis*, where *Laban* says to *Jacob* (c); *Wherefore didst thou flee away secretly, and steal away from me? and didst not tell me, that I might have sent thee away with Mirth, and with Songs, with Tabret (Tuph) and with Harp.* *Jeptha's* Daughter went out to meet her Father with Timbrels, and other Musical Instruments (d). *Mary*, the Sister of *Moses*, after the Passage thro' the *Red-Sea*, took up a *Timbrel* in her Hand, and fell to playing and dancing with the *Hebrew Women* (e). *Job* (f) likewise mentions this Instrument; it has a Place in all the great and solemn Ceremonies of Religion, and most commonly in the Hands of Women, or young Damsels, but never used in War, or the like Occasions; which makes me think it was very different from our Drums, and that it was an Instrument of Mirth and Joy, used upon Festival Days, at publick Dancings, religious Processions, &c. These things suit very well with the antient *Tympanum*, as well as with our *Tabors*. They were made of Wood, with a Skin stretched only on one side, after the manner of a Sieve. This is the Description St. *Isidorus* (g) and *Papias* give of the *Tympanum*; and such was the *Timbrel*, *Cybele*, the Mother of the Gods, held in her Hands:

Tympana habet Cybele; sunt & mihi Tympana Cribri.

(c) Gen. xxxi. 27.

(d) Judges xi. 34.

(e) Exod. xv. 20.

(f) Job xvii. 6. xxi. 11.

(g) Isidor. Orig. l. 2. c. 21. Tympanum est pellis vel corium ligno ex una Parte extensum; est enim Pars media in similitudinem Cribri.

Bat

Fig. XIV. But the *Tympanum* of the Antients, which was made use of in time of War, and publick Rejoicings, but especially at the Feasts of *Bacchus*, were very like our Kettle-Drums, only they were not so large. And I am apt to believe, that the *Tuph*, or ancient *Tympanum* of the *Hebrews*, was of the same Shape with those small Kettle-Drums, made use of by the *Turks* and *Arabians* at this Day, both in time of War, and upon publick Rejoicings. The *Phrygian Women* (*b*) celebrated the Feast of the Mother of the Gods with the Sound of Kettle-Drums made of Copper, which were beaten with *Rods* of Brass, or with the Hands; for that was the way formerly of beating these Instruments (*i*).

*Plangebant alii proceris Tympana Palmis,
Aut tereti tenues tinnitus Ære ciebant.*

Lucretius testifies the same thing, and insinuates, that the *Timbrels* were play'd upon all round on every side (*k*):

*Tympana tenta sonant Palmis, & Cymbala circum
Concava, &c.*

St. Clemens of *Alexandria* (*l*) informs us, that the *Egyptians*, in time of War, made use of Drums, and the *Arabians* of Cymbals, or *Timbrels*. These Drums or *Timbrels*, as to their Shape, were exactly like ours, only somewhat less, as I before observed. They called your *Bell-Pearls*, *Tympania*, because they were flat on one side, and round on the other (*m*); *Quibus una tantum est facies, & ab eâ Rotunditas, averfis Planities, ob id Tympania appellantur.*

Tho' Drums, or *Timbrels*, have not been made use of in War by the *Europeans* till of late Years, yet are they of a

(b) Diogen. Trag. apud Athen, l. 14. c. 9. p. 636. *Τυμπάνοις, καὶ βομβοῖσι χαλκονοῦσι, βόμβοις βρεμέσας ἀντὶ χειρὸς κυμβάλων, &c.*

(i) Catullus de Nuptiis Pelei & Terthidis.

(k) Lucret.

(l) Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 2. p. 164. *Χρῶνται παρὰ τοὺς πολέμους αὐτῶν Αἰγύπτιοι τυμπάνω, καὶ Ἀράβες κυμβάλοι.*

(m) Plin. l. 9. c. 35.

very

very long standing among the *Eastern Nations*. *Salmonides* as the Fable tells us (*n*), desirous to imitate the Thunder of *Jupiter*, drew after his Chariot *Timbrels*, or Kettles, with Skins stretched over the open part. *Plutarch* describes those of the *Persians* in the Life of *Crassus* (*o*); and *Arrianus* says, that Nation never made use of Horns, or Trumpets to give the Signal for Battel (*p*), but of certain large hollow *Basons*, covered with a Skin, that was stretch'd and fasten'd with Brass Nails. They beat these *Basons* on every Side, whence proceeded a terrible Noise like Thunder. The *Arabians* first introduced the large *Timbrels*, or Drums, into *Spain* (*q*). In the Year 1457, *Ladislaus*, King of *Poland*, sent an Embassy to *France*; and the *Lorain Chronicles* observe, that the Ambassadors making some stay at *Nants*, the People there never saw before any Drums, like large Kettles, carried upon Horses.

The *Zalzelim* are translated in the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate*, by *Cymbala*, *Cymbals*. It appears from Scripture, that the *Zalzelim* were Instruments that made a prodigious Noise, and could be heard at a great Distance (*r*). There were some with a sort of Wings, that were peculiar to *Egypt* (*s*). The Term *Zalzelim* is derived from a Root, signifying, to produce a piercing Sound, such as makes the Ears tingle (*t*). This is all the Information we have from the Scriptures concerning this Instrument. Modern Interpreters, for the most part, understand *Zalzelim* of the *Sistrum*; but without determining which of the two it means, whether the *Cymbal*, or the *Sistrum*, I shall proceed to the Description of both of them.

The ancient *Cymbal* is an Instrument of a very shrill and piercing Sound, made of Copper in the form of a Skull-Cap. They took one in each Hand, and struck them one against another: *Cymbala dant ictu sonitum*, says *Ausonius* (*u*). They held them by a small Ring which went round

(n) Apollodor. lib. 1. Biblioth.

(o) Plut. in Crasso.

(p) Arrian. l. 5. de Bello Civili Rom.

(q) Scaliger in Copam.

(r) Psal. cl. 5. *בצלצלי שִׁמְעוּ*.

(s) Isa. xviii. 1. *הִיא אֶרֶץ צִלְצִל כְּנָפִים*.

(t) 1 Sam. iii. 11. *הִצְלִינִי שִׁדֵּי אֲזִינוֹי*. Vide & 2 Kings xxi. 12. & Jer. xix. 3.

(u) Auson. Ep. 25.

[N]

the

the Thumb, or by a larger one which came over the back Part of the Hand, or only by a plain Hand erected on the Top, as you may see in the several Cuts. They were chiefly made use of in the *Feasts* of *Bacchus* and *Cybele*, and we find them engraved upon those *Basso-Relievo's*, wherein are represented these kind of *Feasts*. *Horace* speaks of them in this manner (w):

————— *Non acuta*
Sic geminant Corybantes Æra.

St. Isidorus (x) his Description of the *Cymbal*, agrees exactly with what hath been said; *Cymbala, Acetabula quedam sunt, quæ percussa invicem se tangunt, & sonum faciunt.* The *Armenians*, even at this day, in their publick Prayers, make use of *Cymbals*, which they rub and strike one against another whilst they sing (y).

Sistrum.
Fig. XV.

As for the *Sistrum*, it is an Instrument very common in *Egypt*. It was of an Oval Figure, or like a Semicircle, lengthen'd out in form of a Belt; several Brass Rods went a-crofs, which were loose in their Holes, from whence they were kept from falling out by their Heads. They plaid upon them by shaking the *Sistrum*, by which means the Rods made a shrill and piercing Sound (z):

Isiacos agitant marcotica Sistra tumultus.

It is generally thought that this is what *Isaiab* (a) calls the *Winged Zazel*. *Apuleius* (b) describes a *Sistrum* made of Gold, which they plaid upon in the Ceremonies of the Mother of the Gods: *Dextrâ quidam gerebat Aureum crepitaculum, cujus per angustam laminam, in modum balthei recurvatam, trajecta mediæ pauca Virgula, crispante brachio trigeminus jactus, reddebant argutum Sonum.* Some of these *Sistrums* are to be met with in the Cabinets of the Curious. See Fig. XV. *Isis* is said to be the Inventor of

(w) *Horat. lib. i. Ode 16.*

(x) *Isidor. Origin. lib. 2. c. 21.*

(y) *Roger, Terre Sainte, l. 2. c. 7. p. 393, & 418. Et D. Bern. de Monfaucon, Notes sur la Traité des Therapeutes.*

(z) *Auson. Ep. 25.*

(a) *Isai. xviii. 1.*

(b) *Apuleius Metam. lib. 11.*

this

this Instrument, and her Priests usually made use of them in her Ceremonies (c):

Factantem Pharia Tinnula Sistra Manu.

The *Sbalishim* is another sort of Instrument, which the *Se-Shalishim*, *Fig. XVIII, XIX.* have rendered by *Cymbala*, and *St. Jerom* by *Sistra*. It is mentioned but once in all Scripture (d), and that is in the Description of *David's* Triumph after his Victory over *Goliath*. The Women came out to meet *Saul* and *David*, singing and dancing with *Tabrets*, and with *Sbalishim*. This Term is derived from a Root signifying *Three*; and therefore some will have it to be an Instrument of three Strings, others an Instrument of a Triangular Form, and others a *Sistrum*. Those who now play on the *Cymbal*, were wont formerly to accompany it with the Sound of a Triangular Instrument made of a small Rod of Steel, on which were put five Rings, that were moved up and down the Sides of the Triangle by means of an Iron Rod which they had in their left Hand, whilst they held up the Instrument in their right by a Ring, to give it a free Motion. *Pignorius* (e) has caused one to be engraven, that is not Triangular, but Oval on the Top, with a great many Rings that are made to play up and down with a small Iron Rod. It is not unlikely but that the Scriptures, by the Word *Sbalishim*, mean this antient Instrument.

The Antients speak likewise of an Instrument, called *Trigónos*, or *Triangular*. *Juba* says it was invented by the *Syrians* (f), others give it the Epithet of *Phrygian* or *Persian* (g). It had nine Strings, and was plaid upon with a Bow (h), and most commonly by Women. *Diogenes* the *Tragedian*, quoted in *Athenæus*, says, that the *Bactrian* and *Phrygian* Damsels worshipped the Goddess *Diana* in shady Groves with the Sound of the *Pektis* and *Persian Trigónos*. A Greek Author named (i) *Josephos*, says,

(c) *Ovid. de Ponto.*

(d) 1 Sam xviii. 6. צִלְצִלִּים.

(e) *Pignorius de Servis, pag. 88.*

(f) *Apud Athen. l. 4. c. 23. pag. 175.*

(g) *Vide eundem, l. 14. c. 19. pag. 636.*

(h) *Athen. Ibidem.*

(i) *Josephos apud Thom. Galle, Not. ad Jamblic. "Ὅργανον τῶν τριγώνων ἐναρμόδιον ὡς ἡρώδης ἐν τοῖς καίτοις περιέγραψε."*

[N 2]

the

the *Egyptian* Priests plaid upon it on their Festival Days: The *Trigonos* is in the Number of those Instruments *Plato* banished from his Commonwealth (*k*) ; but I chuse rather to understand the *Hebrew Shalishim*, of the *Sistrum*, or that antient Instrument just now mentioned. They agree better in my Opinion with what the Scripture says of the *Shalishim*.

Metfilo-
thaim, or
Bells. Fig.
XX, XXI.

Metfilotbaim is the last Instrument I have to speak of; it is frequently mentioned in Scripture. The Sound of it was somewhat like *that* of the *Zalzelim*, or *Cymbals* before-
described. It comes from the same *Root*, its Sound was shrill and piercing. The *Metfilotbaim* were made of Brass, and could be heard at a great Distance (*1*). They were made use of in the Temple, and upon publick Rejoicings. This Term is generally translated by *Cymbala*, so that it may be referred to *those* before-mentioned. *Josephus* (*m*) informs us, that *David* made a great many very large *Brass Cymbals*.

Others render it by *Tintinnabula*, which must by no means be understood as of such Bells as ours; they are of a much later Date; but of certain *Basons* or tinkling Bells which were heard a great way off. A certain Musician, as the Story goes, was performing before a great Crowd of People in the Island of *Iffus*, when on a sudden, Notice was given of the opening of the Fish-Market by the ringing of a Bell. The whole Company immediately went off, and left the Musician alone, with only a certain deafish Person, who was listening to the Musick as well as he could. The Musician nettled at this Usage, and wondering at the wretched Taste of the People, paid his Compliments to his Auditor, telling him he was extremely obliged to him that he would stay and hear him, whilst all his Companions were gone to the Fish-Market. What! the Bell has rung then, *reply'd the good Man*; and in a Moment, turning his Back upon the Musician, away he marches after the rest. This Story, whether true, or false, is told by *Serabo* (u) as a very old one, and, as such, is a good Proof of the Antiquity of

(k) Plato de Repub. I. 3.

(l) 1 Chron. xv. 19. במצלותיהם נחשת להשמיד.

(m) Joseph. Antiq. l. 7. c. 10. p. 242.

(n) Strabo, I. 14. p. 453. Κίσαρος γὰρ ὑπεδικινμήν, τέως μὲν ἀκροαθεὶς πάλῃος. ὧς δὲ δὲ
κίσαρος ὁ κατὰ τὴν ὀφθαλίαν ἐφόβησε, κἀλαπτοῦλας ἀπειλεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄφθ. &c.

Bells. He says elsewhere (o), that the *Troglodytes* hung small Bells about the Necks of their Cattel, to prevent them from being devoured by wild Beasts. In many Places the Person, who walked the Rounds to keep the Guards awake, had a Bell in his Hand (p). *Dion. Polybius, Suetonius, Plutarch, Josephus* make mention of Bells.

But what need we have recourse to these, to prove the Antiquity of this Instrument, since we read in *Moses*, that God commanded Bells to be placed round the Border of the High Priest's Garment (q)? They were formerly put upon the Bridles of War-Horses, to enure them to Noises (r). *Zechariab* seems to allude to this antient Custom, when he (s) says, the Time shall come that they shall write upon the *Mistloth* of the Horses these words, Holiness unto the Lord: i. e. The Gold and Silver, which serve to adorn the Bridles of the Horses, and particularly the *Mistloth*, or *Mistlothaim*, their Bells shall be consecrated to God. Among the *Greeks*, a Horse that had not been broke for War, by having worn the Bells made use of to try the Goodness of their Horses, and to make them stand the Sound of their warlike Instruments, was termed *ἀναδωριστος*, i. e. not used to the Bell (t). I shall make no scruple then to say, that the *Hebrew* *Mistlothaim* signifies a sort of small Bells, which they made use of in great and solemn Assemblies. As to their Form, there is nothing said about it in the Scriptures.

This is all I have to say upon this Subject, and I must own there is but little Certainty to be had in these Matters; but it must be remembred, that there are some Subjects where we ought to rest satisfied with what is probable, and be contented with plausible Conjectures. I shall leave it to the Learned, to make farther Improvements upon what has been laid down in this Essay.

(o) Idem, lib. 16. Ex τῶν ἀββήγων κώδικων εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, ὧς ἐξήτασθα ταπεινὰ τῶν ὑμῶν.

(p) Vide si lubet Henric. Steph. Thesaur. in Κωδωνοφόρος. Et Aristoph. avibus. Κωδωνοφόρων περίτροχος.

(9) Exod. xxviii. 33.

(r) Vide Scholiast. Aristoph. in Ranis, & Henric. Stephan. Thesaur. in Κωδωνο-
Φαλαρόπωρος, & in Κωδωνίζω.

זֶהִיָּה עַל מַצְלִית הַמּוֹם קֹדֶשׁ לַיהוָה. (s) Zech. xiv. 2c.

(†) Etym. *Κυδανισθένες*, pro-*διαπειρασθένες*; Metaphora ab Equis quos Tinnar-
bulis probare solebant, *δικμαίνων τὸς γυναικῖς ἵπτος ἐκ μὲν κατὰ πλῆσυνται, τὸν δὲ τὰ πολὺ μὲν*
θερύνει τὸς κυδανὰς φοβέθῃς.

An Explanation of the CUTS.

FIG. I. The Nobel, or Nable, or ancient Pfalterion was almost of the Shape of a Delta Δ , the hollow Part was above, and it was play'd upon below, either with the Fingers, or rather with a sort of a Bow.

Fig. II. The ancient Cythara, or the Hazur and Ten-stringed Instrument, was much the same with our Harp, of a Triangular Form, having its hollow Part below. It was play'd upon with the Fingers, or with a Bow.

Fig. III. The ancient Lyra, or Kinnor, with three Strings, invented, as is said, by Mercury. Its Belly was a Tortoise-shell, with two Arms to sustain the Strings.

Fig. IV. An ancient Lyra, taken from a Signet of Nero's designed by Du Choul. Relig. des Rom. p. 213.

Fig. V. The Lyra of Timotheus with nine Strings.

Fig. VI. A Lyra, as represented upon the Medals struck in the time of Simon Maccabæus. See Le Blanc des Monnoyes de France.

Fig. VII. The Symphonia, or Cymbal, consists of a Belly and a Neck with four Strings, two of which serve as Drones, the two others are stretched along the Neck, and serve for a perpetual Monocord, and make all sorts of Notes by the means of ten small Steps, which make as it were so many Keys. Towards the Top there is a wooden Wheel, turned round by a Handle. I have caused it to be represented without the Cover, to the end the Parts may be the better distinguished.

Fig. VIII. The ancient Sambuca is a stringed Instrument, which I take to be very much like the modern Psalter or Dulcimer.

Fig. IX. Several Sorts of Trumpets and Horns.

Fig. X. Antique Flutes, such as they are represented in the Harmony

of Father Merfennas. According to what Salmasius and Vossius say, their Form was different from these CUTS. See also what has been said concerning the Organs or Flutes with many Pipes, and Fig. XII.

Fig. XI. The Hugab, or ancient Organ; it was composed of several Pipes made of Reeds, joined together with Wax, of different Lengths. The Sound of it was very harmonious, caused by blowing into the Pipes, as they passed successively along the Under-Lip.

Fig. XIII. The Tympanum, or Antique Drum, was an Instrument used upon Festival Days, very like our Tabors, having a Skin stretched only on one Side in the manner of a Sieve. The Heathens made use of it at the Feast of Cybele.

Fig. XIV. The ancient Timbrel or Kettle-Drum, much the same with our modern ones, only a great deal less, taken from those designed by Pignori, p. 93. de Servis; they are to be seen likewise in the Harmony of P. Merfennus.

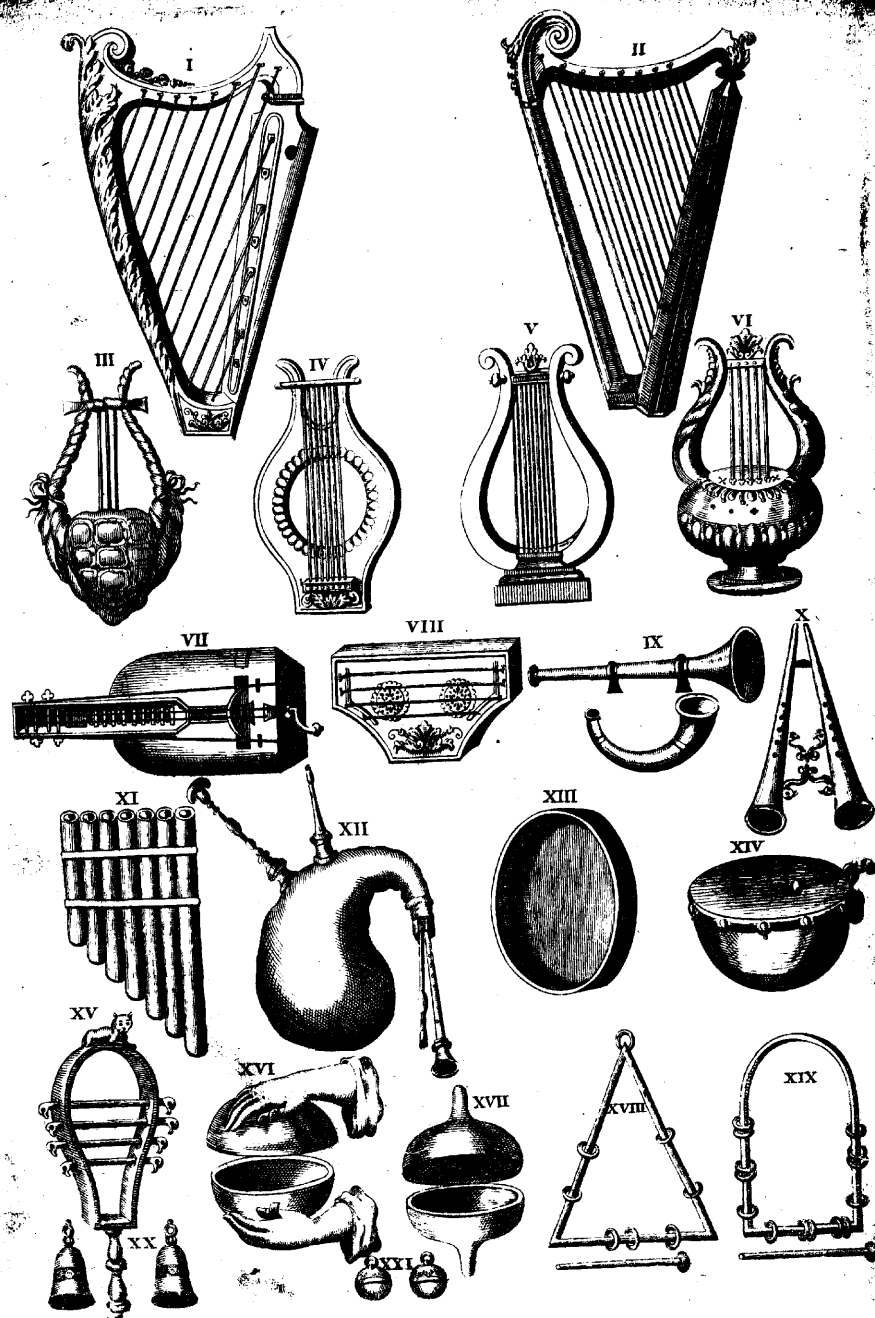
Fig. XV. The Sistrum, or Citeru; an Instrument very common in Egypt. It is to be met with at this time in the Cabinets of the Curious.

Fig. XVI, XVII. Ancient Cymbals, of a very shrill and piercing Sound, made in the Shape of a Cap and struck one against another; taken from Pignori and P. Merfennus.

Fig. XVIII. A Triangular Instrument, with Rings of Metal, that are put in motion with an Iron Rod.

Fig. XIX. Is much the same. These Instruments were invented to accompany the Sound of the Cymbal. It is all probability they were the Shalishim of the Hebrews.

Fig. XX, XXI. Small tinkling Bells, supposed to be the same with what the Hebrews call *Shalishim*.



23
ANTIQUITIES

SACRED AND PROFANE

OR, A

COLLECTION

OF

Curious and Critical DISSERTATIONS
ON THE

Old and New Testament.

Written in French by the Learned
AUGUSTIN CALMET.

Done into ENGLISH, with Notes, by N. TINDAL, M.A.
Vicar of Great Waltham in Essex.

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A Dissertation proving the Excellency of the History of the Hebrews above That of any other Nation; Wherein are examined the Antiquities and History of the Chaldeans, Medes, Assyrians, Persians, Egyptians, Chinese, Phœnicians, Grecians, Latins, Gauls and Germans, Mexicans, Perouvians, and the History of America. With Chronological Tables of the Kings of Assyria, Chaldeas, and Media.

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William M. Greenberg et al.

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The first point of view of all the advantages of the H-
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DISSERTATION,
Wherein is made appear the Excellency
of the History of the *Hebrews*, above That
of any other Nation.

NEVER was the Learned World better qualified than at this time, to judge of the Credit and Authority of the *Historical Monuments* of all the Nations under Heaven; since, in all likelihood there is not *one* entirely unknown; and we have in our hands all they can possibly produce concerning their Origin and History. But altho' there should be in the utmost Parts of *Africa*, for Instance, or in the remotest Regions of *America*, or of *Terra Australis incognita* some obscure, and hitherto undiscover'd Nations; yet may we safely venture to affirm, they could not inform us of any thing more certain, or more *Authentick* in Matters of Antiquity than what the *Egyptians*, for example, the *Chaldeans*, the *Indians*, the *Persians*, and the most celebrated *American* have already told us concerning their Origin and History. Now I shall undertake to prove in this Dissertation, that no known Nation is able to give a certain or satisfactory Account of its Original and Antiquity; but that, in order to come at what

may be depended upon for Truth, there is a Necessity of having recourse to the sacred Writings of the *Hebrews*. This is the common Fountain to which all Nations must apply, if they are willing to rectify the Mistakes of their most ancient *Historians* concerning their History. Every Nation that derives not its Original from *Noah* and his Sons, or from their Descendants, but carries back its Antiquity beyond the Flood, and the *Epocha's* in the *Jewish History*, is for that very reason to be suspected of Falshood.

The first Advantage of the Jewish History.

The first and most essential of all the Advantages of the History of the *Jews* above that of other Nations, is the having God himself for its Author, who made use of the Pen of the sacred Historians and Holy Prophets, that were inspir'd with a supernatural Light, and guided in a special manner by him who is Infallible, and Truth itself. Now Truth being the Life and Soul of History, it is evident, that the History of the *Jews* is infinitely to be prefer'd before all others; written only by Men very often ignorant of Matters, or whose Interest it is to disguise and conceal the Truth, and continually liable to be imposed upon themselves, and to impose upon others, either designedly and maliciously, or undesignedly for want of sufficient Light and Knowledge.

But setting aside, at present, the Consideration of the supernatural Inspiration of the sacred Pen-Men, a Character which distinguishes them from all other Writers whatsoever, it may be clearly made out to those who admit of nothing of this nature, that, even without Inspiration, the *Jewish Historians* have all the Requisites necessary to acquire an Authority as great and certain as can be desired in things of this kind, and such as, consider'd in all its Circumstances, cannot be equal'd by any other Nation or Country.

The Qualifications of a good Historian.

The Qualifications usually requir'd in an Historian, are these; That he live in the time he writes of, that he be sincere, knowing, and, as far as may be, disinterested, exact, judicious, without Prejudice, free from the Passions of Fear, Hope, Love, and Hatred; that he be a Native, and not a Foreigner, a Man of Quality, and of some Post in the Army, or at Court, rather than a meer private Man, without Birth, Name, Experience, and Office. Now the *Jewish Historians* had all, or at least the greatest part of these Qualifications centring in them; so that

one

one cannot reasonably suspect them of being impos'd upon, or of having a Design to impose upon us. Add to this, that their Relations are so Coherent, so well kept up, so rational, so agreeable to the Laws of Reason and Good Sense; they correspond so exactly with the authentick Accounts of the *Historians* of other Nations that are come to our Knowledge; their manner of writing carries in it the certain Marks of so uniform an Integrity and Truth: In fine, the whole Nation of the *Hebrews* have all along so entirely depended upon their Sincerity, that no Man ever contradicted or call'd in question what they say. All these Qualities together, so rarely to be found in any prophane History, cannot but greatly byass us in their favour.

Moses, the first and principal Author of the *Jewish History*, The Authority of the Books of Moses.
His Character.
was a Man of a vast and extensive *Genius*, of an undaunted Courage, incapable of doing a mean Action, very Learned, Grave, and Wise, extremely Religious and Pious, and of a Sincerity and Probity that is legible in every Line of his Writings. As he was adopted by the Princes of *Egypt*, there was nothing he might not have hoped for, if he had been but willing to have given himself up to his good Fortune. He relinquish'd all these Hopes, and chose rather to share with his Brethren in all their Misfortunes. His Zeal for them carried him on so far as to incur the King's Displeasure, and for that reason he was fain to betake himself to Flight. After a long Absence, God raised him up to deliver the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*, and to give them a Body of Laws; which great Work he happily accomplish'd; and afterwards took in hand to write the History of these Transactions in the Life-time of all those who were Witnesses of them: that is to say, in the Presence of six hundred thousand Men who joyn'd together in the same Camp, All upon the watch to observe his Proceedings; and ready to gain say and contradict him, had he advanced any thing repugnant to Truth, as he did many things that reflected on their Honour and Reputation, and were contrary to their Inclination. In order to render his History the more full and compleat, he goes back to the first Original of Things, and carries it down from the Creation of the World, to his own Time; he gives us the *Genealogy* of the first Founders of the *Hebrew Nation*, relates the principal Actions of the *Patriarchs*, especially of *Joseph*, who

On the EXCELLENCY of Book II.

who had been in so great Power and Authority in Egypt. All these Particulars were exceeding *a propos* to his Design, since he thereby inform'd the *Hebrews* of their own, as well as of the Origin of those Nations, whom they were shortly to enter into War or Alliance with; he shewed them the Right they had to the Country they were about to conquer, a Right founded upon the Promises of God made to their Forefathers; he set before their Eyes most noble Patterns of Virtue in the Persons of *Abraham* and the other *Patriarchs*; he let them see how highly they were distinguish'd by God, in his Choice of their Ancestors and their Posterity, among whom to place his Religion and Priesthood. Moreover, it greatly concern'd him, to observe to them the Occasion and Reason of certain Ceremonies and religious Practices, which he reviv'd or establish'd anew among them, as the *Sabbath* and *Circumcision*. These were visibly the Motives that induced *Moses* to begin his History with the Book of *Genesis*.

Exodus.

The most incredible Matters of Fact mentioned in *Exodus* were transacted in the sight of all *Israel*; it was not in the Power of *Moses* either to deceive the *Hebrews*, or to impose upon his Enemies the *Egyptians*. He is far from flattering his Countrymen when he mentions them. He speaks of himself without any Affectation, and says well or ill of himself according as the Circumstances are. This Character and Mark of Integrity is kept up throughout in a steady and uniform manner. *Moses* then hath all the Qualifications requir'd in a faithful and credible *Historian*, and which place him above all suspicion of venting Falshoods and Lies.

Genesis.

The only thing that can admit of any doubt, is, the History of the first Ages of the World, which he could not write of his own Knowledge. But it must be remember'd, 1. *Moses* was born but forty-eight Years after the Death of *Levi*, *Levi* liv'd forty Years with *Isaac*; *Isaac* was eighty-five Years with *Abraham*, and fifty with *Shem* the Son of *Noah*; *Shem* liv'd ninety-eight Years before the Flood, and had seen *Lamech* and *Metbusalem*, who were contemporary with the first Man; so that the Tradition of what had pass'd before and after the Flood, was still very fresh, considering how many Years Men liv'd in those Days.

DIGEST of the History of the HEBREWS.

(2.) It is not certain, that there were not at that time some Writings or *Memoirs* of what had formerly pass'd, and if there were any such among the *Egyptians* or *Hebrews*, *Moses* must needs have been better vers'd in them than any other, seeing he had a perfect Knowledge of all the Learning of the *Egyptians*, and was ignorant of nothing relating to the History of his own Nation.

3. In fine, the Things *Moses* gives an account of, are of such a Nature, as that they might easily be preserv'd in the Minds of Men; for Instance, the Creation of the World, the Fall of *Adam*, the Flood, the Tower of *Babel*, the Founding the Monarchy of *Nimrod*; for to these few Heads almost all the Particulars mentioned by *Moses* in *Genesis* may be refer'd.

As for the Book of *Josuah*, generally attributed to that great Leader who first brought the Children of *Israel* into the Land of *Canaan*, and divided it amongst them by Lot; we may pass the same Judgment upon it, as upon those of *Moses*. The Author liv'd in the time he writes of; was a Person of great Wisdom, Knowledge, Accurateness, and Judgment; Commander in chief of the *Hebrew* Nation; he wrote of what happened before his Eyes, and what he acted himself.

The Book of Josuah, its Antiquity.

The Book of *Judges* had no doubt *Samuel* for its Author, whose Gravity, Wisdom, Learning, and Quality are well known; he had in his hands *Memoirs* of all that had pass'd in the Times of the *Judges*, out of which he compos'd the Book we now call by that Name. So that he may well be look'd upon as contemporary, or what is almost equivalent to it. If he was the Author of the greatest part of the first Book of *Samuel*, as is generally believ'd, he writ nothing but what he was a Witness of; and had a great share in himself. The Scriptures inform us (a) that the Acts of *David* were written by *Samuel* the Seer, and by the Prophets *Nathan* and *Gad*. Now every one knows the Abilities of these two great Men, who liv'd in the Reigns of *David* and *Solomon*.

The Books of Judges, Samuel, and the Kings.

The other Historical Books of the *Jews* were written by the Prophets, who liv'd in the time of those Princes whose Actions they record. *Iddo* and *Shemajab* writ the History of *Solomon* (b); *Iddo* and *Shemajab* that of *Rehoboam* (c); the same *Iddo* that

The other Historical Books of the Hebrews, their Authors.

(a) 1 Chron. xxix. 29. (b) 2 Chron. ix. 29. (c) 1 Chron. xii. 15.

of *Abijah* (d); *Hanan* wrote *Annals* in the Reign of *Asa* (e); as did *Jehu* the Son of *Hanan* in the time of *Jehoshaphat* (f). In the same Reign, we find the Prophets *Eliazer* (g) and *Jahaziel* (h). *Isaiab* gives an Account of what happened in the time of *Uzziah* (i) and *Hezekiah* (k). The Prophecies of *Isaiab* contain also several Particulars relating to the History of *Abaz*. *Osai* writ *Memoirs* of the Reign of *Manasseh* (l). *Jeremiah* did the same under *Josiah*, and the Kings of *Judah* his Successors. His Prophecies, if I may so say, are a Narration of what happened in the last Days of the Kingdom of *Judah*. In *Samuel*, *Kings*, and *Chronicles*, frequent mention is made of the *Books* or *Annals* of the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, to which we are refer'd as to publick, undoubted and authentick Records. These Works were in Being during the Captivity, and even at their Return from *Babylon*, if it be true, as we have good reason to think, that *Ezra* was the Author or rather Compiler of the Book of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, where these *Annals* are so often refer'd to.

As for the History of the *Jews*, during the Captivity, the Prophets *Ezekiel* and *Daniel* give us an account of many Particulars. *Tobit* at *Nineveh*, *Esther* and *Mordecai* at *Susan*, carry on the Thread of the History of the *Jewish* Nation. There is no occasion to say any thing concerning the Character of these Persons, they are too well known; and their Testimony is above all Exception. After the Captivity, we have the Books of *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and the *Maccabees*, who bring down the History of the *Jews* very low. (m)

The Interval of Time between *Nehemiah* and the *Maccabees*, was not long, and (n) in those Days the Nation of the *Jews* was so inconsiderable, made so poor a Figure in the World, and had so little to do in the great Transactions of it, that neither the Sacred nor Prophane Writers could give them a place in their Annals. Every one knows the great Ability, Zeal, and exalted Piety of *Ezra*; he was born of illustrious

(a) 2 Chron. xlii. 22. (b) 2 Chron. xvi. 7. (c) 2 Chron. xix. 2. (d) 2 Chron. xxi. 24. (e) 2 Chron. xxv. 22. (f) 2 Chron. xxvii. 24. (g) 2 Chron. xxviii. 9. (h) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 19. (i) 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1. (j) 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22. (k) 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22. (l) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 19. (m) *Nehemiah* died after the Year of the World 3383, and the Reign of Antiochus Epiphanes began in 3329, so that from the one to the other was but 56 Years, and the little Space of time we have the History of the Persecution of the Jews in Egypt by Eupator, which happened in 3787. (n) 2 Macc. ii. 15.

Parents,

But the History of the *Jews* was in great esteem with the *Longmans*, King of *Perth*. He writ the first of those Books which are under his Name, and *Nehemiah* the second. This last was of a considerable Family in the Tribe of *Judah*, and was a great Orator, who had a particular Affection for him. He generally speaks of himself in the first Person in his Writings; and in the *Maccabees* (o), the *History* and *Commentaries* of *Nehemiah* are cited, of which the Book we have is in all probability but an Abridgement, since the Passage quoted in the *Maccabees* is not to be found there.

It must be confessed, that some things of little moment are crept into the Books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, which were not written by these two Authors. But there are few Books in the Bible, where the like Additions, which regard neither our Faith nor Morals, are not to be met with. The ancient *Hebrews* made no scruple to insert in their Text certain Terms, in order to explain what length of time had rendered obscure. The manner in which they went to work, was rather a Mark of their Sincerity, than of any Design they had to deceive. They made use of no Art or Cunning in making these Additions. Just as we sometimes write upon the Margin, or even in the Body of our Books, our own Remarks, or *Texts* of some learned Man. Books with such sort of Observations upon them are not the less subvertic'd upon that Account; on the contrary, they are the more sought after. In the sacred Writings of the *Jews*, you'll find these Notes to be, for example, a *Genealogy* carried down somewhat lower than the Author had done; a *Geographical* Remark, that such a Place was formerly call'd by this Name; that at that time such a Place was in Possession of this Country; that such a Place was the Seat of this Prince; that the time when is related, is in an ancient Book. Of this nature are all the Additions which meet with in the sacred Writers. There may likewise be some faults occasion'd by the neglect of Transcribers, but this is the Book that is clear from

(o) 2 Macc. xi. 13.

On the EXCELLENCY of Book II.

were used to write *Annals* of the most important Affairs that happen'd in their Common-wealth. As for Matters of less moment, they were set down in *Journals* only (c). *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Alexander* (d), quotes the *Journals* of the Life of that great Conqueror, wherein what he did was mark'd down day by day.

The History
of the Chal-
deans.

But when one comes to examine closely what we have remaining of the History of these ancient Nations, one is constrain'd to acknowledge the Accounts are exceeding imperfect. Their ancient and primitive *Histories*, their *Journals*, their *Memorials*, are all buried in Oblivion. Nothing but a few *Fragment*s, and those very lame and imperfect, are come down to our Times. We have them only at second hand from the *Greek* Authors, who, perhaps, had not all that Light and Exactness necessary for the understanding, and quoting them as they ought.

Berosus.

Berosus was a *Chaldean*. *Tatian* (e) says he lived in the Time of *Alexander the Great*, and *Porphyrius* maintains this Opinion against *Possius*, who places him as low as *Antiochus* Soier King of Syria. *Berosus* writ in *Greek*, and for the *Greeks*. What *Josephus* and *Eusebius* have cited of this Author, affords great Light as to the History of the *Hebrews*; but gives us little or no Information concerning the Antiquities of the *Chaldeans*.

Diodorus Siculus (f) assures us, that the *Chaldeans* carried back their *Astronomical* Observations for four hundred and seventy-two thousand Years. *Cicero* (g) says only for four hundred and seventy thousand. *Epigenes*, quoted in *Pliny* (h), for seven hundred and twenty thousand. In fine, *Berosus* and *Critodemus*, in the same Author, count four hundred and eighty thousand. This vast Number of Years, without doubt, exceeds all Belief; and *Cicero* condemns the *Chaldeans* upon this account, of Folly, Vanity, and Imprudence. If they had had certain *Observations* for so long a Time, would they have entirely been lost, as we find they are?

Aristotle (i) very much questioning this pretended Antiquity, and having a Curiosity to be satisfy'd of the Truth of it, de-

(c) Tacit. Annal. xiii. (d) Plut. in Alexandro. (e) Tatian. p. 171. (f) Diod. Sic. l. 2. (g) Cicero l. 1. de Divin. (h) Plin. l. 7. c. 56. (i) Porph. ap. Simp. l. 2. de Calist.

fixed

Of the History of the CHALDEANS.

first, *Berosus*, who was then at *Babylon* with *Alexander*, to take him the best Account he could get of this Matter. *Cleodemus* sent him *Astronomical* Observations for 193 Years, now in counting backwards 193 Years, from the taking of *Babylon* by *Alexander the Great*, you come to the Year of the World, *Antichrist* 2234, the first Year of *Nabonassar*, a little after the building of the Tower of *Babel*.

The Era of *Nabonassar*, so famous among *Chronologers*, goes no higher than the Year 3966 of the *Juban* Period, 3257 of the World, 1742 before *Christ*, or, according to the vulgar reckoning, 1747. This *Nabonassar* was no other than *Baladan*, Who he was. Father to *Merodach Baladan* mention'd in *Isaiah* (k), and in the second Book of *Kings* (l). This is the same *Merodach Baladan* that sent Ambassadors to *Jerusalem*, to congratulate *Hezekiah* upon the recovery of his Health, and to know the Truth of the miraculous going back of the Shadow of the Sun, which happen'd upon that occasion.

The Fragment of *Darius* in *Josephus* speaks of the *Chaldeans*, and of the *Assyrians*, now it relied on the Mountains of *Armenia*, just as *Moses* reports it. He runs thro' the Genealogy of the Sons of *Noah*, down to *Nabonassar*, Father of *Nabonadon*, and therefore he must have observed the Original of the *Chaldean* Monarchy; but as *Josephus* does not quote what he says of it, we can conclude nothing from thence as to what relates to the Successors of *Nabonadon*, from *Berismadon* to *Cyrus*. It is no easy matter to reconcile *Herodotus* with what *Darius* and other Writers inform us upon the Heads of the *Chaldean* History. *Herodotus* says, that in *Abraham's* Time, a King of *Shinar*, or *Babylon*, sent his Army to *Chedor-Admer* (m). There is mention of *Chaldean* Robbers in the Book of *Job* (n). *Julius Africanus* assures, that *Beeroth*, King of *Chaldea*, began his Reign 29 Years before the *Arabians*; and consequently, in the Year 2950 of the *Juban* Period, about the time of *Isaac's* going into *Exile*, in the Year of the World 2242. The Way of the *Assyrians* against the *Chaldeans*, is fix'd to the Year of the World 2400, when *Moses* was about thirty Years old.

The Frag-
ment of Be-
rosus.

(k) Joseph. l. 1. c. contra Apion. (l) 2 Kings. (m) Joseph. l. 1. c. contra Apion. (n) Job l. 1.

The

The *Arabians* reigned in *Babylon* 226 Years before *Ninus* the *Assyrian*, Father of *Ninus* the *Assyrian*, and *Belshazzar*, or *Beladann*, or *Nabonassar*, Governor of *Babylon*, having entered into a Confederacy with *Arbaces*, Governor of *Media*, they revolted from *Sardanapalus* King of *Assyria*, their Master, and marched against him with an Army of 400,000 Men, consisting of *Medes*, *Persians*, *Babylonians*, and *Arabians* (p). *Sardanapalus* had the Advantage in the three first Battles; but *Arbaces* having got over to his side the *Babylonians* from the Army of *Sardanapalus*, fell upon him in the night, beat him, seized and pillaged his Camp, and dispersed his whole Army. *Sardanapalus* (q) having given the Command of his Troops to his Brother-in-law *Salamennus*, lost two Battles more against the Rebels, upon which he was forced to shut himself up in *Nimrod*; Where he held out a three Years Siege, but in the third Year, the *Tigris* being swollen with continual Rains, beat down about twenty Furlongs, for two Miles and a half of the Walls of the City; the Enemy casting at the Breach, *Sardanapalus* let Fire to his Palace, and burnt himself, his Wives, his Eunuchs, and all his Riches, which were immense. Thus *Arbaces* freed the *Medes* from the Dominion of the *Assyrians*, and *Beladann* was acknowledged King of the *Babylonians*. *Ninus* the Younger continued to reign in *Assyria* from whom sprung a second Race of *Assyrian* Kings. This *Ninus* the Younger is the same with *Tiglath-Pileser* spoken of in the Scriptures (r). So that *Belshazzar*, or *Beladann*, was the first King of the *Chaldeans*, whose Epochs may be fixed with any Certainty; for as for *Amraphel* King of *Shinar* in *Genesis*, and the *Chaldeans* in *Job*, and this mentioned by *Isaiah* (s), who were conquered by the *Assyrians*, we can say nothing to be depended upon for certain, concerning either the Place where their Kings kept their Residence, or how long their Monarchy flourished. Neither is it known when, or how they became subject to the *Assyrians*, I may then safely venture to assert that the History of the *Chaldeans* is very much inferior to

(p) Vid. Eusebii Chron. Jul. Afric. & Usser. ad an. M. 2465, & 2466. (q) Diodor. Sic. l. 2. (r) 2 Kings xv. 29. xvi. 7, 10. Prideaux makes *Arbaces*, *Ninus* junior, and *Tiglath-Pileser* to be all the same Person; he divides the Empire after *Sardanapalus*, but in two Parts. Part I. Book I. Connell.

that

that of the *Assyrians*, where we consider the Length, Certainty, or Duration of the Monarchy, compared with the other, or where we examine the ancient Monuments and Records from whence they are taken. I know of no Author that professes to write the History of the *Medes*, according to Herodotus (u) no their Monarchy lasted but 150 Years from *Dejoces* their first King. But it is begun with *Arbaces*, whom I just now mention, and ended with *Cyrus*, who re-united the Empire of the *Medes* and *Persians*, it lasted 193 Years. Some will have it to have flourished 350 (z). It is agreed on by all, that we have but a very imperfect Knowledge of the Original, Progress, and Downfall of this Monarchy. The Book of *Judith* (y) mentions *Arbaces* King of the *Medes*, who burnt the City of *Babylon*, and was vanquished by *Nabuchodonosor* King of *Assyria*. I have attempted to prove, in my Commentary on *Judith*, that this *Arbaces* was no other than *Pharamond* King of the *Medes*, Successor to *Dejoces* the first King of this Nation. If the History of *Judith* happened in the Reign of *Manasseh* King of *Judah*, this will give us no great Notion of the Antiquity or Duration of the Monarchy of the *Medes*, since, according to this Supposition, it would begin with *Dejoces*, and end with *Cyrus*.

The *Assyrian* Monarchy has all along been looked upon as the most Ancient of all the *Eastern* Empires. The Scriptures give us an account of its being founded by *Nimrod* a little after the building of the Tower of *Babel* (aa). But we are altogether ignorant how long the Monarchy of this *Mighty* *Emperor* lasted, and that of his Successors down to *Ninus*, Son of *Nimrod*, the *Assyrian*, who lived 980 Years after *Nimrod*, about the Time of *Ehud* and *Barak*, Judges of *Israel*. During the Interval between *Nimrod* and *Ninus*, the Scriptures speak of *Amraphel* King of the *Elamites*, *Arioch* King of *Ellasar*, *Amraphel* King of *Shinar*, who were Contemporaries with *Nimrod* (ab), and came and waged War in *Palestine* against the Kings of the *Five Cities* (ac), whence it is thought, that the Empire of the *Assyrians* at that time was of no great Extent, even tho' it is supposed that the King of *Shinar*

(u) Herodot. l. 1. (v) Justin. l. 2. c. 1. (w) Judith i. 1. (x) About the Year of the World 2217, of the Julian Period 2465. (y) Gen. xiv. 1, 2.

was.

was King of *Assyria*, and not of *Chaldea*. In the time of the *Judges* (y), we have *Chusan Rabsaris* King of *Mesopotamia*, who liv'd 146 Years before the founding the *Assyrian* Empire by *Ninus*. Now from *Ninus* to the downfall of the *Assyrian* Empire, *Herodotus* (z) follow'd by *Appian*, makes it to be 520 Years. The end of the first Empire of the *Assyrians*, in the Reign of *Sardanapalus* is fixed to the Year of the World 3255, when *Arbaces* and *Belshazzar* join'd in a Conspiracy against him.

After the first Kings of *Assyria*, Successors to *Ninus*, we have a second *Assyrian* Empire, form'd out of the Ruins of the first, which began in the Year of the World 3272 by *Ninus the younger*. He reigned 19 Years, and is call'd in Scripture *Tiglath-Pileser*. His Successors were *Salmanasar*, *Sennacherib*, and *Esharaddon* frequently mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. *Esharaddon* in the Year 3291, in the time of *Manasseh* King of *Judah*, got Possession of the *Babylonian* Empire, for want of male Heirs; and by that means requir'd the two Monarchies of *Assyria* and *Chaldea*. He was succeeded by *Sardanapalus*, apparently the same, who in the Book of *Judith* is call'd *Nebuchodonosor*; he overcame *Arbaxad*, otherwise *Phraortes* King of *Media*.

To *Sardanapalus* succeeded *Chinlathinus*, alias *Sarathus*; *Nabopolassar* the *Chaldean*, or *Babylonian*; and *Ashages* the *Mede* entering into a Confederacy against him, they depos'd him (a), and shar'd his Dominions between them. Thus the *Chaldeans* and *Medes* were once again independent and separated from the Kingdom of *Assyria*. We may here date the Downfall of the *Assyrian* Monarchy, since it never was able after this to lift up its Head any more; for *Nabopolassar*, *Nabuchodonosor*, *Eshmerodach*, and *Balthazar*, who kept their Residence at *Babylon*, belong properly to the *Chaldean* Monarchy.

This is all the Account we have, that has any Certainty in it, concerning the famous *Assyrian* Monarchy, which was overthrow'n and rais'd again more than once in the Course of 1620 Years. The History of this Monarchy, if I may so say, is but a Shell or Skeleton, seeing we know not distinctly,

(y) Judges iii. 8.

(z) Herodot. l. 1.

(a) About the Year of the World 3378.

the

the Names or Actions of the greatest part of its Kings, or how long they reign'd, or the extent of their Empire; neither have we any certain *Memorials* extant, that can inform us; the *Greek* Authors, from whom we have our Accounts, having never had but a very imperfect Knowledge of these Matters, and besides differing widely from one another; for how is it possible, for instance, to reconcile *Ctesias* with *Herodotus* and the other Historians, who have written of the *Assyrian* Empire?

The Learned are all agreed, that the *Persian* Monarchy began with *Cyrus*. I know some Authors maintain that *Cambyses*, Father to *Cyrus* was King of *Persia*; but this Notion is contradicted by *Herodotus* and *Trogus*; and those who defend it, alledge but very slender Proofs for their Opinion. Tho' there had been before *Cyrus* any Monarchs of *Persia*, it would be impossible to give any account of them, since they are entirely unknown to us. This Nation was very obscure when *Cyrus* appeared in the World; and those who are for giving this Monarchy the oldest date, carry it no higher back than *Achemenes*, Father to *Cambyses*, and Grandfather to *Cyrus*. From the time of this last Prince, whose Name is so famous in the sacred as well as in prophane Authors, the *Persian* Monarchy became very powerful; but it did not remain long so, for from the Year of the World 3456, in which *Cyrus* began to reign in *Babylon*, to the defeat of *Darius Codomannus* the last King of the *Persians*, in 3674, is but 218 Years.

The ancient *Persians* produced no Historian of their Nation. All we know for certain concerning their Monarchy, and Antiquities come from the *Greeks*. The reason that induc'd them to peep into the History of the *Persians*, was the War between the two Nations wherein the *Greeks* acquir'd so much Glory. The Love of their own Honour and Reputation, and the Interest of their own Country kindled in them a desire of having a thorough Knowledge of a Nation that then made so great a Figure in the *East*, and whose Fame was spread over the whole World. Besides, *Greece* at that time abounded with Men of *Letters*, who wanted only Subjects fit to employ their Pens, and worthy to be transmitted down to *Posterity*. Now there could be no properer Subjects in the World to set them at work, than the *Persian* Monarchy, and their own *Republick*; The Wars

The History
of the Per-
sian Monar-
chy.

C

Wars they carried into *Persia*, and the Invasions the *Persians* made on *Greece*.

Elam Father
of the Per-
sians.

But if we consult the Writings of the *Hebrews*, we shall find something of greater Certainty and more antient, concerning the Origin and Antiquity of the *Persians*. *Moses* speaks of *Elam* the Son of *Shem*, who peopled the *Elymaide* bordering upon *Persia*, and was the Father of the *Elymeans*, generally confounded with the *Persians*. The Term *Persian* occurs not in Scripture, but towards the latter end. There were *Persians* and *Medes* in the Army of *Holofernes* General to *Nebuchodonosor*, alias *Saosduchinus* King of *Assyria* (b). *Ezekiel* in reckoning up the Allies of the *Tyrrians* vanquish'd by *Nebuchodonosor* the Great King of *Babylon*, calls the *Persians* by the Name of *Paras* (c). *Daniel* makes mention likewise of the *Persians* in his Prediction of the Destruction of the *Babylonian* or *Chaldean* Empire (d). The *Persians* it is plain, were term'd *Paras* from the Custom they had, all along and still have at this day, of almost always riding on Horseback; *Paras* (e) in *Hebrew* properly signifying an *Horse*. So that *Paras*, or *Persa* is rather an *Epithet* or Denomination taken from their Custom of Riding, than the proper Name of the Nation. And if *Elam* be the true Name of the *Persians*, we find *Chedorlaomer* King of *Elam* in the time of *Abraham* (f). *Isaiah* (g) joins *Elam* with the *Medes* in the Siege of *Babylon*, foretold by him several Years beforehand; and *Jeremiah* (h) says, that the Lord shall cause all the Kings of *Elam* to drink the Cup of his Fury. This Nation then is of greater Antiquity, and more powerful than the *Greek* Historians have represented it to be. *Isaiah* (i) foretels the coming of *Cyrus*, calling him plainly by his Name, above 100 Years before he was born. It is in this manner that the sacred Writings of the *Hebrews* supply the Defects of prophane History; a good Proof that in order to come at the Knowledge of the true Original of Nations, recourse must be had to the Scriptures.

The Remains of the antient *Persians* that are now in the *East* in subjection to the *Sophi*, and in the *Indies*, who have retained their Fire-Worship, and several other Superstitions of

(b) Judith xvi. 12. (c) Ezek. xxvii. 10. (d) Dan. v. 28. (e) עֶרֶס Eques.
מִרְסָּה Persia. (f) Gen. xiv. 1. 9. (g) Isai. xvi. 2. (h) Jer. xxv. 25.
(i) Isai. xlv. 28. xlv. 1.

the

the antient *Persians* from whom they are descended, are intirely ignorant of their own Origin and History. They keep with great care a Book they call *Zendavesta* (i. e. a Fire-Kindler) (k), which contains their Religious Rights, and the Articles of their Belief. They give us the History of the Creation in a manner the same with that of *Moses*, and make *Adam* and *Eve* to be the first Parents of Mankind. They say, that after Men were multiplied and corrupted upon the Earth, God sent a Deluge to drown them all, except *Noah*, whom they call the second *Adam*, and a few Persons more, who peopled the World again.

They give an Account, that *Aram* the Son of *Shem* had a Son called *Guionarus*, the first King of the *Persians*, whose Monarchy lasted above 1000 Years, in a Succession of 45 Kings. The last of these Monarchs was *Tesdegerd*, in whose time the *Arabians* of the Sect of *Mabomet* conquer'd *Persia*, and obliged *Tesdegerd* to retire to *Karason*. This happened in the 31st Year of the *Hegira*, and 651 of Christ. This is the Substance of all we can draw from the History of those *Persians*, who are still remaining at this day: a plain Proof of their great Ignorance, and how little we should know of these Matters, if we were oblig'd to look for an Account of the Eastern Antiquities only in the Monuments preserved by these People, and if we had not first the sacred Writings of the *Hebrews*, and then the *Greek* and *Latin* Historians, who come in to our Assistance where the Holy Scriptures leave off.

There are still to be seen exceeding antient and very noble Monuments of the antient *Persians*, with Inscriptions in an unknown Tongue and Character. Nothing can be more august and magnificent in all the *East*, than those Monuments which Travellers take to be the Remains of some Palaces in the City of *Persepolis*; but the Builders of them are not known; they observe upon them certain *Greek* Inscriptions, which are of a more recent Date than the rest (l). It is much more likely that they are the Remains of some Tombs, rather than the Ruins of the Palaces of the antient *Persian* Kings.

(k) See the Book entitled, *Histoire de la Religion des anciens Persans*, extracted from the Book call'd *Zendavesta*, à Paris 1701, and also *Prideaux*, who gives a large Account of this Book and its Author Zoroastres. Part I. B. IV. Connct. (l) See le Voyage de Perse de M. Chardin.

The Antiquities of the Egyptians, their History.

The Egyptians have all along had the Reputation of the most ancient Nation in the World. The Scythians contended with them in point of Antiquity (*m*) but they were but ill managers of their Cause, being ignorant of the Art of Writing, and unable to produce any certain Monuments of their Original, or any Succession of Kings in their Kingdom. On the contrary the Egyptians (*n*) had their ancient Books and Histories: They exhibited their Memorials, and show'd a List of the Monarchs they pretended to have reign'd in that Kingdom; they maintain'd that Egypt was govern'd at first by a Race of Gods; then of Demi-Gods, or Heroes; and lastly, by Men, or Kings. The Gods, and Demi-Gods reign'd 34201 Years; and the Kings from Menes to Nectanebus, 2324 Years. Nectanebus was depos'd by Artaxerxes Ocbus King of Persia 19 Years before the Monarchy of Alexander the Great. From Nectanebus to the Birth of Christ, is about 350 Years so that from the Commencement of the Egyptian Monarchy to our Saviour's Birth would be just 36875 Years; a Computation given up by all Chronologers, even by those that follow the Septuagint; for they who adhere to the Hebrew count not above 4000 Years from the Creation to the Birth of Christ.

Syncellus (*o*), from whom I have taken these Particulars, cites three ancient Monuments from whence he had them, namely, an old Egyptian Chronicle, Manetho, and Eratosthenes. All that Julius Africanus and Eusebius have said of these Matters were drawn likewise from the same Fountains. The Egyptian Chronicle, cited in Syncellus, ends with the Flight of Nectanebus, 15 Years before the Expedition of Alexander the Great against the Persians. It contains 30 Dynasties, (or Lists of Kings) and 113 Generations, which take up the space of 36525 Years.

Manetho.

Manetho was an Egyptian Priest, he styles himself Secretary, or Scribe to the Temples of Egypt, and dedicates his Work to King Ptolemy Philadelphus, who died in the Year of the World 358, and 242 Years before the Birth of Christ. He agrees with the Chronicle in the number of the Dynasties and Generations, and in the Division of the Egyptian Monarchy, between the Gods, the Demi-Gods, and the Kings, but differs

(*m*) Justin. l. 2 c. 1.

(*n*) Ver. Chron. Egypt. & Manetho apud Syncell. vid. Marsham Canon. Chronol. Egypt. *Προμαρτυριαι*.

(*o*) He liv'd in the eighth Century.

very

very much from it in the Number of Years he assigns to the Reign of the Gods; which Marsham attributes to the Interpositions in the Text of Manetho.

As for Eratosthenes, he was sent for from Athens by Ptolemy Evergetes Son to Philadelphus, and was put by that Prince upon writing the Succession of the Kings of Thebes or Diospolis: he gave in a List of 38 Kings, who reign'd 1077 Years. It is very probable, that what Eratosthenes did was only to be a Supplement to Manetho's History; and that these Theban Kings were not in the Number of those collected by the old Egyptian Chronicle, and Manetho.

The difficulty lies in knowing what is to be done with relation to these Egyptian Antiquities; whether we ought to reject them entirely, or whether a way may be found out to reconcile them with the Accounts of the Holy Scriptures which we hold to be infallible. The great Disagreement of the Egyptian Monuments from one another; their Contrariety to Herodotus (*p*), who assures us, that he says nothing but what he had from the Egyptian Priests themselves; in fine, Manetho's perpetually affecting to contradict Herodotus as a lying and fabulous Author, greatly prejudices us against their Credit and Authority. Truth is uniformly one and the same, is its own Supporter, and excludes all Contradiction. A Character not to be found in the Writings we are speaking of.

The Scriptures inform us (*q*), that Egypt was originally peopled by Ham the Son of Noah. This Country is stile'd in the Psalms, the Land of Ham (*r*). Mizraim the Son of Ham was the first King of Egypt. Egypt is always express'd in Scripture by Mizraim. The Truth of these Particulars is evident from the Names of Egypt, mention'd in Authors of undoubted Authority; Plutarch assures us (*s*), that Egypt was formerly call'd Chemia. Several Provinces of this Country still retain plain Footsteps of the Name of Ham or Cham; for instance, Chemis, Pschemnis, Psittachemnis; the God Hammon, the Country of Ammonia, the City of No-ammon; all these manifestly refer to the Name of Ham, the first Founder of the Egyptians.

(*p*) Herodot. l. 2 c. 3. &c.

(*r*) Psal. cv. 23, 27. cvii. 22.

(*q*) Gen. x. 6. compar'd with Psal. lxxviii. 51.

(*s*) Plut. de Iside, & Osiride.

As

As for *Mizraim*, the ancient Egyptians term their first Month *Mazari*. The Arabians call *Grand Cairo* at this very day *Mezer*. Syncellus says, that *Egypt* in his time was call'd *Metzrea*, by the Hebrews, Syrians, and Arabians. This Correspondence of the ancient Names of *Egypt* with the Accounts of the Holy Scriptures, are admirable Proofs of the Truth of these last, and a plain Confutation of the Chymical Notions of the Egyptians. For in short it is certain beyond all dispute, that from *Ham* to *Alexander the Great*, there could not possibly be any thing like that vast space of time, as *Manetho* and the *Egyptian Chronicle* pretend.

But altho' we were oblig'd to take for granted the great Number of Years and Dynasties set down in the *Chronicle*, yet still there are many ways and means of objecting against this excessive pretended Antiquity of the Egyptians. As 1st, It is affirm'd, that the ancient Egyptian Years were not so long as ours; *Palaphatus* (t) says, that at first they reckon'd the Reigns of their Kings by Days only; for Example, after the Death of *Vulcan*, *Helios* his Son, reign'd 4477 Days, that is twelve Years, three Months, and four Days. And how do we know but that the Egyptian Writers of latter Ages, in order to swell the Number of the Years of their Princes, and maintain at the expence of the Truth their pretended Antiquity, have not put Years instead of Days?

Diodorus Siculus (u), says that the Egyptians tell us mere Fictions, when they assure us, that the most antient of their Gods reign'd each of them at least 1200 Years, and the others no less than 300: So that they count from the Reign of *Helios*, or the *Sun*, to *Alexander's* coming into *Asia* 22000 Years. Then he adds, that because this vast Number of Years surpasses all Belief, some have advanced in defence of the Egyptians, that before the Year was fixed to 12 Solar Months, they made the Year to consist but of one Lunar Month only; by which means the 1200 Years Reign of each God, would be reduc'd to 1200 Months, or 100 Years. That in Process of time the Egyptians having made their Years to consist of four Months, they pretended that their Kings reign'd each of them at least 300 Years, that is again 1200 Months, or 100 Years. By this

(t) Palaphati fragm. in Chron. Alex.

(u) Diodor. Sic. l. i. p. 15.

Method

Method the incredible Antiquity of the Egyptian Dynasties are brought within a reasonable Compass. *Censorinus* (w) says, that the ancient Egyptian Year was but two Months, and that *Pison*, one of their Kings, was the Person who first made it four, and afterwards fix'd it to twelve Months.

As for their Dynasties, it is certain, they did not all follow one another in a Succession, but were many of them collateral, or co-existent, and that several of the Kings who are placed one after another in the Lists, were very often co-temporary, some reigning in one, and some in another Part of *Egypt*. Accordingly these Catalogues, or Lists bear seven different Names, according to the Number of the Provinces wherein these Dynasties reign'd, viz, at *This*, at *Memphis*, at *Diospolis* at *Tbanis*, at *Seithron*, alias *Heracleopolis*, at *Elephantinus*, and at *Sais*. Now it is an easy matter to see that by reckoning these several Dynasties successively one after another, one mult of course prodigiously encrease the Years of their Duration. Thus, without absolutely denying the Antiquity of the Egyptian Monarchy, it may be affirm'd, that it is far from being of that standing, the Authors of that Country would have us believe.

It is the common fate of all known Lyars not to be believ'd tho' they speak never so great a Truth. This is the Case of these Egyptian Writers. They have by this means been so far from solidly establishing the Antiquity of their Nation and Monarchy, that they have made it an impossible thing to know their History, or to place in order the Succession of their Kings. We are entirely in the dark as to the proper Name of the first King of *Egypt*, who took *Sarah* into his House (x), or of him who rais'd *Joseph* to so great Power (y), or lastly, of him who secured the *Israelites* (z), and was drown'd in the *Red-Sea*. The Scripture calls them all by the general Name of *Pharaohs*, which is as much as to say, the King. *Shishak* is the first King express'd in Scripture by his proper Name (a). After we meet with *So*, or *Sua*, or *Sue* (b); then *Necbo* (c), and lastly, *Hophra*, or *Ephree*, or *Vaphres* (d). *Shishak* liv'd in the time of *Rehoboam*; *So* in the time of

(w) Censorin. de die natali. c. 19.

(x) Gen. xii. 15.

(y) Gen. xli. 1.

(z) Exod. i. 8.

(a) 1 Kings xi. 40.

(b) 1 Kings xvii. 4.

(c) 2 Kings xxiii.

29. (d) Jerem. xlii. 36.

Holbea

Holbea King of *Israel*; *Nechob* in the time of *Josiah* King of *Judah*; *Hopbra* in the time of the Prophet *Jeremiah*; and of *Zedekiah* King of *Judah*; *Shishak* perhaps is *Sesonchis*; So is apparently the same with *Sabachon*, or rather *Setbon*; *Nechob* is the *Nechos*, or *Nechus* (e), and *Hopbra* the *Apries* (f) of *Herodorus*. This Historian says, that *Apries* was Son to *Psammitis*, and Grandson to *Nechos*.

After *Apries* we meet with *Amasis* and *Psammitichus*, in whose Reign *Cambyses* conquered *Egypt*, in the Year of the World 3479. After this reign'd *Inarus*, *Acoris*, *Tachos*, and *Nectanebus*. This last was depos'd by *Artaxerxes Ochus* King of *Persia* in the Year of the World 3654. and 19 Year before *Alexander the Great* brought *Egypt* entirely under Subjection in 3673. The *Ptolemies* succeeded *Alexander*, and govern'd *Egypt* 293 Years, to the Year of the World 3974, that is to say, to the Death of the famous *Cleopatra*.

Herodotus (g) says a great deal of *Sesostris*, making him a renowned Hero, who conquered a great part of the *East*; but our most learned *Chronologers* are at a loss in what time to fix him. If you consult *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, *Syncellus*, *Scaliger*, *Usher*, *P. Pezron*, and the rest of the *Chronologers*, you'll find they agree in nothing. Some are for shortening the *Egyptian Dynasties*, others for retrenching a good part of them, and others, not to perplex themselves about them, are for wholly rejecting them as fabulous. Hence I may safely conclude, that there is no certainty to be had in these matters from *Prophane Authors*, but that we must return to the Holy Scriptures of the *Old-Testament* for Satisfaction in this Case, where the Original of the *Egyptians* is deduc'd from *Ham* the Son of *Noah*, and from *Mizraim* the Son of *Ham*.

Antiquities of
the Chinese,
their Origin.

The Antiquities of the *Chinese* are mightily cry'd up, but the Moment you go back to the Times before *Fohi*, who liv'd 2352 Years before Christ, you meet with nothing but Obscurity and Uncertainty in the opinion even of the *Chinese* themselves. So that their Monarchy, at least what they pretend may be depended upon, began not 'till the Year of the World 2048, and 34 Years before the calling of *Abraham*. This Antiquity, tho' of a much later Date than the History of the *He-*

(e) Herod. l. 2. c. 158.

(f) Herod. l. 2. c. 147,

(g) Herod. lib. 2. c. 161.

brews,

could however be very considerable, were we sure it could well be made out. Indeed it is asserted (b), that the *Chinese* have a great Number of Historical Monuments, each Historian giving an account of his own time, without taking upon him to assure or call in question what had been said by former Historians (a).

But without pretending to judge of the Methods made use of by those who have hitherto given us Historical Accounts of *China*, perhaps the best way would be to translate the *Annals* of the *Chinese* into some European Language, to examine their History and Historians by the Rules of *Criticism*; to inform our selves of the Age they liv'd in, the Circumstances of their Life, their Character, the Place from whence the *Copies* of their Writings were taken, how they are come down to our times, amidst so many Revolutions, and the ways and means that have been used to preserve them. It would be a vast Satisfaction to know all these Particulars, and of great Service in confirming the Credit and Authority of these Histories. We should be infinitely pleas'd with seeing the Style, the Manner of Writing, the Taste of these People, and with comparing their History with those of the *Hebrews*, the *Greeks*, the *Romans*, and our own. It is by no means impossible, but that the *Chinese* may impose upon those who are desirous to have a thorough Knowledge of their Histories, by extolling the Merits of their Writers, and crying up their great Antiquity; perhaps the modern *Chinese* themselves have in these Respects been deceiv'd, and impos'd upon by the antient *Chinese* their Predecessors.

But supposing we admit of the Truth of the *Chinese* History to the Reign of *Fohi*, what Profit would that bring to us, as to those things that any way concern us? Their Customs and their Religion are of a quite different Nature from ours. The *Chinese* are a People of no communicative Temper; satisfied with themselves, and minding little else besides the Beauties, Riches, Inventions, Arts and Sciences of their own Country, they decline all Commerce with Foreigners, and look with Contempt upon what does not square with their Customs. Now who could it be in his head to desire to examine

(a) Mart. Martini Sinicae Hist. lib. 1. ad Leß. Neque enim Scriptori sequentium temporum licet Historiam priorum mutare, vel in dubium vocare; sed id munus habet, ut ex fide temporum suorum, quae prioribus subrexit

tho-

thoroughly the History of a Nation so extremely different, from us in their Situation, Manners, Interests, and Religion. Thus the History of the *Chinese*, compar'd with that of the *Hebrews*, lies under these three great Disadvantages, with respect to us; it is not so ancient, so certain, or of that moment.

The Phœnicians, their Origin and History.

The *Phœnicians* more nearly concern us, than the *Chinese*, seeing they have a much greater Affinity with the History of the *Hebrews*, and likewise with those of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; they are spoken of in the *Old Testament* under the Name of the *Canaanites*. *Canaan* their Founder was the Son of *Noah*, the Son of *Noah*. *Canaan* was born the Year after the Deluge, or thereabouts, since he was a grown Youth, when *Noah*, having planted a Vineyard, was found by him naked and asleep. It is highly probable, that *Canaan* with his eleven Sons peopled *Palestine* immediately after the Building the Tower of *Babel*. When *Abraham* came into that Country, the *Canaanites* had been settled there a long time, and we don't find any Nation had ever been there before them.

After *Joshua* had made a complete Conquest of *Palestine*, by destroying or driving out the greatest part of the *Canaanites*, those that remain'd in the Country, and are call'd by *Profane* Authors the *Phœnicians*, being pent up in a Corner of the Land near the *Mediterranean*, gave themselves up entirely to Trade and Navigation, leaving to the *Hebrews* the Care of cultivating the Land, and the breeding of Cattel. Hence the great number of *Phœnician* Colonies, in almost all the Isles in the *Mediterranean*, and along the *African* and *Spanish* Coasts; hence their immense Riches and great Fame spread over all the World, and so much extoll'd by all the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors.

Homer does but just mention the *Phœnicians*; he styles them the *Industrious* (k) and gives to *Sidon* the Epithet of *Rich in Brass* (l). *Herodotus* (m) observes, that the *Phœnicians* were the first Cause of the Divisions which broke out between the *Greeks* and *Barbarians* (n). The *Phœnicians* having carried off by force the Daughter of the King of *Argos*, the *Greeks* to make Reprisals stole away *Europa* the Daughter of the King of *Tyre*. Afterwards some other *Greeks* went and brought

(k) Hom. Iliad. xxiii. v. 743.

(l) Hom. Od. xv. v. 424.

(m) Herod. l. 1. c. 1.

(n) The *Greeks* call'd all but themselves *Barbarians*.

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the Daughter of the King of *Argos*, and at last *Phœnix* King of *Phœnicia* with *Helena* the Wife of the King of *Sparta*, which was the occasion of the *Trojan War*, one of the most celebrated Events in ancient History, and was followed with very fatal Consequences; since it laid the Foundation of a lasting Quarrel between the *Perians* and *Greeks*, in which so much Blood was spilt on both sides.

(k) from whom I have taken these Particulars, speaks likewise of a Temple built by the *Phœnicians* at *Thubur* five Generations before the Birth of *Hercules* the Son of *Jupiter* and *Alcmene*. He says moreover in the same Place that he saw at *Tyre* a very ancient Temple of *Hercules*, which the Priests told him was built before the City of *Tyre*, 2700 Years before he wrote his History. *Herodotus* liv'd about 480 Years before Christ, so that *Tyre* should have been built 2780 Years before our Saviour's Birth, in the Year of the World 1220, which is 400 Years before the Flood. In my *Commentary* on *Joshua* xix. 29. I have ascribed to the time of the Foundation of *Tyre* and ascertained to compute to be of a much later Date. *Josephus* places it 240 Years before the Temple of *Solon*, that is in the Year of the World 2760, about 1200 Years after the Building of *Babel*. All this is to be understood of ancient *Tyre*, situated on the Continent, and built a long while before *New Tyre*, which was founded on a Rock in the Sea opposite to the old Town.

The *Phœnicians* formerly had Annals, whereof *Josephus* (p) has preserv'd some Fragments. *Dionysius* (q) *Diogenes*, *Monachus* and some others writ likewise the History of the *Phœnicians*. *Strabo* (r) has quoted by *Porphyry* (s) has treated of *Sanchonia* the same subject, bringing it down from the Creation of the World to his own time. He liv'd, says *Porphyry*, in the time of *Semiramis* and drew up his History from the ancient Records, and *Historical* Inscriptions in the Temples of *Phœnicia* and *Egypt*. He consulted likewise *Jeremias*, Priest to the God *Jehovah* who in all likelihood is the same with *Jerubbab*, or *Jerubbaal*, one of the Judges of *Israel*, who

(p) Herod. l. 2. c. 44.

(q) *Josephus* con. App. l. 1.

(r) *Ibidem*.

(s) *Apud*

Strabo lib. 16. c. 1. 10.

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sacred to the God of Israel, called *Tamir* or *Jehovah*. This book was originally written in the *Phœnician* Language, and dedicated to *Abyathus* King of *Berytus*, and afterwards translated into Greek by *Philo Byblius*, who lived in *Adrian's* time. This is *Porphyry's* Account of *Sanctoniathon*.

As for *Dius* and *Menander*, we know but very little about them, their Works being entirely lost, except some few Fragments to be met with in other Authors. *Menander* was of *Pergamus*: It doth not appear that *Josephus* knew any thing of his *Phœnician* History, but it is cited by *Tatian* and *St. Clemens of Alexandria*. *Josephus* speaks of *Dius* with Praise, and gives us a large Quotation out of him, containing many Particulars relating to the Life of *Solomon* and *Hiram*. He quotes likewise *Menander the Ephesian* (s), who wrote the Succession of the Kings of *Tyre*, from *Hiram*, to the founding of *Carthage* by *Dido* (t). In fine, *Tatian* cites *Tibodotus*, *Hyphicrates*, and *Mochus*, *Phœnician* Historians, whose Works were done into Greek by *Charis*. But all these Writings are to us, as if they had never been, since they are all lost; and there is great Reason to suspect whether there was ever such a Man as *Sanctoniathon* in the World, and whether the Fragment in *Eusebius* was not contrived and invented by *Porphyry*, from whence it is cited.

We must then reckon the *Phœnicians* in the number of those Nations, whose Antiquity in general is undoubtedly great, but whose History is unknown for want of *Memorials*: and most certain it is, that, were it not for the *Jewish* and *Christian* Writers, who thought it for the Interest of Religion, to preserve some Fragments of the History of this Nation, hardly should we have known so much as their Original, or the Names of their ancient Historians.

History and
Antiquities of
Greece.

To see the Multitude of *Greek* Writers now extant, one would imagine, that the Antiquities of that Nation were set in the clearest Light, and their History of greater Certainty, and more to be depended upon, than that of any People in the World; yet when we come to a close Examination of the Matter, we meet with great Obscurity and many *Chasms*.

(s) I am apt to think that *Menander of Pergamus* and *Menander the Ephesian*, are both the same Person. (t) *Con. App.* l. 1.

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What contributed the most to ruin the Credit of the *Greeks*, was their Love and Inclination to Poetical Fictions. Their most antient Authors were all Poets (u): They gave every thing they treated of, the Air and Turn of a Fable. The *Marvellous* and *Extraordinary*, always took with them at the expense of the *True* and the *Natural*. This ill Taste prevailed in *Greece* for several Ages; and they succeeded so well in this way, that in fine, their antient History is entirely wrapped up in Darkness and Fable; so that when they came to write in a more natural manner, they found themselves obliged to give up all the time before the first *Olympiad*, and date their History no higher than that famous Period.

Varro, the most learned of the *Romans*, divided Time into three *Intervals*: The first from the Beginning of the World to the Flood, the second from the Flood to the first *Olympiad*; the third from the *Olympiads* to his own time. He held the first *Interval* to be absolutely impossible to be known, as indeed it was both to the *Greeks* and *Latins*. The second *Interval* he call'd the *Fabulous*; because whatever the *Greeks* said of it, was so blended with Fables and Fictions, that there was no distinguishing Truth from Falshood. He acknowledges the *Historical Age* to reach no higher than the *Olympiads*, and indeed it was not till after that time the *Greek* Historians began to have any sure Footing.

Diodorus Siculus (w) gives us an Account, in six Books, of the *Fabulous* Events supposed to have come to pass before the *Trojan War*; and he does not properly begin his History till after the taking of that famous City. *Ephorus* confin'd himself to the time after the return of *Heracles* to *Peloponnesus*. *Julius Africanus* has fix'd the beginning of his *Chronology* to *Ogyges's* Deluge, which happened in the Reign of *Phoroneus* King of *Argos* 1020 Years before the first *Olympiad*. *Cecrops* the *Egyptian* founded the Kingdom of *Athens* 780 Years before the same Period, as appears from an old *Chronographe* of *Paros*, publish'd by *Selden* among the *Arun-del Marbles*.

But these few *Epochs* before the time of the *Olympiads*, are insufficient to set to rights the rest of the *Grecian* History,

(u) *Strabo*, l. 1.

(w) *Diod. Sic. Biblio.* l. 1.

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so monstrously corrupted with Fables. There is no doubt, for instance, but that in *Deucalion's* time a great Inundation happen'd, which the *Greeks* call'd the *Deluge*. But where is the Man that will vouch for all the Circumstances of it? Who will undertake to clear up the Accounts of the *Conflagration* of *Phaeton*, the Birth of *Erichonius*, the *Rapes* of *Proserpina* and *Europa*; and of all that is related of *Ceres*, *Apollo*, *Bacchus*, *Minos*, *Perseus*, *Cadmus*, *Castor*, *Pollux*, *Esculapius*, and *Hercules*? Is it not uncertain even when the *Olympiads* themselves begun? It is well known they neglected a long time to record the Names of the Conquerors in the *Olympick Games*. *Corabus* is the first upon Record, and it was not till the 27th *Olympiad* that he won the Prize, about 108 Years after the renewing of these *Games* by *Iphitus*. *Atreus* the Son of *Pelops* instituted them at the Funeral of his Father, 346 Years, according to *Velleius*, before they were re-establish'd by *Iphitus*.

But supposing we should take it for granted, that the *Greeks* have a clear and continued History from the time of the *Olympiads*, or even from the *Deluge* of *Ogyges*, or the *Trojan War*, down to our times; how far back would this carry us? The taking of *Troy*, according to the *Chronology* we follow, happened in the Year of the World 2820, about the time of *Jephtha*, Judge of *Israel*. The *Deluge* of *Ogyges* is placed in the Year 2208, a good while after the Death of *Abraham*. In fine, the first *Olympiad* falls in with the Year of the World 3228, and of the *Julian Period* 3938, eight Years after the Death of *Jeroboam II.* in the Reign of *Zachariah* King of *Israel*, and of *Azariah*, or *Ozias* King of *Judah*. But even after these times, how great Uncertainty and Confusion is there in the History of the *Greeks*? The sacred Writings of the *Jews* alone inform us of the true Original of those People, who first plant'd themselves in *Greece* and *Ionia*. It is *Moses* that tells us, that *Javan* was the Father of the *Ionians*; *Kittim* of the *Macedonians*; *Tiras* of the *Thracians*; *Tarshish* of the *Cilicians*; that the People of *Elis* were deriv'd from *Elishab*, those of *Emathia* from *Madai*, and that all these Nations sprung from *Japheth*.

It is agreed on, that the *Latins* have nothing certain, or to be depended upon in their History of the Times before the

The History of the Latins not very ancient.

Foundation of *Rome*. All they tell us, labours under great Difficulties, and, like all other *Heathen* Antiquities, favours strongly of *Fable*. The History of *Cacus*, of *Latinus* and *Turmus*, the Arrival of *Eneas* in *Italy*, the Birth and Education of *Remus* and *Romulus*, are Points they have chosen to set off and embellish, tho' at the certain expence of Truth. The time of the Foundation of *Rome* is a very considerable Epocha, but of great Uncertainty. The first Inhabitants of that City were any thing sooner than *Chronologers* and *Historians*. Entirely given up either to Husbandry or War, they never troubled themselves about Learning or Writing. I fix the Foundation of *Rome* in the Year 3966, of the *Julian Period*; of the World 3256 in the Reign of *Hezekiah*, King of *Judah*; at the time *Sardanapalus*, King of *Assyria*, was besieged at *Nineveh* by *Arbaces* and *Beletus*: but this is of a late Date, in comparison of the Antiquities of the Eastern Nations, especially of the *Hebrews*.

I shall not enquire here into the Antiquities of the *Gauls* and *Germans*, and other Northern Nations, because they were ignorant of the Art of Writing, and have left us no Historical Monuments at all. What we know of them, we have from the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who had but an imperfect Knowledge of the History of these Nations, and were not antient enough to inform us of what pass'd in *Gaul* or *Germany*, when the first Inhabitants came to settle there, and when they founded their Commonwealths or Kingdoms. The Authors who mention these Nations, speak of them as already form'd into Societies, and establish'd long before.

The Original of the People of *America*, is what has exercised the Heads of the Learned ever since the Discovery of that New World. Some have asserted, that they have been of an exceeding long standing in that Country. They apply to them what *Aristotle* (*2^d*) said of a certain desert Island, situated beyond *Hercules's Pillars*, of a very considerable extent, water'd with large Rivers, and cover'd with vast Forests of all kinds of Trees, abounding with all sorts of Fruits at the Distance of many days Sail from *Gades*. The chief Magistrates of *Cartbage*, perceiving that several of their Citizens had undertaken to sail

Antiquities of the Gauls and Germans very obscure.

The Original of the Americans.

(*) *Aristot. de Mirabilibus auditis.*

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to this Island, and that some of them were actually settled there, they made a Law forbidding all Persons upon pain of Death to go thither, and commanding those who were there already to return forthwith, for fear, as they said, the thing should take Air, and come to the Knowledge of other Nations, who might go and make a Settlement there, and by that means disturb the Peace and Commerce of *Carthage*.

Diodorus Siculus (y), is somewhat more particular in this matter. Some *Phanicians* having been cast upon this Island, which he speaks of as of a very large Country, and a sort of *Terrestrial Paradise*, at their return so magnified and cried up its Beauty and Riches, that the *Tyrrhenians* (z) resolv'd to get possession of it, by sending a *Colony* thither; but the *Carthaginians* prevented them, fearing lest the greatest part of their Citizens, allur'd by the Goodness of the Country, might be induc'd to leave *Carthage*, and go and settle there. But their principal View in this was to secure to themselves a safe Retreat, in case of any unforeseen Accident, or the Ruin of their *Republick* in *Africa*; for being Masters of the Sea, they were persuad'd they should be able, they and their Families, with so much the more ease to take Refuge there, as this Place was unknown to all the World besides.

This is what we find in the *Antients* upon this Head. Some reject all this as fabulous; others imagine these Descriptions belong to the *Fortunate Islands*, situated beyond *Hercules's Pillars* in the main Ocean. But the Extent, the Riches, the Mountains, the Navigable Rivers, the vast Forests, magnificent Buildings, and large Cities, which (it is said) were to be seen in the Island mentioned by *Aristotle* and *Diodorus*, make it thought that they intended to give us the Description of something more extraordinary than the *Fortunate Islands*; or else that they very much magnified what was to be seen in these Islands, which, perhaps, they had but a very imperfect Knowledge of, and which Fame had render'd much more considerable than they really were. However this be, it is agreed on, that we had but little or no Know-

(y) *Diodor. Sic. l. 5.* (z) *These were the Inhabitants of the Isles of Lemnos and Imbros in the Egean Sea; or the People of Heturia or Tuscany.*

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ledge of *America* before it was discover'd in the fifteenth Century by *Americus Vespulius*, and *Christopher Columbus*.

We are mightily concern'd to know how this part of the World came to be peopled at first. The Natives can give us no Information in this Matter, they neither know how, nor when they came there. It is thought they were first cast there by some Storm, or other unforeseen Accident. It is possible that the *Northern Americans* might come over from *Norway*, those of *Jucatan* from *Ethiopia*; those of *Perou* from the *Indies* and *China*; and lastly, those in the *South* as far down as the *Magellanick Straits* from the *Eastern Parts* of *Terra Australis*. It is certain, that the utmost Bounds of *Grand Tartary* are very near, if not contiguous, to *North America*.

We have an History of *Mexico* (a) in a parcel of very comical *Figures*, representing upon 63 *Plates* the History of the *Mexicans*, their Government, Manners, Ceremonies, Religion, and Revenues. A *Spanish* Governour of *Mexico* had it from some of the Country, with an Interpretation in their Language of the *Figures*. This Interpretation is translated into *French*, and we find by it, that the History of this Nation goes no farther back than the Year of Christ 1324. the *Epocha* of the Building of the City of *Mexico*; and that *Montezuma* their last King reign'd in 1518, when *Cortez* landed in *America*. Instead of Writing, they made use of a sort of *Hieroglyphicks*, or a very imperfect way of Painting. In the *Plates* above-mentioned, their Princes are represented by little ill-shap'd Men, with certain Marks to distinguish them. The number of the Years of their Reigns is express'd upon the edge of the Picture, by so many small Squares. Their Victories and Conquests are represented by other *Characters*, the meaning whereof it would be extremely difficult to guess at without an Explanation, either by word of Mouth, or in Writing.

The other Nations of *America* are as ignorant in the matter of Antiquity as the *Mexicans*. The *Peruvians* give us several fabulous Accounts concerning the Origin of their Kings, whom they make to descend from the *Sun*. But the truth is, their first King began not his Reign till about the Year of

(a) *History of the Kingdom of Mexico, represented by Figures at Paris, 1673.*

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our Lord 1125, 400 Years before the *Spaniards* entered *Perou*, in the Year 1525. Before that time, these People knew nothing of Writing, but made use of a rough sort of Painting like *that* of the *Mexicans*. They had likewise small *Strings* or *Threads*, whose several *Colours* and *Knots* answer'd in a great measure the use we make of our four and twenty *Letters*.

The Hebrews the only true Depositories of the Original of Things.

Thus have I run through all those Nations, from whom one might reasonably expect any certain Accounts of Antiquity; and after all, am fain to return to the *Israelites* as the true *Depositories* of the Original of Things, and of the History of the first Ages. The Antiquity of the *Hebrews* is not so great as to exceed Belief, has nothing of the Air of a *Fable*, neither is it built on a chimerical and sandy Foundation. They produce *Historical Monuments* of more than 3200 Years standing. *Moses*, their first and oldest Writer, treads, if I may so say, upon the Heels of the Primitive *Parriarchs*. The Remembrance of the *Deluge* and *Tower of Babel* was still fresh; and it was no hard matter to know what pass'd before the Flood. The Scriptures inform us (b), that *Moses* was skill'd in all the *Learning* of the *Egyptians*, and consequently could not but have known the true Origin and History of that Nation: he had the Advantage of perusing all their authentick Accounts, and destroy'd by his Writings all the Falshoods and Fables they might afterwards impose upon the World.

Moses's Ancestors came from *Chaldea* and *Mesopotamia*, the Histories of which Countries they must have been acquainted with: and from them it was, that *Moses* had his Information. Accordingly there was, (as *Josephus* (c) assures us) a perfect Harmony between the History of *Berosus*, and *that* of the *Hebrews* concerning the first Ages of the World; and this Agreement is a good Proof of the Truth of what *Berosus* related. *Herodotus*, who is justly stil'd *The Father of History* (d), entirely agrees also with the Scriptures in those things that were within his own Reach, and which he knew of his own Knowledge. If at any time he is in the wrong, it proceeded from his giving Credit to the fabulous Relations of others: as for Example, in what he informs us upon the Authority of the *Egyptian* Priests, who palpably abused his Credulity in many Parti-

(b) Acts vii. 22. (c) Josephus, l. i. cont. Appion. (d) Cic. l. i. de legibus.

culars,

culars, which they turn'd to their own Reputation and Advantage.

When the *Greeks*, to enhance their own, and the Antiquity of other Nations, give out that they are *Aborigines*, *Sons of the Earth*, or Country they inhabit, and pretend they never came from elsewhere; by endeavouring thus, to conceal the *Novelty* of their Original, they visibly discover their Ignorance (e). All Mankind are deriv'd from one *Stock* (f), and they who imagine they are not sprung from thence, plainly show they know not whence they are. The Nations that are of undoubted Antiquity, are far from boasting like the *Athenians*, of their being born of the *Earth*. Never were these Nations known to live in a rude and barbarous manner, to begin at last after a long space of time to build Cities, to learn the Art of Writing, to enter into Civil Societies, to form their Religion. *Laws*, *Religion*, and *Architecture*, came forth from *Chaldea*, *Assyria*, and *Egypt*, and from thence pass'd into *Greece* and other Countries. To the *East* we must go to look for the Origin of the most famous Nations, and for the true Source of *Traditions*. If some ancient People, as the *Scythians*, and some Nations of *Africa*, remain'd in Ignorance and Barbarousness, the Fault lay either in the nature of their Country, too barren to permit them to stay long enough in one Place to cultivate the Arts and Sciences, or in that wandering and vagabond kind of Life, they at first took up, and were unwilling to leave ever after.

As for the other Nations who are not of so great Antiquity, and were farther remov'd from the Seat of the *First Men*, their principal Care was, upon their coming into a Desert Country, to grub up and clear the Ground, to defend themselves against Heat and Cold, the Injuries of the Weather, and wild Beasts. If they found others already settled there, they prepar'd themselves for War, both Offensive and Defensive, and fortified themselves against any sudden Attacks. In the midst of Alarms, Hurry and Noise, they had but little Leisure to write and compose their History. The more remote any Countries were from those we look upon as the *Center* from

(e) Eurip. Strabo. l. 8. ex Thucid. Hecr. Paneg. (f.) Acts xvii. 26. He made of one Blood all Nations of Men.

whence all Nations proceeded, the more rude, barbarous, and ignorant the People were. The Northern Countries, *Germany, Gaul, Italy* itself, were a long time without any regular Form of Government, unciviliz'd, without the use of Writing, Learning, or Arts. Their Religion without any Form or Decency was agreeable to the Roughness of their Manners, and the little Care they took to cultivate their Understandings. At first they neglected their History and Origin; afterwards they entirely forgot them, and when they became willing to give some account of them in Writing, they fell into horrid Mistakes, and vented monstrous Fables, built upon confus'd and uncertain Traditions.

The *Gauls, the Germans*, and other Nations, who imagin'd they could supply the want of *Annals* and written *Monuments*, by committing to their *Memories* the *Genealogies* of their Gods, their Demi-Gods, their Heroes, their Kings, and their religious Ceremonies, guarded but very indifferently against the danger of Forgetfulness, the Changes and Alterations of the Memory, and the Inconveniencies that arise from Death, from Wars, and other Revolutions, which the State and Condition of human Affairs are necessarily subject to. Accordingly Experience has convinc'd us of this, since all that the *Druids* and *Bards* trusted to their own and the *Memories* of those they brought up, is buried in Oblivion, and nothing at all of it has reach'd our Times.

The small Number of *Monuments* that have escaped the Jaws of Time, and the Arms of the *Romans* and *Barbarians*, I mean some few *Statues* and *Gallick Coins*, afford us no Light into their History: Their very Language is entirely unknown to us, because they neglected the use of Letters and Writing (g), which are the only sure means of transmitting down to Posterity the Knowledge of things of this nature. 'Tis thought there are some Remains of the Language of the *Gauls* to be

(g) We find in *Caesar*, that the *Helvetians* made use of Greek Characters, L. 1. c. 29. In *Castris Helvetiorum tabulae reperta sunt litteris Graecis confecta, &c.* But in another Place, he says, l. 5. *Hanc Graecis conscriptam litteris mittit, ne intercepta Epistola, nostra ab hostibus consilia cognoscantur.* There is no way to reconcile these Passages, but by supposing that the *Gauls* bordering upon *Marseilles* and the *Mediterranean*, used the Greek Letters; but those that liv'd farther up in the Country, did not. In l. 6. he says, the *Druids* made use of the Greek Characters in both private and publick Affairs. Cum in reliquis rebus publicis, privatisque rationibus Graecis litteris utantur.

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found in *Lower Britany* and *Wales*; but as there are no antient Writings in that Tongue, we can learn nothing from thence of their History; and what Information we have in this matter from the *Greeks* and *Romans*, is very inconside-
rable and imperfect.

The *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*, who recorded the famous Exploits of their Princes in *Hieroglyphicks* have succeeded no better in preserving the Memory of their Antiquities, tho' they engrav'd them on *Brass* and *Marble*. This way of Writing is too mysterious and obscure. It is true indeed they had an easier and more certain Method of Writing, but then it is lost, as well as the ancient *Egyptian* Tongue; and the few *Memo-rials* written in that Language, that are come down to us, can neither be read nor understood by any body. The *Greek* Tongue introduc'd into *Egypt* by the *Ptolemies*, caused the antient Language and Characters to be disus'd by degrees. The antient Inscriptions at *Palmyra* and *Persopolis*, are entirely unknown; and unless the *Samaritans* had preserv'd the *Penta-teuch* in the old *Hebrew* Characters, we should have been ignorant of the *Phanician* Letters, and of those made use of by the *Israelites* before the *Babylonish* Captivity. No one can decypher the *Punick* Letters, or *Medals*. When therefore one considers all these things, one can hardly forbear looking upon it as a Miracle of the Divine Providence, that the Sacred Writings of the *Hebrews* should have thus come down entire to our Times, maugre the Revolutions, Exiles, Misfortunes, and Wars that unhappy Nation have almost continually lain under.

The *Greeks* had their Letters and Way of Writing from *Phanicia* (h). They believ'd *Cadmus* brought this Invention with him from his own Country. But it was very late before they put it in practice. *Josephus* (i) asserts, that *Homer* did not write his Poem; but sung it by Heart, sometimes one Part, and sometimes another; and that afterwards the *Rhapsodists* or Singers did the same, not knowing it but only by Memory. They at length sat about writing it, and reducing it to a Volume as we now have it: This is what *Josephus* affirms. It is certain, that the Date of the most antient *Greek* Historian, is

(h) Ita Tacit. Lucan. Q. Curt. Plut. &c.

(i) Joseph. l. 1. con. Ap.

but.

but very little before the War of the Persians against the Greeks. St. Clemens of Alexandria (k) maintains that Anaxagoras was the first Greek Writer, Themistius will have it to be Anaximenes (l); and that before his time it was a Shame and Reproach to write Books. Pliny says (m), that Cadmus the Milesian was the first Greek Historian that appeared. Fable and Poetry were in repute a long time before History; and Philosophy, as Strabo observes (n). The first Historians blended their Histories with Fables, the better to make them relish with the People, who were accusom'd to Fictions. In this manner, Homer treats of the Trojan War: He has interlarded it with Fables, and embellish'd it with the Charms and Graces of Poetry.

It is true indeed, that notwithstanding the History of ancient Times is wrap'd up in fabulous Circumstances, we discover several Traces and Footsteps of Truth; however, what a number of important Matters of Fact are suppressed by the Fictions of the Poets? and even those Historical Truths, that we behold thro' the dark Vell of Fable, how are they to be distinguish'd, without the Assistance of the Holy Scriptures, where things are related in a plain and natural manner? Without their Help, how could we see Saturn in Noah; Pluto, Smi, or Typhon, in Shem; and Neptune in Japheth? It is Moses that discovers to us the Origin of the Fable of Jupiter's castrating Saturn, in what he tells us of Noah's being found naked by Ham his third Son. Neptune the God of the Sea, is no other than Japheth, the Father of those among whom the Isles of the Nations were divided (o). Saturn and Rhea are Adam and Eve, or rather Noah and his Wife. The Giants who wag'd War against Jupiter, and in order to scale Heaven, heaped Mountains upon Mountains, are the Men that undertook the Building of Babel.

The Stories of Isis and Osiris in Egypt, of Venus and Adonis in Phœnicia; of Cyniras the Father of Adonis, vanquish'd by Apollo; the Rape of Europa, the Exposing and Deliverance of Andromeda, are ancient Histories, disguis'd and cloth'd in Fables. The Golden, Silver, and Iron Ages, the Chaos of the

(k) Clem. Alex. l. i. Strom.

(l) Themist. or. 20.

(m) Plin. l. 7. c. 56.

(n) Strab. l. 1. (o) Gen. x. 5.

ancient

ancient Greeks, are all taken from Moses's History. Hyrius, who lodg'd Jupiter and Mercurius disguis'd like Travellers, is the same with Abraham, who entertain'd Angels, and whom God blest with a Son by Sarah. Moses is represented by Bacchus, Aaron by Mercury, and Samson by Hercules. The Antients affected too much Wit and Subtilty, they lov'd to speak in dark Riddles and Enigmas. They thought nothing worth saying, but the Strange and the Marvellous. The History of the Hebrews is not corrupted by this wretched Taste of Things. Nothing more serious, nothing more grave, than those who wrote it; or rather I should say, nothing more wise, nothing more true, nothing to be more revered, than the Spirit of God, the chief and principal Author of it. His Unction, Light and Guidance shines throughout from one end to t'other: never did any Person express himself in so overbearing and majestick a way as the sacred Pen-men; and never did any History carry in it more evident Marks of Truth, than that of the People of God.

Now it was of great moment to make appear that the Hebrews were the only Depositories of the true History of the first Ages; and that the Egyptians, Chaldeans, Phœnicians, Chinese, Greeks, and Romans, can produce no authentic and coherent Accounts of those Times. It was necessary to show, that the Egyptian, Phœnician, Assyrian, Chinese, Grecian, and Roman Antiquities are exceeding doubtful and confused, in order to undeceive those who are too much prepossessed in favour of these Nations, and whose Prejudices are strong against the Hebrews (p).

They who believe the World to have existed from all Eternity, and imagine there were Men before Adam; and that several Revolutions of Ages, Empires, and Religions have happened before those mention'd in History, may hug themselves with their chimerical Notions: but for our Part, we expect that they produce substantial Proofs for what they advance. When the Business is only to shew our Wit and Parts in forming a System, in framing an Hypothesis, many there are that are capable of so doing; but when the Reasons of

(p) See more of these Matters in the Dissertations concerning Chronology, and the History of the Eastern Empires.

these

these *New Systems* are to be given, and Matters of Fact to be alledged for their support, here lies the Difficulty. Every new Invention, every strange Country that has been lately discover'd, are manifest Proofs of the *Novelty* of the World. Monuments, the most durable and unchangeable, *Marbles*, *Coins*, *Inscriptions*, *Buildings*, all proclaim aloud, the World has not been created long. The Original of almost all Inventions, even the most useful and necessary to our Subsistence and Well-being, are well known; at least we know they are not eternal, and that it was a good while before they were brought to Perfection. In a word, the Eternity of the World, and of Matter, whether we deny, or whether we acknowledge, the Being of a God as the first Cause of all Things, is neither to be maintain'd, nor comprehended.



A



A
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE
OF THE
Kings of ASSYRIA

Year of the
World.

1770

before
J.C. 1230.



IMROD, the Son of *Cush*, and Grandson of *Ham*, founds the *Assyrian* Monarchy, about the time of the Building of *Babel*; that is, 114 Years after the Flood, in the Year of the World 1770.

He had many Successors, whose Names are to be found in several Lists, but they are not at all to be depended upon; besides no one Action of their Reigns is come to our Knowledge.

2682

BELUS the *Assyrian* began to reign in 2682. He reigned 55 Years.

2737

NINUS, his Son, whom the *Persians* reckon the Founder of the *Assyrian* Empire, began to reign in 2737, before J.C. 1263. He is said to reign 52 Years: He died about the Year 2789, before J.C. 1211. Vulg. *Æra*, 1215.

U R A M

F

S E M E

- 2789 **SEMIRAMIS**, the Wife of **Ninus**, reign'd 42 Years, and died about the Year 2831, before *J. C.* 1169.
- 2831 **NINIAS** reign'd about 39 Years: He died in the Year 2870, before *J. C.* 1130.
After *Ninias*, we find a long, tho' very doubtful List of *Assyrian* Kings; down to *Phul* mentioned in the Scriptures, who in all appearance was the Father of *Sardanapalus*. *Phul* invaded the Land of *Israel* in 3233, and died in 3237, before *J. C.* 763. *Vulg. Era*, 767.
- 3237 **SARDANAPALUS**, his Son and Successor, reign'd 20 Years, from 3237, to 3257.
- 3257 **ARBACES**, Governour of *Media*, and *Belesus*, or *Nabonassar*, called in Scripture *Baladan*, Governour of *Babylonia*, having revolted from *Sardanapalus* in the Year 3254, constrained him to burn himself in his Palace in 3257, before *J. C.* 743. *Vulg. Era*, 747.
- NINUS the younger**, succeeded *Sardanapalus* at *Nineveh*: He is the *Tiglatb-Pileser* of the Scriptures, 2 *Kings* xv. 19, &c. He reigned 19 Years.
- 3276 **SALMANESER** reigned 14 Years: He died in 3290.
- 3290 **SENNACHERIB** reigned 4 Years: He died in 3294.
- 3294 **ESARHADDON** reigned 42 Years over the *Assyrians* and *Chaldeans*: He died in 3336, before *J. C.* 664. *Vulg. Era*, 668.
- 3336 **SAOSDUCHINUS**, called *Nebuchodonosor* in *Judith* reign'd 20 Years: He died in 3356, before *J. C.* 644.
- 3356 **CHINILADANUS**, or **SARACUS**, reign'd 22 Years: He died in the Year 3378, before *J. C.* 622. *Vulg. Era*, 626.
- 3378 **NABOPOLASSAR** and *Astyages*, having deposed *Chiniladanus*, *Astyages* reigned in *Media*, and *Nabopolassar* at *Nineveh*, from the Year 3378, to 3399: *Nabopolassar* was Father to *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Chaldea* or *Babylon*.

NEBU-

- 3399 **NEBUCHADNEZZAR**, King of *Chaldea* and *Assyria*, began to reign at *Babylon* in 3399: He grew distracted in 3435, and lived seven Years among the Beasts: He was restored to his Senses in 3442, and died after a Reign of 43 Years in 3442, before *J. C.* 548. *Vulg. Era*, 562.
- 3442 **EVILMERODACH** reigned two Years, from 3442, to 3444.
- 3444 **BELSHAZZAR** reigned four Years: He died in 3449.
- 3449 **DARIUS the Mede** succeeded him, and reigned at *Babylon* 16 or 17 Years: He died in 3466, and leaves the Kingdom to *Cyrus*, Founder of the *Persian* Monarchy.

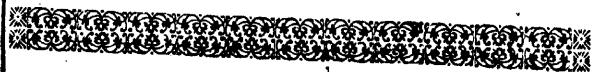
A Chronological Table of the Kings of Persia.

- 3456 **CYRUS** reign'd at *Babylon* 19 Years, from 3456, to 3475, before *J. C.* 525. *Vulg. Era*, 529.
- 3475 **CAMBYSES** reign'd seven Years five Months: He died in 3482.
- 3482 **DAROPASTES** pretending to be *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*, and Brother of *Cambyses*, seiz'd the Kingdom, and reign'd five Months.
- 3483 **DARIUS** the Son of *Hystaspes* was chosen King: He married *Esther*, and is call'd in Scripture *Ahasuerus*: He reign'd 36 Years, and died in 3519, before *J. C.* *Vulg. Era*, 485.
- 3519 **XERXES** reign'd 12 Years: He died in 3531, before *J. C.* 469.

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AR-

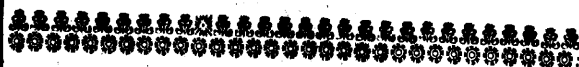
- 3579 **ARTAXERXES**, surnam'd *Longimanus*, reign'd 48 Years: He died in 3579, before J. C. 421. Vulg. Era, 425.
- 3579 **XERXES II.** reign'd one Year: He died in 3580.
- 3580 **SECUNDIANUS**, or *Sogdianus*, his Brother, reign'd seven Months.
- OCHUS**, third Son of *Artaxerxes*, otherwife call'd *Darius Norbus*, reign'd 19 Years: He died in 3600, before J. C. 400.
- 3600 **ARTAXERXES Mnemon**, reign'd 43 Years: He died in 3643, before J. C. 357. His Brother *Cyrus the Younger*, made War against him, and was slain in Battel.
- 3643 **ARTAXERXES Ocbus**, reign'd 23 Years: He died in 3666.
- 3666 **ARSES**, or *Arogus*, reign'd three Years: He was poisoned by *Bagoas* the Eunuch in 3668, before J. C. 332.
- 3668 **DARIUS Codomannus**, was vanquish'd by *Alexander the Great* in 3674, before J. C. 326, after a Reign of six Years: so that the *Persian* Monarchy lasted but 218 Years.



The Chaldean Monarchy.

THE greatest part of *Chronologers* hold *Nimrod* to be the Founder of the Empire of the *Chaldeans*, having fix'd the Royal Seat at *Babylon*. See *Gen. x. 10.* and *Micb. v. 6.* According to this *Hypothesis*, we must return to what has been said concern-

- concerning the *Assyrian*, which is often confounded with the *Chaldean* Monarchy.
- Those who are of opinion, that *Nimrod* founded the *Assyrian* Monarchy, are at a loss for the Founder of the *Chaldean*; but we find *Anrappel* King of *Shippat*, or *Babylon*, in the time of *Abraham*. *Gen. xvi. 1.* in the Year of the World 2092, before J. C. 1908.
- 2092
- 2242 *Julius Africanus*, and *Eusebius*, place the beginning of the Reign of *Evechois*, King of the *Chaldeans*, 224 Years before the *Arabians* became Masters of this Monarchy, in the Year 2952 of the *Julian Period*; and consequently in the Year of the World 2242.
- 2466 The *Arabians* wag'd War against the *Chaldeans*, and brought them into Subjection in Year 2466. They reign'd in *Chaldea* 216 Years, to the time of *Belus* the *Assyrian*.
- 2511 The Name of the first King of the *Chaldean-Arabians*, was *Mardoches*, apparently *Merodach*, whom they afterwards worshipped as a God: He reign'd 45 Years, and died in 2511, before J. C. 1489.
- 2682 **BELUS** the *Assyrian* began to reign at *Babylon*, in 2682, in the Year of the *Julian Period* 3392, before J. C. 1318: He reigned 55 Years, and died in 2737. His Successors were *Ninus*, *Semiramis*, *Ninias*, &c. whom we have spoken of in the List of the *Assyrian* Kings.
- 3257 **BELUSUS**, or *Baladan*, or *Nabonassar*, rebelled against *Sardanapalus* the last King of *Assyria*, one of the Successors of *Belus*, in the Year 3257, of the *Julian Period* 3966, before J. C. 743; and founded a new *Chaldean* Empire, which lasted till the Year 3323, when *Esarbaddon*, King of *Assyria*, became Master of it. His Successors were *Saosduchinus*, *Chiniladanus*, *Nabopolassar*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Evil-Merodach*, and *Belsazzar*, as may be seen in the Table of the *Assyrian* Kings.



Monarchy of the Medes.

- 3257 **ARBACES**, or *Orbaces*, or *Pharnaces*, Governor of *Media*, revolted from *Sardanapalus*, King of *Assyria*, in the Year 3257, and freed the *Medes* from his Yoke. He reign'd over the *Medes* till his Death, the time whereof is not known. After his Death there was an *Interregnum*, till the Year 3270.
- 3270 **DEFOCES** was establish'd King in 3270, and reign'd 52 Years. He died in 3322, before *J. C.* 678.
- 3322 **PHRAORTES**, his Son, succeeded him: He conquered the *Persians*, and was vanquish'd by the *Assyrians*. I imagine him to be the *Arpaxad* of the Book of *Judith*, I. who was overcome by *Nebuchadnezzar*, or *Saosduchinus*, King of *Assyria*, in 3347, after he had reign'd 25 Years.
- 3347 **CYAXARES** reign'd 40 Years: He died in 3387.
- 3387 **ASTYAGES**, King of the *Medes*, reign'd 35 Years: He died in 3422, before *J. C.* 578.
- 3449 **CYAXARES II.** or *Darius the Mede*, the Son of *Astyages*, succeeded *Belshazzar* in the Kingdom of *Babylon* in the Year 3449: He died in 3466. *Cyrus* succeeded him.



ANTIQUITIES

SACRED and PROFANE:

OR, A

COLLECTION

OF

Curious and Critical DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

Old and New Testament.

Written in *French* by the Learned
D. AUGUSTIN CALMET.

Done into ENGLISH, with Notes, by *N. TINDAL*, M.A.
Vicar of *Great Waltham* in *Essex*.

NUMB. V. Containing,

- I. *A Summary of the History of the Eastern Monarchies, from the time of Solomon, till after the Babylonish Captivity, for the clearing up the History of the Hebrews, as related by the Prophets, and reconciling the Sacred and Profane Historians.*
- II. *The History of the Neighbouring Nations of the Jews, viz. Philistines, Phœnicians, Idumeans, Ammonites, and Moabites, and the Syrians of Damascus, for the better understanding the Prophecies relating to them.*

To be continued Monthly.

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A
S U M M A R Y
O F

The History of the *Eastern Nations*,
from *Solomon* to the *Babylonish* Cap-
tivity ; in order to clear up the
History of the *Jews* in the *Prophets*.



THE Difficulty of explaining the *Prophets*, is owing to the imperfect Knowledge we have of those Nations the *Hebrews* had to do with, and to the difference we find in the *Sacred* and *Profane* Writers as to the *Names*, *Dates*, and *Events*, mention'd in their respective Histories.

From *Abraham* to *David* the History of the *Hebrews* goes on smoothly without any Rub, because it relates only to one single Nation, who confin'd themselves within the Bounds of their own Country, and had little or no concerns with any foreign Powers. In the Accounts of those early Ages, we are not put to the trouble of reconciling the *Sacred* with the *Heathen* Historians ; seeing these last go not back so far. In

A

vain

vain should we look in the *Greek* or *Roman* Authors for an account of the War of *Amraphel* King of *Shinar*, of *Arioch* King of *Ellasar*, of *Chedorlaomer* King of *Elam*, and *Tidal* King of Nations, against the Kings of *Sodom*, *Gomorrab*, and the other Cities of *Pentapolis*. Neither do they give us any Information of the Dominion and Monarchy of *Nimrod*, and his Successors; nor of the Conquest the *Hebrews* made of *Canaan* and the Land of the *Amorites*, where so many Kings were put to death.

We find in the time of the *Judges*, a *Chusan Rishatbaim* King of *Mesopotamia*, entirely unknown to the *Antients*. The Kingdoms of the *Idumeans*, *Philistines*, *Amalekites*, *Midianites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, are buried in a profound Oblivion by *Heathen* Writers. These were, however, powerful Nations, with whom the *Hebrews* had the most to do. But as I observ'd, this Silence of *Profane* Historians, removes all Obstacles in the Study of *Antient History*. Intricacies and Difficulties belong only to the History of later Times.

David and *Solomon*, whose Power was so Great and Flourishing, make but an inconsiderable Figure in *Profane* History. Their Empire is not so much as mentioned with the four Great Monarchies of the *Assyrians*, *Medes*, *Persians*, and *Chaldeans*; tho' its Extent and Power gave it a good Claim to be taken notice of. In the Reign of *David*, *Syria* was parted between *Hadadezer* King of *Damascus*, and *Toi* King of *Hamath*. *David* brought the former into Subjection, and entered into an Alliance and Friendship with the latter (a). He extended his Conquests beyond the *Euphrates* (b). He was at Peace with *Egypt* and *Phenicia*. All the rest of the Nations round about were subject and tributary to him. *Solomon* maintain'd, and enlarg'd the Dominions *David* left him (c). It may be demanded, where was then the great Monarchy of the *Assyrians*, so much boasted of for its Grandeur and Power? *Amraphel* King of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, *Arioch* King of *Ellasar*, *Chedorlaomer* King of *Elam*, spoken of in *Genesis* (d), and *Chusan Rishatbaim*, mentioned in *Judges* (e); were these the Heads, or Members only of this pretended Monarchy of

(a) 2 Sam. viii. 5, 9, 10, &c.

(b) Ibid. 3. and 1 Kings x. 16. Psal. lxi.

(c) 1 Kings iv. 24. ix. 17.

(d) Gen. xiv.

(e) 2 Kings xv. 19.

the

the *Assyrians*? From *Nimrod* to the Reign of *Menabem* King of *Israel*, there is nothing said in Scripture of any King of *Assyria*. But from the time of *Menabem*, we meet with *Tiglath-Pileser*, *Salmaneser*, *Sennacherib*, and *Eserbaddon*; and on the other hand, *Merodach Baladan* King of *Babylon*, in the Reign of *Hezekiah* (f), and afterward *Nebuchadnezzar*, so famous in the sacred Writings, and not unknown to profane Authors. To *Nebuchadnezzar*, succeeded *Evilmerodach*, then *Belsazzar*; after him, *Darius the Mede*, *Cyrus*, and the *Persians*. This is the general Idea the Scriptures give us of these celebrated Monarchies.

As for the Kingdom of *Egypt*, the Antiquity of it is beyond all dispute; but its Beginnings are so dark and obscure, that there is no knowing any thing of the Matter. Each Writer reduces and adjusts the first *Dynasties*, according as he pleases. The first King of *Egypt* that invaded the *Hebrews* in their own Country, was *Shishack*, who wag'd War against *Rehoboam* the Son of *Solomon* (g). A long time after, *Pharaoh Necho* vanquish'd *Josiah* (h): And lastly *Hophra*, called by *Profane* Historians *Apries*, came to the Relief of *Jerusalem*, then besieged by *Nebuchadnezzar* (i); but was overcome, and obliged to retreat. This is all the Scriptures inform us of this famous Kingdom. Too short an Account, to give us any Assistance in clearing up the Prophecies; and therefore we are fain to have recourse elsewhere for Light to guide us in a Path so dark and intricate.

After the Separation of the ten Tribes, the Monarchy of the *Hebrews* founded by *David*, and kept up by *Solomon*, began to decline. It held out for some time; but at length was forced to submit to the Kings of *Assyria* and *Babylon*. Two powerful Nations, the *Egyptians* on one side, and the *Syrians* on the other, contended many Years who should be Masters of this Country. The Kings of *Damascus* had continual Wars with the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, till these last finding themselves not a Match for them, call'd in to their Aid the Kings beyond the *Euphrates*. This Step was equally fatal to both of them, I mean, to the *Syrians* as well as

(f) 2 Kings xx. 11, 12.

(g) 1 Kings xiv. 25.

(h) 2 Kings xxiii. 29.

(i) Jer. xlv. 30.

A 2

Hebrews.

Hebrews. The *Syrians* were defeated, and their Power destroy'd; but the *Hebrews* remain'd in Subjection, and became tributary to their Deliverers, who soon prov'd their most dangerous Enemies. After they had drain'd them by intolerable Taxes and Tributes, they entirely bereav'd them of their Liberty, and carried them away Captive at several times beyond the *Euphrates*.

The *Egyptians* invaded *Judea* in the Reign of *Rehoboam*, and after they had drawn from thence immense Riches, march'd back into their own Country. They came no more into *Palestine* till the time of *Josiah*. *Necho*, King of *Egypt*, having a design of carrying his Arms as far as the *Euphrates*, demanded leave of *Josiah* King of *Judah* to pass thro' his Territories; the which being refus'd him, they came to a Battle, wherein *Josiah* was slain (k). The *Egyptians* laid claim to *Judah*, as his own by Right of Conquest: He deposed *Jehoiakim* (l), whom the People had placed upon the Throne, without consulting him, and carried him away Captive into *Egypt*. He made *Jehoiakim* King in his room, and laid the Country under a Tribute of an hundred Talents of Silver, and a Talent of Gold. The Dominion of the *Egyptians* over *Judea*, did not last long. *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, came and conquer'd the whole Country, and confin'd the King of *Egypt* within his own Bounds (m). This last made some Attempts to resist *Nebuchadnezzar*. He entered several times into Leagues with the Kings of *Judah*, to put a stop to the Progress of the King of *Babylon*: but all his Endeavours prov'd ineffectual; he was forced to submit to the Conqueror, who took *Jerusalem*, and carried off *Judah* beyond the *Euphrates*.

Whilst these two mighty Powers were contending for the mastery of *Palestine*, there were several less important Wars carried on between the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*; and between them, and the *Philistines*, *Idumeans*, *Ammonites*, and *Moabites*. But these petty Wars serv'd only to weaken those that wag'd them, and to pave the way to the Conquest of their Country, which in the end was effectually brought about.

(k) 2 Kings xxiii.

(l) 2 Kings xxvi. 30, 31.

(m) 2 Kings xxiv. 6, 7.

This

This, in short, is a general View of the History of the *Hebrews* from *David* to the *Babylonish* Captivity, and of the Relation they stood in with other Nations during all that time. But it will be necessary to be somewhat more particular in these Matters. In order to this, I shall join the Accounts of *Profane* Authors, to those of the *Sacred* Historians, taking in at the same time what is said by the *Prophets*. These last will supply us with abundance of Particulars, which we should in vain search after elsewhere; more especially *Jeremiah*, who may be considered as the *Prophet* of the *Gentiles*, from the many *Prophecies* he has left us relating to them.

Sect. I. The History of the Assyrians.

THE *Assyrian* Monarchy was founded by *Ninus* the Son of *Belus*, and lasted, according to *Herodotus* (n), 520 Years in *Higher Asia*. *Ninus*, say some (o), reigned 52 Years, others say (p), 17. He beautified and enlarged the antient City of *Nineveh*, built long before by *Nimrod* (q). *Usher* fixes the beginning of *Ninus's* Reign to the Year of the World 2737, in the time of *Deborah* and *Baruch*.

To *Ninus* succeeded his Wife *Semiramis*, who reign'd 42 Years. She rais'd the Empire to the highest Pitch of Glory, and left it in a flourishing Condition to her Son *Ninias*. There is not a word in Scripture of this famous Monarchy, or of *Jonah*.

Ninus, *Semiramis*, and their Successors, till the time of the *Prophet* *Jonah* (r); and even then we are not told the Name of the Prince who then reign'd in *Assyria*. But we find *Nineveh* to have been an exceeding great City, quite sunk into Luxury and Debauchery. However, they repented at the Preaching of *Jonah*, the King laid aside his Royal Robes, put on Sackcloth, sat in Ashes and proclaim'd a general Fast both for Man and Beast. God being moved at these Signs of Repentance, pardon'd them, and put not his Threatnings

(n) Herod. l. 1. c. 95. (o) Afric. & Euseb. (p) Diod. l. 2. Dionys. Halic. Hist. Rom. initio. (q) Gen. x. 9, 10. (r) Jon. i. 3. This Prophet lived in the Reign of Azariah King of Judah, and Jeroboam King of Israel, in the Year of the World 3180.

in

in execution. We meet with a King of *Nineveh*, called *Phul*, in the time of *Menabem* King of *Israel*, about 50 Years after *Jonab*. *Phul* came against *Israel*, and *Menabem*, to gain him over to his Side, gave him a thousand Talents of Silver (i). This is the same King mentioned in *Hosca* in these Words, *When Ephraim saw his Sickness, then went he to the Assyrian, and sent to the King the Avenger* (t). *Phul* is suppos'd to be the Father of *Sardanapalus*, or *Sardanapalus* himself, so much spoken of by the *Antients*. Indeed, *Profane* Authors call the Father of *Sardanapalus*, *Anacindaraxes* (u), or *Anabaxares*; but it is well known the antient Kings of this Country had several Names, and that the *Greeks* strangely altered proper Names.

The Assyrian Monarchy divided into three Kingdoms.

The Wickedness of *Nineveh* being grown to a monstrous height in the Reign of *Sardanapalus*, God raised up Enemies against him. *Arbaces*, Governour of *Media*, full of Indignation at the effeminate Life this Prince led in his Palace, entered into a Confederacy against him with *Belefsis* Governor of *Babylon* (w). They resolved to shake off the Yoke of so wretched a Monarch. They besieged him in *Nineveh*, and compelled him to burn himself in his Palace with all his Riches, which were prodigious (x). *Arbaces* and *Belefsis* divided his Dominions between them. The former had *Media*, and the latter *Babylon*, where he reign'd 14 Years. They left *Ninus the Younger* at *Nineveh*, the Heir of the antient Kings of *Assyria*, who kept up the Monarchy in some Splendor. Thus three large Empires sprung up out of the Ruins of the *Assyrian* Monarchy; *Those* of *Nineveh*, *Babylon*, and *Media*. I shall consider each of these apart, so far as they related to the Affairs of the *Jews*.

Belefsis or Nabonassar Founder of the Babylonian Monarchy.

Belefsis, whom *Isaiah* (y) calls *Baladan*, and *Profane* Authors *Nabonassar* (z), founded the *Babylonian* Monarchy, and fix'd the Imperial Seat at *Babylon*, a City built long before by the *Assyrians* (a). *Merodach Baladan*, Son or Grandson to *Belefsis*, courted the Friendship of *Hezekiah* King of *Judah*, as appears from the Embassy he sent to that Prince

(i) 2 Kings xv. 19. 1 Chron. v. 26. (t) *Hosca* v. 13. What is translated in our English Bible by King Jereb, is rendered in the Vulgate by Regem Ultorem. (u) Athen. 1. 12. c. 7. (w) Ibidem. (x) See Usher ad ann. M. 3254. (y) *Isai.* xxxix. 1. 2 Kings xx. 12. (z) *Hippar.* *Ptolem.* *Censorin.* (a) *Isai.* xxiii. 13.

to congratulate him upon the miraculous Recovery of his Health (b). We hear no more of the Kings of *Babylon*, till the time of *Eserbaddon*; of whom I shall speak hereafter.

Ninus the younger, who continu'd King of *Assyria* and *Ninus the Nineveh*, is the *Tiglath-Pileser* of the Scriptures (c). His younger the Empire was apparently the most famous in all the East, since the same with Tiglath-Pileser. *Abaz* King of *Judah* sent to desire his Assistance against *Rezin* King of *Damascus*, and *Pekab* King of *Israel*. *Tiglath-Pileser* came himself in Person; and having slain *Rezin* in Battel, took *Damascus*, and carried off the People beyond the *Euphrates*, so put an end to the Kingdom of *Damascus* or *Syria*. After this he entered the Kingdom of *Israel*, vanquish'd *Pekab*, and sent away the greatest part of the Tribes that were subject to him, beyond the *Euphrates* (d). *Abaz*, who had invited this Conqueror into his Country to assist him against the neighbouring Princes, soon repented of what he had done. He was forced to empty the Royal Treasury, and melt down the Vessels of the Temple, to satisfy the greedy *Tiglath-Pileser*. *Abaz* became tributary to him, the which gave the *Assyrian* a pretence of frequently visiting him, till at length he finally ruin'd him.

Salmaneser, the Successor of *Tiglath-Pileser*, came into *Syria* in the Year of the World 3280, and destroyed the Country of the *Moabites*, according to the Prediction of *Isaiah* three Years before (e). Afterwards he blocked up *Samaria* and carried it after a three Years Siege. He transplanted the rest of the Tribes beyond the *Euphrates* (f). Thus ended the Kingdom of *Israel* in the Year 3283. *Hezekiah* King of *Judah*, by the peculiar Protection of Heaven, escaped the Fury of *Salmaneser*. Upon this, *Salmaneser* return'd Victorious to *Nineveh*.

But it was not long before he was obliged to return to *Palestine*, to assist the *Gittites* against *Elulaus* King of *Tyre* (f). These *Gittites* were the *Cypriots*, according to *Scaliger*; or rather the *Philistines*, particularly those of *Gath*, according

(b) 2 Kings xx. 13. (c) 2 Kings xv. 29. xvi. 7, 10. 1 Chron. x. 6. &c. (d) By which means the Prophecy of Amos, v. 26, 27. was fulfilled. Prideaux observes, that the planting the Captives in the Land of the Medes, 1 Chron. v. 26, is a Proof that Media was then subject to the King of Assyria, and therefore Tiglath-Pileser and Arbaces were the same Person. Part 1. l. 1. Connell. (e) *Isai.* xlv. 1. (f) 2 Kings xvii. 6. and xviii. 1. to

to *Usher* (g). *Salmaneser* had the better of the *Phanicians*; and Matters being brought to an Accommodation, he march'd back to *Nineveh* with his Army.

A little after this, the greatest part of the Seaport-Towns belonging to the *Tyrians*, revolted to the *Assyrians*. *Salmaneser* hastened to their Assistance. Upon which, they fitted out a Fleet of sixty or seventy Sail, having on board 800 *Phanician* Rowers. The *Tyrians* attack'd them with 12 Vessels only, dispers'd their Fleet, and took 500 Prisoners. The King of *Assyria* durst not undertake the Siege of *Tyre*; but left some Troops behind to guard the Springs from whence the People of *Tyre* drew their Water. The Besieged render'd this Stratagem of his of no effect, by digging Wells within their own Walls. About this time it was, that *Isaiah* pronounced against the *Tyrians* those grievous Prophecies we read in his xxiiid Chapter. And King *Hezekiah* apparently took the Advantage of the Confusion *Phanicia* and all the Sea-Coast was in, to fall upon the *Philistines*. An account of which War you have in 2 *Kings* xviii. 8.

Sennacherib, who succeeded *Salmaneser*, carried the War into all *Asia* and *Egypt* (h). It was in all likelihood, whilst he was busied in his Wars in *Asia*, that *Hezekiah* shook off the *Assyrian* Yoke, and refused to pay Tribute to *Sennacherib*. The Scriptures (i) intimate, that *Hezekiah* entered into a League with the Kings of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, for their mutual Defence against the *Assyrian*. *Sennacherib* came to *Judea*, and took the principal Cities of the Country (k). It is very probable he took *Damascus* in his March (l); but however, he did not besiege *Jerusalem*. He thought it necessary to go first into *Egypt*, and cut up the Evil by the Roots, by taking from *Hezekiah* all hopes of Assistance from *Pharaoh*. This War took him up three Years, according to *Berosus* (m). *Hezekiah* in the mean time left no Stone unturn'd to put *Jerusalem* in a Condition to endure a long Siege (n). *Sennacherib* came back from *Egypt* to *Judea*, and laid siege to the fenced Cities in the Southern Parts of the Country, some whereof he took.

Sennacherib's Army destroyed by an Angel.

(g) *Ush.* ad an. 3287. (h) *Beros.* apud *Jos. Antiq.* l. x. c. 1. (i) *Isai.* xxx. 1, &c. *Isai.* 9. 13. 2 *Kings* xix. 9. xviii. 24. (k) *Isai.* x. 28, 29. 2 *Kings* xviii. 13. (l) See the Author's Comment. on *Isai.* xvii. 1. (m) *Beros.* apud *Jos. Antiq.* l. x. c. 1. (n) 2 *Chron.* xxxii. 2.

Hezekiah

Hezekiah fearing the worst, resolv'd to purchase a Peace of *Sennacherib* at any rate. He gave him 300 Talents of Silver and 30 Talents of Gold (o). But the *Assyrian*, not satisfied with this vast Sum of Money, sent *Rabshekah* to require *Hezekiah* to deliver up *Jerusalem*, and submit himself to him. *Isaiah* heartened the King of *Judab* against the Menaces of *Sennacherib*, by assuring him that *Jerusalem* should not be besieged, and that the Enemy should soon be forced to retire (p). Accordingly, *Sennacherib* being upon the march, in order to give Battel to *Tirhakah* King of *Ethiopia*, who was coming to the assistance of *Hezekiah*, the Angel of the Lord in one Night smote in the Camp of the *Assyrians* 185000 Men (q). *Sennacherib* got safe to *Nineveh*, where he was put to death by his own Sons about 55 days after his return (r).

In the first Year of this War, *Hezekiah* fell dangerously ill. *Isaiah* told him at first he would die; but the Lord, mov'd by the Tears of *Hezekiah*, sent him word by the same Prophet, that he should recover, and live 15 Years longer: and for a Proof of the truth of his Prediction, he caus'd the shadow of the Sun to go back ten Degrees (s). The Fame of this Miracle reach'd the ears of *Merodach Baladan* King of *Babylon*, who sent Ambassadors to *Jerusalem*, to congratulate *Hezekiah* upon the Recovery of his Health, and to know the truth of the Prodigy that had happened (t). *Hezekiah* was wonderfully pleas'd with this Embassy. He highly caressed the Ambassadors, and, out of too much Ostentation, shew'd them all his Treasures. *Isaiah* severely reprimanded him from the Lord, and assured him, that one day all his Riches should be carried away to *Babylon* (u).

Sennacherib being slain, as I observed above, his two Sons *Efarhaddon* that had committed the Parricide, were forced to fly for their Lives to the Mountains of *Armenia*, and *Esarhaddon*, another of his Sons, succeeded in his room (w). He is called *Sargon* in *Isaiah* (x). He reign'd 19 Years, made War upon the *Philistines*, and took *Ashdod* under the Conduct of *Tartan* the General of his Army (y). He invaded *Egypt*, *Ethio-*

Hezekiah's Sicknes.

(o) 2 *Kings* xviii. 14. About 350,000 *l.* of our Money. (p) 2 *Kings* xix. 32, 33. (q) 2 *Kings* xix. 35. (r) *Tob.* i. 21. (s) 2 *Kings* xviii. xix. *Isai.* xxxvi. xxxvii. (t) 2 *Kings* xx. 12. (u) *Isai.* xxxviii. xxxix. 2 *Kings* xx. 12. (w) *Isai.* xxxii. 36, 37, 38. (x) *Isai.* xx. 1. (y) *Ibidem.*

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pia,

pia (z) and *Idumea* (a), to revenge the quarrel of *Sennacherib* his Father. At last he took *Jerusalem*, made *Manasseh* Prisoner, and carried him to *Babylon* (b). But this last War was not till a good while after the former. He first united the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Monarchies, for want of Heirs in the Family of *Belefs* (c), which was not done without some Bloodshed, as appears from *Isaiah* xxiii. 13. This is the same Prince that sent the Priests of the Lord to the *Cutbeans*, whom *Salmaneser* King of *Assyria* had planted in *Samaria*, in the room of the *Israelites* he had carried off (d). *Manasseh* returned to *Jerusalem* the same Year he was taken Prisoner (e).

Saofduchinus, or the Nebuchodonosor of Judith.

Saofduchinus succeeded *Efarbaddon*, and reign'd 20 Years according to *Ptolemy*. He is thought to be the *Nebuchadnezzar* of the Book of *Judith* (f), who having overcome *Arphaxad* King of the *Medes*, the *Dejoces* of *Herodotus* (g), aspired to an universal Monarchy. To this end he sent *Holofernes* with a powerful Army into *Palestine*. But this General was kill'd, and his Army routed before *Bethuliab*, in the manner we find it related in *Judith*. There are a great many difficulties in this History, which I shall not inquire into at present, but shall consider them in my Preface to the Book of *Judith*.

Chiniladanus, or Saracus.

Chiniladanus, or *Saracus*, who succeeded *Saofduchinus* in the Monarchy of *Assyria* and *Babylonia*, did nothing, that we know of, that related to the History of the *Jews*. But he is famous for the War he carried on against *Nabopolassar*, Governor of *Babylon*, and *Astyages* Son of *Cyaxares* King of *Media* (h). These two Princes are called *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Abasuerus*, in the Holy Scriptures (i). They entered into an Alliance together, by the means of a Marriage between *Amittis*, Daughter of *Astyages*, and *Nebuchadnezzar* the Son of *Nabopolassar*; *Chiniladanus* was besieged in *Nineveh*, and after the City was taken, his Dominions were shar'd between the two Conquerors. *Nabopolassar* became Master of *Nine-*

(z) *Isai.* xx. (a) *Isai.* xxxiv. (b) 2 *Chron.* xxxiii. 11. (c) *Ush.* ad an. 3323. ex Canon. *Ptolemaico.* (d) *Ezra* iv. 2, 10. he is there called the Great *Afnappar*. (e) *Ush.* ad an. 3327. (f) *Jud.* i. 1. (g) *Herodot.* l. i. c. 101, 102. (h) *Alex.* Polyhistor. apud *Synce.* See *Ush.* ad an. 3378. (i) *Tob.* ult. *Dan.* xi. 1.

web

web and *Babylon*; and *Cyaxares* of *Media*, and the bordering Provinces (k).

Secl. II. The Monarchy of the Chaldeans.

NABOPOLASSAR invested his Son *Nebuchadnezzar* Nabopolassar takes his Son into Partnership in the Empire. with Royal Power and Dignity, and sent him into *Syria* and *Palestine*. The young Prince in his March defeated the Garrison *Necho* King of *Egypt* left at *Carchemish* on the *Euphrates* (l); and advancing with his Army as far as *Judea*, he took *Jeboiakim* the Son of *Josiab* King of *Judah* Prisoner (m); and setting him again at liberty, made him Tributary to him (n). *Jeboiakim* paid him Tribute three Years. But growing weary of this Subjection, and imagining a War was going to break out between the *Egyptians* and *Assyrians*, he refus'd to pay it any longer. It was about this time that *Nebuchadnezzar* saw the Vision of the great Image made up of several Sorts of Metals, the meaning whereof *Daniel* explained to him (o). The Revolt of *Jeboiakim* obliged *Nebuchadnezzar* to come again to *Judea*; he besieged and took *Jerusalem*, put *Jeboiakim* to death, and made *Jeconiah*, or *Jeconiah*, King in his room. But he soon repented of the Favour he had done him, and came and took him Prisoner, and carried him away to *Babylon*, with a great part of his Nobility and mighty Men of Valour. *Marraniab*, whose Name he changed to *Zedekiah*, the Uncle of *Jeconiah*, was made King of *Jerusalem* in the Year 3405.

Nebuchadnezzar staid not long at *Babylon*. He receiv'd the news that the *Phanicians*, *Syrians*, *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Jews*, were up in Arms; upon which he march'd

(k) From this time *Babylon* became the Seat of the Assyrian Empire. *Nineveh*, according to *Diod. Sic.* was 60 of our Miles in Circumference. Some of its Ruins are to be seen at this Day. In the Destruction of *Nineveh* were fulfilled the Prophecies of *Jonah* iii. and *Nahum* ii, iii. and *Zephaniah* ii. 13. (l) *Jerem.* xlv. 2. It must be observed, that according to the Jewish reckoning, *Nebuchadnezzar's* Reign begins from the time his Father took him into Partnership with him in the Empire; but according to the Babylonians, he did not begin to reign till his Father died, about two Years after: Both these Computations are in Scripture.

(m) 2 *Kings* xxiv. 1. (n) In the Year of the World 3398. from this time the 70 Years of Captivity foretold by *Jeremiah* xxv. 1, 3, 11, 12. xxvi. 1. are to commence. In this Year *Daniel* and a great number of others were carried away Captive to *Babylon*. *Dan.* i. 1. *Jer.* xxv. 1. (o) *Dan.* ii. 1. — 46.

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against them with all speed, and immediately laid siege to *Jerusalem*. *Apries*, King of *Egypt*, called in Scripture *Pharaoh Hophra* (p), coming to the Assistance of this City, *Nebuchadnezzar* turn'd his Army against him, vanquish'd him, as *Jeremiah* had foretold (q); and returning to the Siege of *Jerusalem*, took it in the Year 3416, after a Siege of above two Years. *Zedekiah* was taken as he was flying away, and carried to *Riblah*, where *Nebuchadnezzar* then resided. And after he had caused his Sons to be slain before his face, he ordered his Eyes to be put out, and then loaded him with Irons, and carried him to *Babylon*, where he died. *Jerusalem* was entirely destroy'd, the Temple consum'd to Ashes, and the main Body of the People carried away Captives beyond the *Euphrates*. He left none but the poorer sort of People behind, under the Government of *Gedaliah* the Son of *Abikam* (r). But *Gedaliah* being murdered by the Treachery of *Ishmael*, the Son of *Nethaniah*, the People that were left, fled with *Jeremiah* into *Egypt* (s). Those few that remain'd in the Country, were carried away to *Babylon* by *Nebuzaradan* some Years after (t).

The Siege of Tyre.

In 3419, that is, three Years after the taking of *Jerusalem*, *Nebuchadnezzar* began the Siege of *Tyre*, which lasted above twelve Years, for he took not the City till the thirteenth Year. But however, in the mean time he made War on the *Zidonians*, *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, and *Idumeans* (u). The Prophets *Jeremiah* (w), *Ezekiel* (x), and others (y), give us the Particulars of these Wars, which are omitted by the other Historians. After the taking of *Tyre*, *Nebuchadnezzar* invaded *Egypt*, and laid the whole Country desolate (z). *Apries*, or *Hophra*, was slain by his Enemies (a), and *Amasis* his Competitor was left Governour in his room. *Nebuchadnezzar* carried off from *Egypt* a vast number of Captives to *Babylon*.

Nebuchadnezzar makes *Babylon* the wonder of the World, and grows distracted out of Pride.

Nebuchadnezzar, at his return from all these Expeditions, being blown up with his Successes, was resolved to make *Babylon* the finest City in the World. He undertook and accomplish'd the most surprizing and wonderful Works that ever

- (p) Jer. xlv. 30. (q) Ibidem. (r) Jer. xli. (s) Jer. xli. xlii. (t) Jer. lli. 30. (u) Jos. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. Ezek. xxv. (w) Jer. xliii. xliiv. (x) Ezek. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii. (y) Obadiah. (z) Ezek. xxxix. xxx. xxxi. (a) Jer. xliiv. 30. Ezek. xxxii. 14, 20, &c.

were

were known (b). He was puffed up with Pride to such a degree, as to imagine himself above the Condition of a Mortal. God, in order to humble him, sent him a Dream of an exceeding great Tree that was to be cut down (c); and immediately after he fell distracted, and continuing so for seven Years, he liv'd all that time with the Beasts of the Field (d). After which, he return'd to his right Senfes, and died the same Year (e), in the forty third Year of his Reign.

Evilmerodach succeeded him. *Berosus* says, he reign'd but two Years. He set *Jeboiakim* King of *Judah* at Liberty (f). After his Death, *Belshazzar* his Son came to the Crown. In his Reign, *Daniel* had the famous Vision, relating to the Succession and Rise of the four Empires (g). *Belshazzar* was put to death the same Night he prophaned the Holy Vessels belonging to the Temple of the Lord (h). *Darius the Mede*, otherwise call'd *Astyages*, Uncle by the Mother's side to *Evilmerodach*, succeeded him (i), of whom I shall speak in the following Section.

But before I leave the Successors of *Nebuchadnezzar*, it will be proper to observe, that *Prophanè Historians* by no means agree either with one another, or with the Sacred Penmen, in this matter. *Megasthenes* (k) owns, that *Evilmerodach* was the Son and Successor of *Nebuchadnezzar the Great*; and says he was put to death by *Neriglissar* his Sister's Husband; who after a Reign of four Years, was succeeded by *Laborosoarchod*; this last was slain by a Conspiracy, and the Crown by common consent was given to one of the Conspirators, called *Naboncdus*, or *Nabonnidochus*, and by *Herodotus Labietus*, a *Babylonian*, who was not at all related to *Laborosoarchod*. *Cyrus* made War against *Naboncdus*, and having overcome him, treated him with great Humanity, and

- (b) The Semiramis, or Belus, are said to be the Founders of *Babylon*, it was *Nebuchadnezzar* that made it one of the Wonders of the World. The most famous of his Works were, 1. The Walls 87 Foot thick, and 350 high, and 60 of our English Miles in compass, 2. The Temple of Belus, 600 Foot high, and a Mile in Circumference. 3. His Palace, and the hanging Gardens in it: His Palace was 8 Miles round, surrounded with a triple Wall. 4. The Banks of the River *Euphrates*, and the artificial Canals and Lake made for draining it in the times of its overflowing. See Prideaux, p. 1. l. 2. Conn. (c) Dan. iv. 7. (d) Dan. iv. 32, 33. (e) In the Year of the World 3443. (f) Jer. lii. 31. (g) Dan. vii. 21. (h) Dan. v. 30. (i) Dan. v. 30, 31. (k) Megast. apud Euseb. Præp. l. 9. c. 41.

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sent him into *Carmania*. *Btāfus* says the same things, but is a little more particular (i). To *Nebuchadnezzar*, says he, succeeded *Evilmerodach*, who was slain for his debauch'd way of living, after he had reign'd two Years. *Neriglissar*, his Brother-in-law and Murderer, reigned four Years. *Laborosoarchod* his Son succeeded him, being as yet a *Minor*. As he was observ'd to have in him the Seeds of a cruel and wicked Temper, he was slain by a Conspiracy after he had reign'd nine Months: *Nabonedus*, who succeeded him, and was of another Race and Family, was attack'd in the seventeenth Year of his Reign by *Cyrus* King of *Persia*. *Nabonedus* gave him Battle, but lost the Day: He retired with some few Troops to *Borsippus*, and *Cyrus* became Master of *Babylon*. After he had caused the Outer-Walls to be level'd, because he thought the place too strong, he march'd directly to *Borsippus*. But *Nabonedus* not thinking it proper to stand a Siege, surrendred himself to *Cyrus*, who treated him with Humanity, and gave him a Retreat in *Carmania*, where he passed the residue of his Life.

It is no easy matter to reconcile all these Names and Dates with the Accounts in Scripture, or with what other Historians inform us concerning *Cyrus*. But it is not at all strange, to see so great a Diversity among the Historians that have writ the Life of this Prince. *Herodotus* (m), the most ancient Writer that has given us the Particulars of it, observes, that already in his time it was related three several ways. He adhered to that which seem'd to him the most probable; but is it in reality the best? and what *Megasthenes* and *Berosus* tell us after him, is it any more to be depended on? I shall lay before the Reader, what is to be met with concerning this Prince in other ancient Authors, and then shall endeavour to clear up matters, by fixing upon a certain number of Facts, wherein all are agreed, and which are not repugnant to the Historical Accounts in the Holy Bible. But in order to this, it will be necessary to look back a little beyond the time of *Cyrus*.

(i) Beros. apud Jos. con. App. l. 1.

(m) Herod. l. 1. c. 95.

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SECT. III. The Monarchy of the Medes.

THE *Medes* were in Subjection to the King of *Assyria*, till the Reign of *Sardanapalus*. *Arbaces* took up Arms against him, and compell'd him to burn himself at *Nineveh*, and by that means the *Medes* were freed from the *Assyrian* Yoke (n). He is consider'd as the Founder of the Monarchy of the *Medes* (o), which according to *Justin* lasted 350 Years, but according to *Herodotus* 150 only (p). This last gives us the Names but of four Kings of the *Medes*, namely, *Dejoces*, *Pbraortes*, *Cyaxares* and *Astyages*. *Diodorus Siculus* (q) reckons Ten. *Eusebius* and *Synellus* Eight. But *Herodotus* owns, the *Medes* had been freed from the Dominion of the *Assyrians* a considerable time before the Reign of *Dejoces*, who built *Ecbatana* (r), and carried his Arms as far as the River *Habys*. He is said to reign 53 Years. *Pbraortes*, his Successor, conquer'd the *Persians*, from which time we must date the Beginning of the *Medo-Persian* Empire, mention'd by some Authors (s). To *Pbraortes*, succeeded *Cyaxares*, who took *Nineveh*, and by that means considerably enlarg'd the Monarchy of the *Medes*. This *Cyaxares* is apparently *Darius* the *Mede* spoken of by *Æschylus* (t). His Son and Successor was *Astyages* so famous in History. *Astyages* had two Daughters, *Amyitis* (married to *Nebuchadnezzar* the Great (u), from whom sprung *Evilmerodach* King of *Babylon*) and *Mandana* Wife to *Cambyses* the *Persian* (w), and Mother to *Cyrus*: so that *Astyages* was Grandfather, by the Mother's side, both.

(n) Justin. l. 1. (o) Uther, Bossuet, and Calmet, are of Opinion that the *Assyrian* Monarchy, upon the Death of *Sardanapalus*, was divided into three parts. Ninus the younger had *Nineveh*; *Arbaces*, *Media*; and *Nabonassar*, *Babylon*: but others take *Ninus* and *Arbaces* (the *Tiglath-Pileser* of the *Scriptures*) to be the same Person, and consequently, that the Empire was divided only into two parts, *Assyria* and *Babylonia* or *Chaldea*; and that the *Medes* continu'd in subjection to the *Assyrians* till the time of *Sennacherib*, when taking the Advantage of the great loss of his Army, they set up for themselves, and chose *Dejoces* for their King. But *Calmet* places the time of *Dejoces* being made King, before *Sennacherib*. (p) Herod. l. 1. c. 95. (q) Diodor. l. 2. (r) Herod. l. 1. c. 130. *Prideaux* says, he only beautified and enlarg'd it; which made the *Greeks* reckon him as the Founder. Part I. l. 1. Conned. (s) Vide *Marshall* Canon. *Ægypt*. Scul. xviii.

(t) *Æsch.* Μηδός ἢ ὁ πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν τοῦ Ἰλίου Ἰλίου πᾶσι δ' ἔργων ἄρχος. Τυφός δ' αὖτ' αὐτὸς Κύρος εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ. (u) Alex. Polybistor. (w) Justin. l. 1.

to *Cyrus* and *Evilmerodach*. *Justin* expressly says, *Astyages* had no Son (x); but *Xenophon* gives him a Son, and call'd him *Cyaxares*, who succeeded him; and we shall find immediately a Necessity of admitting this Son of *Astyages*, in order to reconcile the Sacred with *Prophane* History.

SECT. IV. The Persian Monarchy.

Cyrus Founder of the Persian Monarchy.

CYRUS, the Son of *Cambyfes*, resolving to shake off the Yoke of the *Medes*, stirr'd up the *Persians* to a Revolt. He fell upon *Astyages*, his Mother's Father; and having vanquish'd him, preserv'd his Life, and gave him the Government of *Hyrkania*, satisfy'd with having set the *Persians* at liberty, and made the *Medes* tributary to him. But the Cities of the *Medes* did not long remain in subjection to the *Persians*; they revolted from *Cyrus* (y), which was the occasion of a long and tedious War. After he had reduced them to Obedience, he turn'd his Arms against the *Babylonians*. *Crasus*, who was in Alliance with them, coming to their Assistance, was vanquish'd, and forced to retire back into his own Country. *Cyrus* carried on the War against the *Babylonians*; and after he had brought it to a Conclusion, followed *Crasus* into *Lydia*, where his good Fortune still pursued him. Thus far *Justin*. *Herodotus* (z) relates these things in almost the same manner; only he places the *Babylonian* War after that against *Crasus*, and the Conquest of *Lydia*. He says (a), that *Labinetus* was at that time King of *Babylon*; that *Cyrus*, after he had cut the River *Gindes* into 360 Canals, upon a very slight account, came at length to *Babylon*. The *Babylonians* gave him Battel, but were beaten; upon which they retreated into the City, where they had laid in a vast quantity of Provisions.

Cyrus finding the Siege was like to last a long time, caus'd the *Euphrates* to be drain'd, by turning the Waters into the Lakes that were thereabouts. Having by this means made the River fordable, his Men entered the Town thro' the Channel of the River, which ran quite thro' the City. Thus *Babylon*

(x) *Justin*. *ibidem*.
c. 74. & 77.

(y) *Ibidem*.

(z) *Herod.* l. 1. c. 178.

(a) *Herod.* l. 1.

was

was taken without any Effusion of Blood. The City was so large, that they, who were at the farthest parts of it, knew nothing of its being taken, tho' the Enemy was in the very heart of the Town. And as it happened to be a Grand Festival that Day, the *Babylonians* were all drowned in Mirth and Jollity. This is what *Herodotus* informs us, without saying one Word of what became of *Labinetus* King of *Babylon*.

Xenophon has very much embellish'd the History of *Cyrus*. His design in writing it, was not so much to give us a true History of his Life, as to paint out the Image of an excellent Monarch in the Person of *Cyrus* (b). It is very plain, that as to the main, he copies after *Herodotus* in almost every thing; but then he has added several material Circumstances (c). He says, *Cyrus* was the Son of *Cambyfes* King of *Persia*, and of *Mandana* the Daughter of *Astyages* King of the *Medes*. He says nothing of this young Prince's being expos'd, nor the manner how he was preserv'd, and afterwards own'd by his Grandfather *Astyages*. He makes him go to the Court of *Astyages* with his Mother *Mandana* at twelve Years of Age, from whence he came back again to *Persia* to his Father *Cambyfes*. During this time, *Astyages*, King of the *Medes*, dies, and *Cyaxares* his Son succeeds him. Other Historians say not a Word of this Son of *Astyages*, nor of the Title of King he gives to *Cambyfes* Father of *Cyrus*.

Xenophon adds, that the King of *Assyria*, having conquer'd the *Syrians*, *Arabians*, and *Hircanians*, was resolv'd to bring down the power of the *Medes*, who were the only Obstacle to his Conquests. *Cyaxares* King of the *Medes*, believ'd, it necessary to use all manner of Precaution against so potent an Enemy, who had augmented his Forces with Auxiliary Troops of *Lydians*, *Carians*, *Phrygians*, *Paphlagonians*, *Indians*, and *Cilicians*. *Cyrus* was then 40 Years old. *Cambyfes* sent him, at the head of 30,000 *Persians*, to the Assistance of his Uncle *Cyaxares*. He first made War upon the King of *Armenia*, who after he was overcome, became a Friend and Ally to the *Medes* (d). He did the same to the *Chaldeans*, whom he reconciled to the *Armenians*. After this, he march'd against the *Assyrians*, and defeated them in the first Battel.

(b) *Cic.* ad *Quint. Frat.* non ad fidem *Historia*, sed ad effigiem *Iusti Imperii*.

(c) *Xenoph.* l. 1.

(d) *Xenoph.* l. 3.

C

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The King of *Assyria*, *Xenophon* mentions, was doubtless either *Evilmerodach*, or *Belshazzar*, for at that time no other could be King of *Assyria*. What he relates concerning the King of *Assyria*'s conquering the *Syrians*, *Arabians*, and *Hircanians*, and his design of doing the like by the *Medes*, does not seem very probable; *Nebuchadnezzar* had long before reduced these Provinces. He left his Dominions entire to his Sons, who seem'd to have had no thoughts of enlarging them. Whatever the Motive might be, of the King of *Media*'s warring against the *Babylonians*, the matter of Fact is certain; and there is no doubt but that *Cyrus* was in his Army: for *Nebuchadnezzar*, in a kind of a Prophecy, a little before his Death (a) expressly foretold, That the *Persian* Mule (that is *Cyrus*) should come, assisted by the *Mede*, heretofore the Glory of *Assyria*, and should reduce *Babylon* into Servitude. This War of the *Medes* and *Persians* against *Babylon*, is plainly remarked in *Isaiah* (b) and *Jeremiah* (c).

The taking of
Babylon by
Cyrus.

But to return to *Xenophon*. *Cyaxares* and *Cyrus* having thus got the better of the *Assyrians* in the first Battel, entered into a Resolution of advancing directly towards *Babylon* (d). But, however, *Cyrus* before that carried on the War against *Cræsus*, King of *Lydia* (e). We have a very full Account of this Expedition in *Herodotus*, *Xenophon*, and others; but as it is nothing to my purpose, I shall wholly pass it over. After the *Lydian* War was ended; *Cyrus* march'd his Army against *Babylon*, and in the way conquer'd the *Phrygians*, *Cappadocians*, and *Arabians* (f). He encamped before *Babylon*, and took the City by stratagem, having (as was before observ'd) caused the Waters of the *Euphrates* to be turn'd into those large Basins made long before by *Semiramis*. The Army enter'd the City by the Channel of the River, whilst all were drown'd in Mirth and Diversion, it being a grand Festival that day. The King of *Babylon* was slain in his Palace by the Soldiers of *Gadatas* and *Gobrias*, two *Babylonian* Lords, who had revolted to the *Medes*, to revenge the Injuries they had suffered from the King of *Babylon*. After this, the Houses and Pillage of the City was given to the Officers and Soldiers; the *Babylonians*

(a) Megast. apud Euf. Præp. l. 19. c. 41.

(c) Jer. l. 11.

(d) Xen. l. 5.

(b) Mai. xiii. xiv. xxi. xlv. xlvii.

(e) Xen. l. 7.

(f) Xen. l. 7.

were

were order'd to pay them Tribute, and to cultivate the Lands; and the *Persians*, who chose to settle there, were looked upon and treated as the Lords and Masters of the Country,

Xenophon attributes the Honour of this Action wholly to *Cyrus*. He makes not the least mention of *Cyaxares* in the War against *Cræsus*, or in that against the *Babylonians*. He says only, that *Cyrus*, after he had taken *Babylon*, and put all things in order, in his return to *Persia*, went and paid a Visit to his Uncle *Cyaxares* in *Media* (g), who gave him his Daughter in Marriage with the Reversion of the Crown of *Media* for her Dowry, as he had never a Son. *Cyrus* embracing *Cyaxares*, told him (h), he had a Palace at *Babylon* on purpose for him, where if he would go and reside, he should find the same Respect and Obedience paid him as at his own Court.

But whether *Cyaxares* was present at the taking of *Babylon* or no, certain it is from *Daniel* v. 31. that he succeeded *Belshazzar*, and was acknowledged as sole King; and that the first Year of *Darius* at *Babylon* falls in with the third Year of *Cyrus* over the *Persians*; as may be seen by comparing together the ix, x, xith Chapters of *Daniel*. It appears likewise from the same Prophet, that this very Year *Cyrus* began to enter into Measures how to free himself from his Uncle's Yoke, to secure to himself the Succession, and to make himself Master of the Monarchy of the *Medes* and *Assyrians*. Consult *Dan.* x. 13. For altho' *Cyrus* bore the Name of King of *Persia*, he was not for all that Independent, *Darius* still retaining the Title of King of the *Medes* and *Persians*. *Dan.* vi. 8, 12, 15. It is likewise apparent from *Dan.* xiii. 65. That *Cyrus* enter'd into a War against his Uncle, in which, after some Years, he at length prov'd successful.

Cyrus, in the first Year of his Reign (i) at *Babylon*, set the *Jews* at liberty. It is my opinion that this Favour was not shewn to *Judah* and *Israel* only, but to the other Nations also, that *Nebuchadnezzar* and his Predecessors had carried into Captivity. I shall give my Reasons for this Assertion in another Place. Some time after the Return of the *Hebrews* into their own Country, their Adversaries abusing the Equity of

(g) Xen. l. 8.

(h) Xen. l. 8.

(i) 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22. Ezr. i. 1.

Cyrus, obtain'd a Prohibition against their going on with the Building of the Temple (k). The Manner of Cyrus's Death is very doubtful. *Xenophon* (l) says, he died in his Bed. *Diodorus* (m) makes him to be crucify'd. *Herodotus*, *Justin*, and *Valerius Maximus*, say, that Queen *Tomyris* (n) caused his Head to be cut off, and thrown into a Vessel full of Blood, upbraiding him at the same time in this bitter manner; *Inhuman, drink thy Fill of Blood, which thou hast always so much thirsted after*. *Ctesias* (o) says, he receiv'd a Wound by a Dart, as he was fighting against the *Derbices*, of which he died in three days. Others relate this Matter still otherwise.

No reconciling
all these differ-
ent Accounts.

It can't be expected, that I should here reconcile so many different Accounts. The thing is absolutely impossible. The best way of proceeding, must be to reject one Part of what is related of *Cyrus*, in order to adhere to the other. What therefore seems to me to have the most Certainty in it, and what we may rely upon, is this: The Scriptures give us a Succession of three Chaldean Kings at *Babylon*; *Nebuchadnezzar* (p), *Evilmerodach* (q), and *Belshazzar* (r). *Darius the Mede* (s) succeeded this last, and *Cyrus* was the Successor of *Darius*, otherwise *Astyages* (t); for I make no doubt but these two Names denote the same Person. *Darius* occurs in the *Hebrew*, and *Astyages* in the *Greek* Text of *Daniel*.

This *Astyages* can't be the Father of *Amysis* and *Mandana*, and Grandfather to *Evilmerodach* and *Cyrus*; for allowing *Nebuchadnezzar* and his two Sons to have reign'd but 45 or 50 Years in all (and less than that can't be allow'd) (u) it will follow that *Astyages* at the Siege of *Nineveh* was but 12 Years old, since 50 Years after, he succeeds *Belshazzar*, at 62 Years of Age (w). Now this can never be, for at the time of the Siege he had a Daughter marriageable, who was given in Marriage to *Nebuchadnezzar*. We must therefore admit of the *Cyaxares* of *Xenophon*, Son to *Astyages*, and Uncle by the Mother's Side to *Cyrus*. This is the *Cyaxares*, whom we call

(k) Ez. iv. 5. (l) Xen. l. 8. (m) Diod. l. 2. (n) Herod. l. 1. c. 214. Just. l. 1. Val. Max. l. 9. c. 10. (o) Ctesias, l. xi. (p) Dan. ii. &c. (q) 2 Kings xxv. 27. (r) Dan. v. 1, 30, 31. (s) Dan. v. 31. (t) Dan. xiii. 65. (u) *Nebuchadnezzar* reigned 43 Years, as is plain from Scripture, and less than 5 or 10 Years cannot be given to *Evilmerodach* and *Belshazzar*. (w) Dan. v. 31.

Darius

Darius the Mede, Successor to *Belshazzar*, and to whom *Cyrus* succeeded at *Babylon*.

As for the Successors of *Nebuchadnezzar*, mention'd by *Berosus* and *Megasthenes*, I greatly suspect they were all forg'd. The Scriptures tell us in express words (x), that *All Nations shall serve Nebuchadnezzar, and his Son, and his Son's Son, until the very time of his Land come*. *Evilmerodach* is mention'd in Scripture (y). He was, without all dispute, Son to *Nebuchadnezzar*, even by the Confession of Profane Authors (z). *Belshazzar* is likewise call'd his Son, that is, in the Scripture Language, his Grandson (a). The Author of the Second Book of *Chronicles* says (b); *Them that escaped from the Sword, carried he away to Babylon, where they were Servants to him and his Sons until the Reign of the Kingdom of Persia*. I see no manner of reason to think *Nabonadius* or *Labyrinetus* to be the same with *Belshazzar*. The Manner and Place of *Nabonadius's* Death are directly contrary to the Account *Daniel* gives us concerning *Belshazzar's*.

But if any one is unwilling entirely to strike out of the List *Darius's* *Neriglissar*, *Laborsoarchod*, and *Nabonadius*, the Method propos'd by *Du Pin* (c), of reconciling them with the Sacred Historians, is thus. *Nebuchadnezzar*, after a Reign of forty-three Years, was succeeded by *Evilmerodach* his Son, who reign'd two Years, and part of the third. He was the same with *Belshazzar*, stiled so often in *Daniel* (d) the Son of *Nebuchadnezzar*. It must be observ'd, that the Name of *Evilmerodach* is no where to be met with in this Prophet; which is a Confirmation of the Opinion of *Evilmerodach's* being no other than *Belshazzar*. *Evilmerodach* was slain by *Neriglissar* his Brother-in-law, who reign'd four Years. He may still pass for *Nebuchadnezzar's* Son, since by marrying his Daughter, he was his Son-in-law. *Laborsoarchod*, his Son, reign'd nine Months. This last was killed by a Conspiracy of *Babylonian* Lords, who placed upon the Throne *Nabonadius*, one of the Conspirators, aged sixty-two, a *Babylonian*, but a *Mede* by Descent, Son to *Affuerus* or *Oxyares* the *Mede*. He is called *Nabonadius* by the *Babylonians*, *Darius* by the *Medes*, and *Labyrinetus* by

(x) Jer. xxvii. 7. (y) 2 Kings xxv. 27, &c. (z) Beros. Megast. & Polyhist. (a) Baruch i. 11, 12. Dan. v. (b) 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21. (c) *Du Pin* Biblioth. Hist. T. 2. (d) Dan. v.

Hero-

Herodotus. This *Nabonadius* reign'd seventeen Years, and govern'd the *Babylonians* according to the Laws of the *Modes* and *Persians*. At length, *Cyrus* having a Design of uniting the *Babylonian Empire* to his own, march'd with his Army to *Babylon*. After he had taken *Shusan*, *Nabonadius* came out against him, gave him battel, and being overcome, retir'd to the Citadel of *Borsippus*. *Cyrus* besieg'd *Babylon*, took it, and went in search of *Nabonadius* at *Borsippus*. *Nabonadius* surrendering himself, was by *Cyrus* made Governour of *Caramania*. Thus the Sacred is reconciled with the *Profane* History. *Cyrus* by this Conquest became Master of all the *East*, or, as the Scriptures express it, in the Edict publish'd in favour of the *Jews*, of all the Kingdoms of the Earth (e).

Cambyfes
succeeds
Cyrus.

Cyrus was succeeded by *Cambyfes*, one of the most cruel Princes that ever was known. He waged War against the *Egyptians* with good Success, and having conquer'd the whole Country, he reign'd there three Years. He led at the same time part of his Army against the *Ethiopians*, and gave orders to some of his Generals to go and pillage the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*. But these two Expeditions proved very unfortunate. The fifty thousand Men he sent against the *Hammonians*, were overwhelm'd with a Torrent of Sand in the Deserts. The rest of the Army, with which he march'd against the *Ethiopians*, were, for want of Provisions for their Subsistence, forced to return back with great Loss. *Cambyfes* was dreaded by all the World for his Cruelties, hated for his horrid Impieties, and despised for his extravagant Follies. He killed his Sister *Meroe*, who was likewise his Wife. He order'd his Brother *Smerdis* to be put to death. He caused vast numbers of his principal Officers to be slain. He fell out with even the *Egyptian* Gods, whom he turned into Ridicule, and handled in a most outrageous manner. At length, being inform'd that his Brother *Smerdis* was alive, and reigning at *Babylon*, he set out for his Return thither; but died at *Ecbasana*, at the foot of Mount *Carmel*. I am apt to believe that this Prince is the same with *Gog*, chief Prince of *Mesopotamia* and *Tubal*, in *Ezekiel* (f), and the other Prophets.

(e) Ezra i. 2. (f) Ezek. xxxviii, xxxix. See the Author's Dissertation on this Subject.

After

After the Death of *Cambyfes*, the Government was usurped ^{The Magi} by the seven *Magi*, who held it for some time, making the ^{usurp the} People believe that it was *Smerdis*, Brother to *Cambyfes*, who reigned. The *Samaritans* always looking upon the good Fortune of the *Jews* with a jealous Eye, brought an Accusation against them before the *Magi*, and procured an Order from one of them, named *Artaxata*, forbidding them to build the Temple, and the Walls of *Jerusalem* (g). Thus a stop was put to this Work till the 2d Year of *Darius Hyftaspes*.

The Imposture of the *Magi* being at last discover'd, *Darius Hyftaspes* the Son of *Hyftaspes* was chosen King. I do but just run over these Events, which have but a distant relation to the *Jewish* Affairs. This Prince inform'd of the Grant formerly made to the *Jews* by *Cyrus*, of rebuilding the Temple, gave them leave to go on with the Work (h), which they had begun by the Instigations of *Haggai* and *Zechariah* (i), who prophesied then at *Jerusalem*. *Darius Hyftaspes* is the same with *Ahasuerus*, that married *Efther* (k), and caused the unfortunate *Haman* to be hang'd upon his own Gallows. *Xerxes* succeeded *Darius*. I meet with nothing in his Reign that particularly relates to the *Jews*. *Artaxerxes* came to the Crown after *Xerxes*, and was a Friend to the *Hebrews*. He sent first *Ezra* (l), and afterwards *Nehemiah* (m) into *Judea*, with Power to rebuild the Walls of *Jerusalem*. The *Persian* Monarchy lasted a good while after this; but it would be needless to give here a Succession of its Kings, since it makes nothing to my design. As for the *Grecian* Monarchy, I have consider'd it in my Commentary on *Daniel*.

Sect. V. The History of the Egyptians, so far as it relates to the Hebrews.

FROM the time of their Departure out of *Egypt*, the *Hebrews* had no Intercourse with the *Egyptians* till the Reign of *Solomon*. This Prince having espoused the Daughter

No Correspondence between the Jews and Egyptians till Solomon's time.

(g) Ezra iv. 16. (h) Ezra iv. 24. vi. 1. (i) Hag. i. 2, 3, &c. Ezra v. 1.
(k) Est. i. vii. (l) Ez. vii, viii. (m) Neh. i. 11.

of

of *Pharaoh* (n), and settled a Trade between *Palestine* and *Egypt* for Horses and other Merchandizes (o), there arose a great Union between the two Kingdoms. The King of *Egypt* gave *Solomon* some Cities he had taken from the *Philistines*, as a Dowry with the Princess his Daughter (p). But this Union seems to have been in some measure broken, even in the Life-time of *Solomon*, for the King of *Egypt* afforded Refuge to *Feroboam* the Son of *Nebat* (q), and to the Son of the King of *Edom* (r). It came to an open Breach in the Reign of *Rehoboam*, *Solomon's* Successor: *Shishack*, King of *Egypt*, invaded *Judea*, and carried off the King's Treasures, and rifled the Temple of the Lord.

The Alliance
with Egypt
fatal to the
Jews.

Towards the Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*, the Kings of these two States finding themselves not a match for the Kings of *Assyria* and *Chaldea*, by whom they were oppress'd, had often Recourse to the Kings of *Egypt*: but this Proceeding always prov'd fatal to them. The Prophets (s) frequently upbraided them with vainly putting their Confidence in these Infidel Princes. *Hezekiah* receiv'd no manner of Benefit from the Alliance he enter'd into with the King of *Egypt* against *Sennacherib* (t): no more than *Hosea*, King of *Israel* (u) did from that he made with *So*, King of the same Country. *Josiab*, King of *Judah*, opposing *Necho*, King of *Egypt*, in his Passage thro' his Dominions, as he was marching against the *Assyrians*, was vanquish'd and slain in the Battel of *Megiddo* (w). *Necho* took *Cadytis*, the strongest Place in the whole Country; (perhaps, *Cades* of *Gallilee*, or *Cedes* of *Nephtali*). From thence he march'd as far as the *Euphrates*, and took *Carchemish*, where he left a Garrison. At his Return into *Judea*, he depos'd *Shallum*, otherwise *Jeboabaz*, whom the Men of *Judah* had chosen for their King, and put *Eliakim* or *Jeboiakim* in his room, on whom he impos'd a Tribute (x).

The Governour of *Syria* and *Phanicia*, who held these Provinces under the King of *Babylon*, revolting to the King of *Egypt*, *Nabopolassar*, King of *Assyria*, put his Son *Nebuchad-*

(n) 1 Kings iii. 1. (o) Ibid. x. 28, 29. (p) Ibid. ix. 16. (q) Ibid. xi. 40.
(r) Ibid. x. 18, 19. (s) *Ist.* xxvi. 6. *Ezek.* xxix. 6. *Hab.* ii. 15. *Hos.* vii.
viii, ix. (t) *Jer.* xliv. 30. (u) 2 Kings xviii. 21. (v) *Mos.* vii, &c.
(w) 2 Kings xxiii. 29. (x) Ibid. 35.

nezzar

nezzar against him, who retok *Carchemish*, and reduced again to the Obedience of the King his Father, all the Country that lies between the *Euphrates* and the *Nile* (y).

Psamis succeeded *Necho*, King of *Egypt*, his Father, and ^{Egypt con-} reign'd six Years (z). After his Death, *Apries* his Son, ^{quer'd by} called in Scripture, *Pharaoh Hophra* (a), took upon him the Government. He made an Alliance with *Zedekiah*, and the King of *Ethiopia* against *Nebuchadnezzar*. This last march'd against them, and laid Siege to *Jerusalem*. The King of *Egypt*, as he was upon the way with his Forces to assist *Zedekiah*, was repuls'd and forced to retire back into *Egypt*; where *Nebuchadnezzar*, after he had taken *Jerusalem* and *Tyre*, follow'd him. *Egypt* was over-run, the Country laid waste, and prodigious numbers of *Egyptians* carried away into Captivity, as had been foretold by *Jeremiah* (b), and *Ezekiel* (c). *Apries* was slain, and *Amasis* his Enemy and Rival was made King in his room.

The *Egyptians* remain'd in Subjection to *Nebuchadnezzar*, to his Successors, and to *Cyrus* (d). But revolting towards the end of *Cyrus's* Reign, *Cambyses* his Son went against them with a vast Army. *Egypt* was conquered a second time, and endur'd all that the most cruel and most extravagant of Men thought fit to inflict upon it. The *Egyptians* shook off their Yoke once more in the Reign of *Darius Hystaspes*. This Prince dying before they were reduced to Obedience, *Xerxes* his Son marched against them, and brought them into greater Slavery than ever (e). In the Reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, they took up Arms again, and held out a six Years War by the Assistance of the *Greeks* their Allies. But being brought under once more, they continued subject to the *Persians*, tho' govern'd by Kings of their own, till the time of *Artaxerxes*, fir-nam'd *Ochus*, who to punish them for revolting a fourth time, entirely destroy'd the Kingdom of *Egypt*, and reduc'd it to a Province only (f).

(y) *Jer.* xlv. *Ios. Antiq.* l. x. c. 7. (z) *Herod.* l. 2. c. 259, &c. (a) *Jer.* xlix.
30. (b) *Jer.* xliii, xlv, xlvii. (c) *Ezek.* xxix, xxx, xxxi. (d) *Xen. Prol.*
Cyrop. & l. 8. (e) *Herod.* l. 7. c. 7. (f) *Diod.* ad an. 3. *Olym.* 107.

D

The



The HISTORY of the Neighbouring Nations of the *Jews*, for the better Understanding the Prophecies relating to them.

The Predictions of the Prophets concern other Nations besides the Jews.



HE Prophets of the Lord are not confin'd only to the Kingdoms of *Judab* and *Israel*: the States bordering upon the *Jews*, are likewise the Objects of their Predictions; sometimes incidentally, when the Affairs of the *Jews* were blended with those of the Neighbouring Nations; and sometimes directly, when their Alliances or Wars with the People of the Lord required that the Prophets should address their Instructions or Threatnings immediately to them.

The History of those Nations necessary for understanding the Prophecies.

I have already given a Summary of the History of the *Eastern* Empires, so far as they related to the *Hebrews*; persuaded, as I am, that without a general Notion, at least of these powerful Monarchies, it is almost impossible rightly to understand the greater Prophets. I shall now undertake, what has hitherto been unessay'd, but what is full as necessary for the Explanation of the *Lesser* Prophets; I mean the History of the *Philistines*, *Phœnicians*, *Idumeans*, *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, and *Syrians*, so far as the few Memorials extant will give me leave.

Little said of them in Profane History.

As *Profane* Authors give us but little or no Information concerning these Nations, I shall have recourse to the sacred Historians and Prophets for the Ground-work of this Undertaking. If this History has not that variety of Matter and Inci-

Incidents as might be expected, it has at least the Advantage of containing nothing but what is certain, and drawn from the infallible Fountains of Truth.

We shall here meet with great Revolutions, tho' but little taken notice of by antient Historians; with whole Nations brought into Subjection, and then restor'd to their former Liberty, carried away Captive into Foreign Lands, where they abide for many Years, then again sent back to their native Countries: with Kingdoms, formerly of great Fame, so entirely destroy'd, that hardly does there remain the least Footstep of them in the Monuments of Antiquity. And all this expressly foretold many Ages before hand by the Prophets of the Lord. These Predictions, the accomplishment whereof we behold with our Eyes, intermix'd with the Prophecies concerning the *Messiah*, accomplish'd likewise in their turn, form the strongest and most irresistible Argument for the truth of our Religion.

Before I enter upon the Particulars of this History, it will be proper to observe, that the Kings of *Nineveh* and *Babylon*, that is, of *Assyria* and *Chaldea*, made War in a very extraordinary manner. They brought Desolation and Terror wherever they came; carrying off the Inhabitants of the conquer'd Countries, and transplanting them into other Lands, which they gave them to cultivate. Thus *Tiglath-Pileser*, *Salmaneser*, *Nebuchaddezzar*, acted with regard to the Nations I am going to treat of. *Cyrus* took a quite contrary Course. He treated the Nations he conquer'd, with a great deal of Mildness and Moderation. The Scriptures (a) speak of him, as of a just, equitable, and merciful Prince. He restor'd to their respective Countries the greatest part of those Nations, whom the Kings his Predecessors had brought away beyond the *Euphrates*. The Return of the *Hebrews* to their own Country, is expressly declared in the Sacred Writings: and we shall find that they alone did not enjoy this Privilege.

(a) Is. xl. 2, 10.

Sect. I. Of the Philistines.

Philistines,
whence they
came.

THE *Philistines* were strangers in the Land of *Canaan*. The Scriptures (b) inform us, that they came from the Isle of *Caphior*, which I take to be the same with *Crete*, in the *Mediterranean* (c): *Ezekiel* (d), and *Zephaniah* (e), call them *Cberethims*, or *Cretans*. They got possession of the Country of the *Avims* (f), and forced them to retire higher up into the Country of *Arabia*. They were already very powerful in *Palestine*, in the time of *Abraham*; they had their Kings, and were Masters of very considerable Cities (g), which makes me think that their Arrival in that Country from the Isle of *Caphior* was exceeding antient.

The *Philistines* are not in the number of those Nations that were devoted to Destruction by the Lord, and whose Country was allotted to the *Hebrews*: and indeed they were not of the accursed Race of *Canaan*. However, they were attacked by *Josua*, by the command of the Lord (h); because they possessed part of the Land promised to the *Hebrews*, and because by their abominable Practices (i), they had involv'd themselves in the same Guilt, and so deserved equally to be extirpated with the *Amorites* and *Canaanites*. But the Conquests *Josua* made over them, were of no great extent, neither were they long preserv'd; since in the time of the *Judges* and the beginning of *David's* Reign, they still enjoy'd their Kings, and their Dominions were divided into five Provinces or petty Kingdoms.

In the time of
the Judges
and of Saul.

It is remarkable, that *Shamgar* in the time of the *Judges* slew six hundred *Philistines* with a Plow-share (k). Some Years after, the *Philistines* in Conjunction with the *Ammonites*, vexed and oppressed the Children of *Israel* (l). The Lord raised up *Jephthah* to revenge them upon the *Ammonites* (m), and *Sampson* to humble the *Philistines* (n). This Hero kept them in awe during his Life; and even his very Death was

(b) Jer. xlvii. 4. (c) See the Dissertation on the Original of the Philistines. (d) Ezek. xxv. 16. (e) Zeph. ii. 5. (f) Deut. ii. 23. (g) Gen. (h) Jos. xiii. 2, 3. (i) Wisdom of Sol. xii. (k) Jud. iii. 31. vulg. Vomere. English Bible, Ox-goad. (l) Jud. x. 6, 7. (m) Jud. xi, xii. (n) Jud. xiv. 1.

fatal

Dis. IV. Neighbouring Nations of the Jews

fatal to them, for he pull'd down on the Heads of the Lords of the *Philistines*, the Temple of *Dagon*, in the Ruins whereof he was himself buried with them. However, this did not prevent the *Philistines* from continuing to distress the *Israelites* in the time of *Heli* the High-Priest, and of *Samuel* the Prophet, and even in the beginning of *Saul's* Reign. In *Heli's* time, the *Hebrews* lost the famous Battel, wherein the Ark of the Lord fell into the hands of the *Philistines* (o). But in *Samuel's* time, the *Israelites*, solemnly repenting of their evil Ways, and by that means appeasing the Anger of the Lord, march'd out by the Prophet's Order against the *Philistines*, and by his Intercession obtain'd a signal Victory over them (p). Upon this, a Peace ensued, till the beginning of *Saul's* Reign, who worsted them in several Battels: But however, this did not hinder them from making continual Irruptions into the Territories of the *Hebrews*. The most remarkable Victory obtain'd in *Saul's* time, was that wherein *David* slew *Goliath* the Giant (q). A good while after this defeat, the *Philistines* durst not attack the *Israelites*. However, it can't be said that there was a solid Peace between the two Nations, or even an entire Cessation of Arms. At length, *Saul* himself fell by the Hands of the *Philistines*; being slain with three of his Sons in the fatal Day of *Gilboa* (r).

David being anointed King, could not, till after many Battels and Victories, compel the *Philistines* to submit, and become his Tributaries (s). They remain'd in Subjection during the Reigns of *Solomon* and the Kings of *Judah* his Successors, 'till the time of *Jebooram*, the Son of *Jebozaphat*: This Prince made War upon them (t), upon their taking up Arms either against him, or against *Jebozaphat* his Father. It is certain they serv'd as Auxiliary Troops in the War the *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, and other Nations waged against *Jebozaphat*, which we find mentioned in *Psalms* lxxxiii (u).

They revolted again in the Reign of *Uzziab*; King of *Judah*; but this Prince reduced them, and kept them under all his time (w). During the unhappy Misfortunes of the King-

(o) 1 Sam. iv. v. (p) 1 Sam. vii. 3, 13, 14. (q) 1 Sam. xvi. (r) 1 Sam. xxxi. (s) 2 Sam. vi, vii, viii. (t) 2 Chron. xx. 12, 22. (u) 2 Chron. xxvi. 6, 7.

dom

dom of *Judab* in the Reign of *Abaz*, the *Philistines* invaded the Low Countries, and took several Cities (x). But *Hezekiah*, the Son and Successor of *Abaz* brought them again into Subjection (y). It plainly appears, they regain'd not their Liberty till the time of *Manasseh*. We find towards the latter end of the Kingdom of *Judab*, that the *Philistines* liv'd in a free and independent manner. They were so far from having any Concern how to defend themselves against the *Hebrews*, that they even refused to submit to the *Chaldeans*, the Conquerors of all the *East*.

Predictions of
the Prophets
against them.

The Prophets *Isaiah* (z), *Amos* (a), *Zephaniab* (b), *Jeremiah* (c), and *Ezekiel* (d), threaten them with the terrible Effects of the Divine Vengeance for their Cruelties to the *Jews*, whilst under Oppression. The *Philistines*, to shew their utmost Malice, sold what Prisoners they had taken to the *Edomites*, the most bitter Enemies to the People of God.

About this time *Psammiticus*, King of *Egypt*, made War against them, and took *Ashdod* after a Siege of 29 Years (e). *Necho*, his Successor, is said to subdue them in his Return from his Expedition against *Carchemish*. *Sargon*, or *Esharbadon* King of *Assyria*, took *Ashdod* likewise from them, by *Tartan* his General (f). After the taking of *Jerusalem*, *Nebuchadnezzar* laying Siege to *Tyre*, which lasted 13 Years, conquer'd, during that long space of time, the *Philistines* and other adjacent Nations. The Scriptures plainly intimate (g) both their Captivity under the *Chaldeans*, and their Return to their own Country under *Cyrus*. In this respect their Fortune was the same with that of the *Hebrews*.

The Philistines at last
confounded
with the Sy-
rians and
Phœnicians

After the Downfall of the *Chaldean* Monarchy, the *Philistines*, as well as the other Nations of *Judea*, continued in Subjection to the Kings of *Persia*, Successors to the Kings of *Babylon*. *Alexander the Great* subdued them, and destroy'd *Gaza* (h), the only City that dared to oppose him. After *Alexander's* Death, his vast Empire was divided amongst several Princes. *Palestine* belong'd sometimes to the Kings of *Egypt*,

(x) 2 Chron. xxviii. 18.

(y) 2 Kings xviii. 8.

(z) Zep. ii. 4, 5.

(a) Jer. lvi. 1.

(b) Isa. xli. 1.

(c) Jer. xli. 1.

(d) Jer. xli. 1.

(e) Jer. xli. 1.

(f) Jer. xli. 1.

(g) Jer. xli. 1.

(h) Jer. xli. 1.

(i) Jer. xli. 1.

(j) Jer. xli. 1.

(k) Jer. xli. 1.

(l) Jer. xli. 1.

(m) Jer. xli. 1.

(n) Jer. xli. 1.

(o) Jer. xli. 1.

(p) Jer. xli. 1.

(q) Jer. xli. 1.

(r) Jer. xli. 1.

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(u) Jer. xli. 1.

(v) Jer. xli. 1.

(w) Jer. xli. 1.

(x) Jer. xli. 1.

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(aa) Jer. xli. 1.

(ab) Jer. xli. 1.

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(hz) Jer. xli. 1.

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(ib) Jer. xli. 1.

(ic) Jer. xli. 1.

not find that *Josbua* attacked them. They continued in the Country, pent up within very narrow Bounds along the Sea-Coast; and giving themselves up entirely to Trade and Commerce, they left to the *Hebrews* the Lands which lay behind them, to enjoy and cultivate them at their Leisure. They oppress'd the *Israelites* in the time of the *Judges* (m); and in the Beginning of the Government of *Samuel* (n), they enter'd into an Alliance with the *Philistines* against the People of the Lord: but the *Philistines* being worsted, the *Phanicians* after that never undertook any thing against the *Hebrews*. *Hiram*, King of *Tyre*, even courted the Friendship of *David* (o), and *Solomon* (p), and sent these two Princes Timber and Workmen for the building their Palace, and the Temple of the Lord.

The *Tyrian* Damsels appear with their Presents at *Solomon's* Nuptials with the Princess of *Egypt* (q). The *Phanician* Annals take notice of the strict Union between *Solomon* and *Hiram*, and make mention of the *Enigma's*, or Riddles, they propos'd to one another (r), as the Custom was in those Days. The *Tyrians* join'd themselves as Auxiliaries to the *Ammonites*, and *Moaabites*, in their Revolt against *Jehoshaphat* King of *Judab* (s). But at the same time *Abab*, King of *Israel*, was in such Friendship with the *Tyrians*, that he espous'd *Jezebel*, Daughter to the King of *Sidon* (t), who brought into *Israel* the Worship of *Baal*, and the other *Phanician* Deities.

We read in the *Tyrian* Annals (u) the following Particulars, which are not to be found in Scripture. *Salmaneser*, King of *Assyria*, so much spoken of on account of his Wars against the Ten Tribes, whose Kingdom he at last utterly destroy'd, by taking *Samaria*, and transplanting the Inhabitants beyond the *Euphrates*: *Salmaneser*, I say, waged War likewise with *Eluleus*, or *Eliseus*, King of *Tyre*. This last Prince had fitted out a Fleet to reduce the *Giribians* (w), who had revolted from him. *Salmaneser* invaded the Territories of the *Tyrians*, and committed great Hostilities; but at length a Peace was concluded, and *Salmaneser* march'd back with his Army into *Assyria*.

(m) Judg. x. 12. (n) Eccl. xlvii. 21. (o) 2 Sam. v. 11. (p) 1 Kings v. 1.
(q) Psal. xlv. 12. (r) Job. con. Ap. (s) 2 Chr. xx. 1, 2, 3. (t) 1 Kings xvi. 31.
(u) Men. An. Tyr. apud Jos. Antiq. l. 9. c. 14. (w) Usher thinks the *Giribians* to be the *Philistines* of *Gath*; but what need of a Fleet to reduce an Inland Town? Scaliger more justly takes them for the *Cypriotes*.

Some

Some time after, the Cities of *Sidon*, *Acco*, since call'd *Prolemais*, and antient *Tyre*, with several other *Phanician* Towns, threw off the Yoke of the *Tyrians*, and revolted to the King of *Assyria*. *Salmaneser* upon this comes again into *Phanicia*, to reduce the *Tyrians*, and assist the Cities that had declar'd for him. The revolted *Phanicians* equip'd a Fleet of 60 Vessels for *Salmaneser*. The *Tyrians* arm'd on their part, and, with 12 Ships only, dispers'd the Enemy's Fleet, and took 500 Prisoners. *Salmaneser* finding there was no reducing them by Force, return'd into *Assyria*, leaving part of his Army encamp'd on the Shore over against the Island on which the City of *Tyre* was built; in order to compel the *Tyrians* to surrender themselves for want of Water, there being no fresh Water in the Island. This Siege, or Blockade, lasted five Years; and the *Tyrians*, to prevent their dying with Thirst, were obliged to dig Wells in the solid Rock.

The event of this War is not known for certain; but it is highly probable, that the *Tyrians* preserv'd their Liberty; for in the Beginning of the Reign of *Zedekiah*, King of *Judab*, they sent Embassadors to *Jerusalem*, to concert Measures with him and the neighbouring Princes, how to resist *Nebuchadnezzar*, who had visibly a Design of enslaving them all. They joined with *Zedekiah*, in revolting from the King of *Chaldea* (x): but did not behave themselves as became good Allies; they deserted *Zedekiah* and left him to carry on the War alone against the *Chaldeans*. The Prophets *Joel* (y), and *Ezekiel* (z), upbraid them for even insulting over the Misfortunes of the *Jews* after the taking of *Jerusalem*.

But their Perfidiousness did not protect them from the divine Vengeance, and the Fury of *Nebuchadnezzar*. This Prince had had a perfect Intelligence of what had pass'd between *Zedekiah* and the *Tyrians*. Accordingly, after the taking and destroying *Jerusalem*, he turn'd his Arms against *Tyre*. This City was then one of the finest and most flourishing in all the East. It was immensely Rich, having engross'd the Trade of the most distant Provinces. *Ezekiel* gives a large List of the Nations who resorted to their Fairs, and the Merchandizes they brought thither. *Itobal*, who reign'd at that

(x) Jer. xxv. 22. xxvii. 3.

(y) Joel iii. 4, 5.

(z) Ezek. xxvi. 2.

E

time

time (a), was one of the richest and most magnificent Princes in the World. He look'd upon himself as a God, amidst a City of so prodigious a Trade; the very Merchants, for the most part, being like so many Princes (b).

The taking of
Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar.

Nebuchadnezzar march'd his Army from *Jerusalem to Tyre*, and laid Siege to it. He was 13 Years before that Town (c), and his Army suffered very great Hardships; for the City being situated on an Island, he was forced to raise, with incredible Labour, Moles and other Works to come at the Walls. St. *Jerom* affirms (d), and *Ezekiel* insinuates (e), that the *Tyrians* finding themselves upon the point of falling into the hands of the *Chaldeans*, abandoned the City, and putting on board their Ships all their valuable Effects, sail'd away to some other Country (f). The Word of the Lord (says *Ezekiel*) came unto me, saying, Son of Man, Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, caused his Army to serve a great Service against Tyrus: every Head was made bald, and every Shoulder was peeled: yet had he no Wages, nor his Army for Tyrus, for the Service that he had served against it. Therefore, thus saith the Lord God, Behold I will give the Land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, and he shall take her Multitude, and take her Spoil, and take her Prey, and it shall be the Wages for his Army.

Berosus (g) informs us, that the occasion of this War against the *Phœnicians*, was the Revolt of the Governour, *Nebuchadnezzar* had placed over that Country. This is intimated by *Jeremiah* (h), who says, that the King of *Tyre* having, as I before observed, sent Embassadors to *Zedekiah*, King of *Judah*, to make an Alliance with him, the Lord commanded *Jeremiah* to make Yokes, and present them to the Ambassadors that were then at the Court of *Zedekiah*, from several Princes, and to tell them that they should all serve the King of *Babylon*; and that they who refus'd to submit to his Yoke,

(a) Philost. ap. Jos. Ant. l. 10. c. 11. & Con. Ap. l. 1. xxviii. (c) Philost. loco citato. (d) Jerom. in Ezek. (e) Ezek. xxix. 18, 19. (f) Pridcaux says, it was old Tyre on the Continent that was destroy'd by Nebuchadnezzar, and that the Tyrians removed their Effects to a Rock about half a Mile from the Shore, where they built new Tyre, so famous afterwards. Part 1. l. 2. Connell. Calmer seems to be of the same Opinion also. p. 103. (g) Ber. l. 3. Rerum Chal. ap. Jos. Ant. l. 10. c. 11. (h) Jer. xviii. 3, 4, &c.

should

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should be reduced to Slavery and Captivity. He gave more-over to the Kings of *Tyre* and *Sidon* (i) the Cup of Fury of the Lord, and caused them to drink of it even to Drunkenness. What *Berosus* calls a *Satrapas* or Governour, *Jeremiah*, after the manner of the Jews, styles a King.

Berosus's Account of these matters is thus: The Governour of *Phœnicia*, *Egypt*, and *Syria*, having revolted, *Nabopolassar*, King of *Chaldea*, sends his Son *Nebuchadnezzar* against him with an Army. The Rebel was vanquish'd in a pitch'd Battel, and the Provinces he had drawn in to revolt, return'd to their Allegiance again. Whilst this was doing, *Nabopolassar* died, and *Nebuchadnezzar* having put in order the Affairs of *Phœnicia* and *Egypt*, return'd with all speed to *Babylon*, leaving to his Friends the Care of bringing away to *Babylon* what *Jews*, *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Egyptians* had been taken Prisoners during the War; and likewise to march back the Army that had serv'd in *Phœnicia* and *Syria*. But it is very probable, that this Governor, or King, still maintain'd his Ground in *New Tyre*, or else that the War related by *Berosus* is not the same with that mentioned by *Ezekiel* against the King of *Tyre*.

What may be depended upon for certain, is, that *Nebuchadnezzar*, already King of *Chaldea*, came to reduce *Zedekiah*, and lay Siege to *Tyre*. *Isaiab* (k) had foretold that *Tyre* should be forgotten for 70 Years, and after that should again be restored to her former Splendor. It is a difficult point to determine either the beginning or ending of this Period. But to what time soever it is fix'd, I am of opinion it must be applied to the Destruction of ancient *Tyre* situated on the Continent, and opposite to the *New City* built on the Island; for *Tyre* built on the Island, had her Kings, even after the Siege of *Nebuchadnezzar*, as the *Tyrian Annals* expressly inform us (l).

New Tyre began to flourish again, tho' nothing like what she had formerly besn, when *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* return'd to *Judea* (m). *Zechariah* represents her as a powerful City, that built herself a strong hold, and heaped up Silver as the Dust, and fine Gold as the Mire of the Streets. But at the same

(i) Jer. xxv. 22. (k) Isaiab xlii. 15, 16, 17. (l) Annal. Tyr. apud Jos. l. 1. con. App. See the Author's Comment. on Ezek. xxv. 5, 14. (m) Ez. iii. 7. Neh. xliii. 16.

time threatens her with the *Fury* of the Lord. *Behold, the Lord will cast her out, he will smite her Power in the Sea, and she shall be destroy'd with Fire* (n). The antient Prophets (o), had prophesied against her in the same manner. Some of their Predictions fell upon *Old*, and some upon *New Tyre*: Some were brought to pass by *Salmaneser* and *Nebuchadnezzar*; and others by *Alexander the Great*. *Justin* (p) relates, that the *Tyrians* having long resisted the Power of the *Persians*, were at last so weaken'd and exhausted, that their Slaves rose and slew their Masters, and chose for their King *Strato* one of the Royal Family, [who, with his little Son, were the only Persons preserv'd alive.] But one can't tell in what time to place this Event.

During the Persecution of *Antiochus Epiphanes* against the *Jews*, we find the *Tyrians* (q) among the other Enemies of *Israel*, making Inroads into their Country; and *Josephus* (r) observes in general, that the *Tyrians* had all along a great Animosity against the *Jews*, which they never fail'd of showing upon all Occasions. In the Reign of *Antigonus*, King of *Asia*, and 18 Years after *Alexander's* Death, *Tyre* held out a Siege of 15 Months (s). After the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the *Tyrians* having had no concerns with the *Hebrews*, I shall carry on their History no farther in this place. What I have said, is sufficient to show the Accomplishment of what was foretold by the *Prophets*.

Sidon, its Antiquity, the Mother of Tyre.

Sidon is of a longer standing than *Tyre*. *Homer* speaks of *Sidon* (t), but says nothing of *Tyre*. *Sidon* eldest Son to *Canaan* was its Founder (u); it was allotted by *Joshua* to *Asher*, as part of their Inheritance (w). But this *Tribe* was never in a Condition to become Master of it. *Tyre* was but the *Daughter* or Colony of *Sidon*. However the *Daughter* was a long time more powerful than the *Mother*; which rais'd her Envy to such a degree, as to hurry her on to declare for *Salmaneser*, as hath been observ'd, and to assist him in his Wars against her Rival. *Sidon* beheld with pleasure the

(n) Zech. ix. 3, 4. (o) Isaiah xxiii. Jer. xxvii. 47. Ezek. xxvi, xxvii, xxviii, xxix. (p) Just. l. 18. (q) 1 Mac. v. 15. (r) Jos. l. i. con. App. (s) Diod. An. 2. Olymp. 116. (t) Hom. Il. 6. v. 743. Il. 23. v. 289. Odyf. l. 4. v. 54. l. 15. v. 114. (u) Gen. x. 15. (w) Jos. xix. 28.

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downfall of *Tyre* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, for which the Prophet *Isaiah* upbraids her in this lively manner (x): *Be thou ashamed, O Sidon, for the Sea hath spoken, even the Strength (or Riches) of the Sea, saying, I travail not, nor bring forth Children, neither do I nourish up young Men, nor bring up Virgins.* As if he had said, Foreign Nations are touch'd with Compassion at the Destruction of so fine and noble a City; and can't thou, O *Sidon*, who art her Mother and Nurse, look on her Misfortunes without being moved!

The King of *Sidon*, as well as the Kings of *Tyre*, *Egypt*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, sent Ambassadors to *Zedekiah* King of *Judah* (y), to make an Alliance with him against *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Chaldea*. *Jeremiah* (z) presented them, as he did the rest, with the Cup of the *Fury* of the Lord, and with a Yoke and Fetters, as a Sign of their future Subjection to the *Chaldeans* (a). After the taking of *Tyre*, *Sidon* was reduced, and remain'd subject to the Kings of *Babylon*, upon very hard Terms (b).

Herodotus (c) informs us, that *Apries* (the Pharaoh *Hophra* of *Jeremiah*) (d) Successor to *Psamis*, King of *Egypt*, made War upon the *Phenicians* of *Tyre* and *Sidon*. But it is not known, whether it was before or after the Siege of *Tyre* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the bringing *Sidon* into Subjection to that Prince. *Joel* (e) reproaches the *Sidonians* for rejoicing over the Misfortunes of the *Jews*, and insulting them when in Oppression. *Ezekiel* (f) upbraids them upon the same account. This Proceeding of theirs drew down upon their Heads the *Fury* of the Lord. They smarted sufficiently under the Yoke of the *Chaldeans*, and afterwards of the *Persians*; but the Threatnings of the Prophets against them (g) were not accomplish'd till several Ages after.

In the Reign of *Artaxerxes Ochus*, King of *Persia*, the *Sidonians*, exasperated at the ill Usage they met with from the Hands of the Governors sent from the Court of *Persia*, enter'd into a secret Alliance with *Nectanebus* King of *Egypt*, (h) and

(x) Isaiah xxiii. 4. (y) Jer. xxvii. (z) xxv. 22. (a) Ezek. xxvii. (b) Ezek. xxviii. 21. (c) Herod. l. 2. c. 161. (d) Jer. xlv. 3. (e) Joel iii. 4, 5. (f) Ezek. xxviii. 24. (g) Zech. ix. 2, 3, 4. Ezek. xxvi. (h) Diod. Sic. ad An. 2. Olymp. 177.

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at last resolutely took up Arms against the *Persians*. They fitted out a great Fleet, and drag'd their Governor in a most ignominious manner to his Death. They cut down the Trees in the King's Garden, and set fire to the Forrage design'd for his Horses. The Governors of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, as being the nearest, hasten'd to put a stop to this Evil in its birth; but *Tennes*, King of *Sidon*, put them to flight: so that *Artaxerxes* was fain to come in Person, at the head of 300,000 Foot, and 30,000 Horse, with a Fleet of 300 Vessels of War, and 500 Ships laden with Provisions, to attack *Sidon* by Sea and Land.

The *Sidonians* had got together some Troops, and had put themselves in a condition to withstand their Enemies: but were betray'd by their own King, and the General of their Army, who deliver'd up the City to *Artaxerxes*. The *Sidonians*, at first, had recourse to the Clemency of this Prince, and sent to him 500 Men in the Habit of Supplicants, with Olive-Branches in their hands. But *Artaxerxes* order'd his Archers to shoot them all to death with their Arrows.

The *Sidonians* before the Arrival of the *Persians*, had, to take away all hopes of flying or retreating, burnt all their own Ships; so that seeing themselves reduced to this Extremity, they took the strangest Resolution that ever Despair inspir'd any People with. They shut themselves up in their Houses with their Wives and Children, and setting fire to them, burnt themselves and all their Effects. 'Tis suppos'd, no less than 40,000 Freemen and Slaves perish'd in the Flames. Thus were accomplish'd the Predictions of the Prophets against this City.

Sidon, however, lifted up her head again, tho' in a feeble manner, and was in Being, when *Alexander the Great* came into *Phœnicia*. He treated her very civilly for her early and ready surrendring herself to him. It was not till after many Ages and Revolutions that *Tyre* and *Sidon* were reduced to the Condition they now are in, without Name, Authority, or Power, and almost buried in their own Ruins: (i) *I will make thee like the Top of a Rock: thou shalt be a Place to spread Nets upon: thou shalt be built no more; for I the Lord have spoken it.*

(i) Ezek. xxvi. 14.

Sect. III. Of the Edomites or Idumeans.

THE *Idumeans*, as every one knows, were descended ^{The Edomites or Idumeans, the absence descended.} from *Esau*, called also *Edom*, Brother to *Jacob*, and Son to *Isaac*. The first Abode of the *Idumeans* was to the Southward of the *Dead-Sea*, and the River *Jordan*, in the Mountains of *Seir*. In Process of time, they came down to the South of *Palestine*, and the *Dead-Sea*, between *Judea* and *Arabia Petraea*. There is a Necessity of admitting these two different Abodes of the *Idumeans*, in order to reconcile Scripture with itself (k).

The *Idumeans* were at first governed by Chiefs or Princes, ^{They refuse to let the Israelites pass their City.} and afterwards by Kings. They had had a long Succession of them, when their Brethren the *Israelites* began in *Samuel's* ^{brother's} time their Kingly Government with *Saul*. The Animosity *Esau* had entertain'd against his Brother *Jacob*, for being beforehand with him in obtaining the Blessing of their Father *Isaac*, descended to their Posterity, continually increasing more and more. When the *Israelites* sojourn'd in the Wilderness, the *Idumeans* would not so much as give them leave to pass through their Country, tho' they offer'd to pay for what Bread and Water they should have occasion for (l). For this Reason, the *Israelites* were fain to go a great way round about, through the Countries of *Moab* and *Midian*, to come at the Land of Promise; (m) God having order'd them not to attack the *Edomites*.

Saul made War upon the *Idumeans* (n) for having made ^{Conquer'd by David.} Incursions into his Territories. But this only serv'd to repress their Insolence, and confine them within their own Bounds. *David* subdu'd them, and made them tributary to him (o). The motive of this War is not known, unless it were for favouring the *Ammonites* in what they did to *David*. However this be, then was fully accomplish'd the Promise God made to *Jacob*, that the *Elder should serve the Younger* (p).

The *Idumeans* could not long remain in quiet. Towards the end of *Solomon's* Reign they began to stir again, at the time *Hadad*, one of the Royal Family, that was carry'd away young into *Egypt* when *Joab*, (q) *David's* General, destroy'd all *Idumea*

(k) Gen. xxxii. 3. 1 Kings xi. 18. (l) Num. xx. 14. (m) Numb. xxi. 4. Judg. xi. 17. (n) 1 Sam. xiv. 47. (o) 2 Sam. viii. 14. (p) Gen. xxv. 23. (q) 1 Kings xi. 14.

with Fire and Sword, return'd into his own Country, and took upon him the Government. But I am apt to think, this was Eastern *Idumea*, towards the Mountains of *Gilead*; for the *Idumeans* that dwelt to the South of *Palestine*, were subject to the Kings of *Judab*, till the Reign of *Jebooram* the Son of *Jebofaphat* (r).

Jebooram made War against them, but was not able to reduce them; they continu'd Independent of the *Jews*. *Amaziab*, the Son of *Joash* King of *Judab*, attack'd them likewise, and slew 10000 Men, and made himself Master of *Petra*, which he call'd *Jesael*, after he had cast down from the top of the Rock 10000 *Idumeans* that were taken Prisoners. He carried off their Gods, and was so weak as to offer Incense to them (s). But the Consequences of all these Advantages were not of any great moment; the *Idumeans* still enjoy'd their Liberty, and fail'd not, upon all occasions, to shew their inveterate Hatred against the *Israelites*.

Amos (t) reproaches the *Philistines* for their inhuman treatment of the *Israelites* their Prisoners, in selling them to their Enemies the *Idumeans*. The same Prophet threatens the *Idumeans* in a terrible manner for drawing their Swords against their Brethren the *Jews*. *Azariah*, King of *Judab*, retook from them the City of *Elath* on the *Red-Sea* (u); but was not long master of it: *Rezin*, King of *Syria*, seiz'd upon it, and drove the *Jews* from thence. In the Reign of *Abaz*, the *Idumeans* invaded *Judab*, and committed all manner of Cruelties (w). It is believed, they assisted *Sennacherib* against *Hezekiah* (x); but they were punish'd for their inhuman Proceedings, by *Esaibaddon*, Successor to *Sennacherib*, who ravaged their Country (y). *Holofernes* (z) brought them into Subjection, with the rest of the Nations round about *Judea*.

The King of *Edom* sent Ambassadors to *Jerusalem* in the Beginning of *Zedekiah's* Reign (a). *Jeremiah* presented them with a *Toke*, to assure them, that they would be oblig'd by force to serve *Nebuchadnezzar*, if they refus'd to submit themselves voluntarily to his Government. Notwithstanding these Threatnings, they enter'd into an Alliance with *Zedekiah* (b);

(r) 2 Chro. xxi. 8, 9. (s) 2 Chro. xxv. 14. (t) Am. i. 11. (u) 2 Kings xiv. 22. (w) 2 Chro. xxvii. 17. (x) Herod. l. 2. c. 141. (y) Isai. xxi. 11, 12, 13. (z) Judith iii. 14. (a) Jer. xxviii. 3. (b) Jer. xxv. 14.

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Dis. IV; Neighbouring Nations of the Jews.

but so far were they from assisting the *Hebrews*, their Allies, during the War with *Nebuchadnezzar*, that they turn'd against them, and exhorted *Nebuchadnezzar* utterly to destroy *Jerusalem*, and to rase the Walls thereof to the Ground (c). This Treachery of theirs did not long go unpunish'd. *Nebuchadnezzar*, five Years after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, over-ran all the neighbouring Nations of the *Jews*, and amongst the rest the *Idumeans* (d).

Altho' it is not particularly mention'd, that the *Idumeans* were carried away Captive with the other Nations beyond the *Euphrates*; yet we find in the Prophets (e), Threatnings of Captivity and Promises of Freedom again to all the neighbouring Nations of the *Jews* in general; which makes it thought, that *Edom* under-went the same Fate with the rest of the conquer'd Nations. However, it must not be suppos'd that when a Nation was carried away into Captivity, that none of the Natives were left behind. We find that many *Idumeans*, who had escap'd the Sword of the Conqueror, spread themselves insensibly along the Southern Parts of *Judea*; insomuch, that at the Return of the *Jews* from their Captivity, the *Idumeans* were in possession of almost all the Country to the South of *Judab*, from *Hebron* along the Borders of *Arabia*.

They were then in so powerful and flourishing a Condition, that the *Jews* themselves conceiv'd a sort of Jealousy against them, and said unto the Lord in *Malachi* (f), *Wherein hast thou loved us? Is not Edom in Peace, as well as we? But saith the Lord: Was not Esau Jacob's Brother; yet I loved Jacob, and hated Esau, and laid his Mountains and his Heritage waste, for the Dragons of the Wilderness. Whereas Edom saith, we are impoverished, but we will return and build the desolate Places: Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, they shall build, but I will throw down; and they shall call them the Border of Wickedness, and the People against whom the Lord hath Indignation for ever. Accordingly, tho' *Antiochus Epiphanes* (g), whilst he was cruelly persecuting the *Jews*, spared them, yet could they never regain their Liberty, nor have exer*

(c) Psal. cxxxvii. 7, 8. Lament. iv. 21, 22. (d) Obad. i. Jer. lix. 7. ix. 26. Ezek. xxv. 14. Jos. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. (e) Jer. xii. 14, 15. xxv. 1, &c. (f) Mal. i. 2, 3, 4. (g) Dan. xi. 4.

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after any more Princes or Kings of their own. They continu'd all along subject to the *Egyptians* or *Syrians*; and at last they fell under the Dominion of the *Jews*, according to the antient Prophecies.

The utter Extinction of the Nation of the Edomites.

Judas Maccabeus attacked and defeated them more than once (b). *Johannes Hircanus* compleated what *Judas* had began. He subdued the *Idumeans*, and compell'd them to be circumcised (c). They remain'd in Subjection to the *Jews* till the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and Dispersion of the *Jewish* Nation. During the Siege of *Jerusalem*, they took up Arms, says *Josephus*, for the Defence of that City, which they look'd upon as the *Metropolis* of all the Race of *Abraham* (k). Thus were fully accomplish'd the Prophecies of *Isaac* (l), and *Balaam* (m), who had promis'd *Jacob* the Dominion over *Esau*; and the Predictions of the Prophets *Isaiab*, *Amos*, *Jeremiab*, *Obadiab*, and *Ezekiel*, who had foretold the entire Ruin of the *Edomites*, even to the very Extinction of the Name. The which has been brought to pass many Ages since in a remarkable manner.

SECT. IV. Of the Ammonites and Moabites.

I Shall not consider the *Ammonites* and *Moabites* apart, since the Scripture never separates them, and since the same Original, Country, Wars, Fortune, and Calamities, are all along common to both. Every one knows they sprung from *Lot's* Incest with his two Daughters (n). They dwelt to the East of *Jordan* and the *Dead Sea*; being bounded by the *Arabian Scenites* to the East, and by the *Tribes of Gad* and *Reuben* to the West. Before the arrival of the *Israelites* in the Land of *Promisc*, the *Amorites* having dispossessed *Moab* and *Ammon* of great Part of their Country (o); the *Hebrews* took it from them, and kept it as their own by Right of Conquest. This was one of the Reasons of the great Hatred between the two Nations.

Another Reason was, what happened, when by the Advice of *Balaam* the Daughters of *Moab* enticed the *Hebrews* to com-

(b) *Isaiab* lxiii. 1. & *1 Macc.* v. 3, 4. *2 Macc.* x. 16. *Jos. Antiq.* l. 11. c. 11.

(c) *Jos. Antiq.* xiii. c. 17.

(k) *Jos. l.* 4. de Bel. *Jud.* c. 6.

(l) *Gen.* xxv. 23.

(m) *Num.* xxiv. 18.

(n) *Gen.* xix. 37, 38.

(o) *Judg.* xi. 13.

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mit Whoredom and Idolatry (p). *Moab* had moreover most inhumanly denied the *Israelites* leave to pass thro' their Country, and refused to let them have any Bread and Water in their Extremity. In detestation of this cruel Dealing, the Lord commanded that an *Ammonite* or *Moabite* should not enter into the Congregation of his People, even to the Tenth Generation (q).

Eglon, King of *Moab*, in Conjunction with the *Ammonites*, was one of the first who oppressed *Israel* after the Death of *Josua*. *Ehud*, the Son of *Gera*, became their Deliverer, by killing *Eglon*. The *Israelites* took up Arms against the *Moabites*, and slew ten thousand of them, by which means they remained in quiet 80 Years (r). After this, the *Ammonites* brought into Subjection the *Tribes* that dwelt beyond *Jordan*. And finding themselves powerful enough, they laid claim to all the Land *Moses* had formerly dispossessed the *Amorites* of. *Jephthab*, who was chosen General upon this Occasion, maintain'd the Right they had to the Land by *Moses's* Conquest, to be good, gave the *Ammonites* Battel, defeated them, and became Master of a great Part of their Country (s).

Nabash (t), King of the *Ammonites*, making an ill Use of his Power, opprest'd likewise, some time after, the *Israelites* beyond *Jordan*. He attack'd the Men of *Jabesh Gilead*, and when they offer'd to treat with him, he answer'd in a haughty and savage manner, he would have nothing to do with them, unless he might put out all their Right Eyes, and make them an everlasting Reproach to all *Israel*. These Conditions put the Men of *Jabesh* in a terrible Consternation. They immediately applied themselves to *Saul*, who was just then made King. *Saul* march'd against them with incredible Speed, surpriz'd and defeated the *Ammonites*, and delivered *Jabesh*. During all his Reign, they durst not make any attempt upon *Israel* (u).

David, whilst out of Favour with *Saul*, retired for some time into the Country of the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, where he was not only protected, but got a place of Refuge for

(p) *Numb.* xxv. 1, 2.

(q) *Deut.* xxiii. 3.

(r) *Jud.* iii. 12, &c.

(s) *Jud.* xi.

(t) *1 Sam.* xi. 1, 2.

(u) *1 Sam.* xiv. 47.

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his Father and Mother (w), to prevent their falling into the Hands of his Persecutor. This Kindness of the King of *Ammon*, *David* had always a very grateful Sense of. Upon his Death, he sent Ambassadors to *Hannun*, his Son and Successor, to condole his Father's Death, and congratulate him upon his coming to the Crown (x). *Hannun*, prepossessed by his Courtiers, imagining they were so many Spies, gave them a very rough Reception, and caused one half of their Beards to be shaved, and their Garments to be cut off as high as their Middle. To revenge this heinous Affront to his Ambassadors, *David* declared War against the *Ammonites*, took *Rabbah* their Capital, beat them in two pitched Battels, destroy'd their Country, and brought them entirely into Subjection. *Moab* and *Ammon* remain'd under the Dominion of the Kings of *Judah*, till after the Death of *Solomon*. In the Reign of *Reoboam*, upon the Separation of the ten Tribes, the *Ammonites* and *Moabites* became subject to the Kings of *Israel*, and remain'd so till the Death of *Ahab* (y).

Abaziab, Successor to *Ahab*, was not powerful enough to reduce them; but *Jehoram*, the Son of *Ahab*, and Brother of *Abaziab*, being King, he went up against the *Moabites*, accompanied by the Kings of *Judah* and *Edom* (z). These three Princes marching their Army through the Wilderness of *Edom*, after a seven Days march, were in Distress for want of Water. *Elisha*, who fortunately for them happen'd to be in the Army, ordered them from the Lord, to make the Valley full of Ditches, which he assured them should by the next day be all fill'd with Water. He told them moreover, that the Lord would deliver *Moab* into their hands. Accordingly, on the Morrow early in the Morning, the *Moabites* seeing the Water, which by the Reflection of the Rising Sun appear'd as red as Blood, fancied it was really so, and imagining that the Army of the three Kings had destroy'd one another; without any further Examination of the matter, they ran in a confus'd and disorderly manner to the Spoil: upon which, the *Israelites* charged them so briskly, that they were soon put to flight with a very great Slaughter.

(w) 1 Sam. xxii. 3, 4.
(z) Ibid. 6, 7, &c.

(x) 2 Sam. x. 1, &c.

(y) 2 Kings iii. 4, 5.

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There is an Account of another War against the *Moabites*, which happened before this, in the Reign of *Jehoshaphat*, King of *Judah* (a). The *Ammonites*, *Maonians*, and *Edomites*, having made an Incurſion into *Judea* as far as *Engedi*, *Jehoshaphat* relying on the Assistance of the Lord, in whom he placed all his Confidence, march'd against them in Battel Array: but the Soldiers of the Enemy's Army being seized with a panick Fear, turn'd their Arms against one another, so that the Army was entirely destroy'd, and *Jehoshaphat* had nothing to do but to strip the Dead, and carry off the Booty.

Moab and *Ammon*, being, as I observ'd, subject to the Kings of *Israel*, were expos'd to the same Misfortunes, and underwent the same Fate as the ten Tribes. *Tiglath-Pileser*, and *Salmaneser* dealt very hardly with them. *Isaiab*, in the beginning of the Reign of *Hezekiah*, threatens them with a Misfortune which was to fall upon them three Years after his Prediction (b). This could be no other than the coming of *Salmaneser* into *Syria* and the Land of *Israel*, some Years before the last Siege of *Samaria*.

Ben-badad, and *Hazael*, Kings of *Syria*, took the City of *Ramoth-Gilead* from *Ahab* and *Jehoram*, Kings of *Israel*. The Particulars of these Wars are not known: but *Amos* (c) informs us, that the *Ammonites* and *Moabites* took this Opportunity of shaking off the Yoke of the *Israelites*; and to satisfy their old Animosity and Malice against the People of the Lord, they used them in the most barbarous manner, even ripping up the Women that were with Child, in order to destroy both them and the Fruit of their Wombs. The same Prophet reproves *Moab* for having burnt the Bones of the King of *Edom*. It is thought the Prophet means the King of *Moab's* sacrificing the King of *Edom's* Son, when he found himself press'd by the Kings of *Israel* and *Edom*. See 2 Kings iii. 27.

The Wars and Calamities wherewith *Amos* threatens *Moab* and *Ammon*, are those that were brought upon them either by *Uzziab* and *Jorham*, Kings of *Judah* (d), or by *Salmaneser* (e), or lastly by *Nebuchadnezzar*, five Years after the

(a) 2 Chron. xx. 12.
7, 8.

(b) Isai. xv.

(c) Amos i. 13.

(d) 2 Chron. xxvi.

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Destruction of *Jerusalem* (f), which I shall speak of by and by.

After the Transmigration of the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half Tribe of *Manasseh* from beyond *Jordan*, *Ammon* and *Moab* took possession of the Cities these Tribes had been obliged to relinquish. *Jeremiah* (g) upbraids them very sharply for it, and threatens them with all the Effects of the Fury of the Lord. It is plain these Threatnings were put in Execution by *Holofernes*, who, as we find by *Judith* (h), brought them into Subjection some time after.

The Ambassadors of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* were among those to whom *Jeremiah* gave the Cup of the Fury of the Lord (i), with a Yoke and Fetters (k), persuading them to submit themselves to *Nebuchadnezzar*, threatening them at the same time, in case they stood out, with Servitude and Captivity. They harkened not to the Prophet's Advice, but entered into an Alliance with the Kings of *Judab*, *Egypt*, *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Edom*, to oppose the *Chaldeans*. But when they found *Nebuchadnezzar* was in good earnest besieging *Jerusalem*, and the *Jews* ready to fall into his hands, so far were they from assisting them, that they even rejoic'd at, and insulted over their Misfortunes (l). The Lord incensed at their Treachery, rais'd up against them *Nebuchadnezzar* himself, who made War upon them, and carried them away Captive beyond the *Euphrates*. The Prophets often threaten them with this (m), but promise them generally that they should return again to their own Country (n). But to be more particular in these Matters, it will be necessary to go back a little.

When *Nebuchadnezzar* was upon his March against *Hezekiah*, and the other Kings that were in Alliance with him, *Ezekiel* informs us (o), that he deliberated whether he should go first to *Jerusalem*, or to *Rabbah*, the Metropolis of the *Ammonites*. The Divinations he used with Arrows in a Quiver, determined him to march directly to *Jerusalem*. Whilst he was at the Siege of this City, several *Jews* retired

(f) Jos. Antiq. l. x. c. 11. (g) Jer. xlix. 1, 2. (h) Judith v. 2. (i) Jer. xxv. 14. (k) Jer. xxvii. 2, 3, 4. (l) Ezek. xxv. 3, 6. (m) Jer. ix. 26. xli. 14, 15, 16. (n) Jer. xlviii. 47. xlix. 3, 6. (o) Ezek. xxi. 20, 21.

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into the Country of the *Ammonites*, as into a place of Safety, amongst their Friends and Allies. This Particular we have from *Jeremiah* (p), which shows there was at that time a sort of Union between the two Nations. But this is by no means inconsistent with what *Ezekiel* says of the *Ammonites* rejoicing at the Calamities of *Judab*, and the Ruin of the Temple. For some insulted over the *Jews* in their Misfortunes, whilst others were mov'd to Compassion at them.

It is very probable, that the Treachery of the King of the *Ammonites* against *Gedaliah* (q), and against the *Chaldeans* that were left behind in *Judea*, after the taking of *Jerusalem* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, was one of the principal Reasons of this Prince's warring against the *Ammonites*, his treating them in so severe a manner, as is before mention'd, and his carrying them away from their native Country into a foreign Land. But he could not finish this War till the fifth year after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, as *Josephus* informs us (r).

I am of opinion that *Cyrus* sent back the *Ammonites* and *Moabites* to their own Country, as well as the *Jews* and the other neighbouring Nations. Accordingly, we find after that time, *Moab* and *Ammon* re-establish'd, increasing in their Numbers, and fortifying their Towns, in the same manner as the *Jews* did: we find them subject to the *Persians*, and govern'd by the Vice-roys of *Syria* or *Palestine*; in which state they continu'd till the Reign of *Alexander the Great*, to whom they submitted themselves. After his Death, they were at first under the Kings of *Egypt*, and afterwards of *Syria*. *Antiochus the Great*, took *Rabbah* the Capital of the *Ammonites*, rais'd the Walls, and placed a strong Garrison in it (s).

In the Persecution of *Antiochus Epiphanes* they escaped (t), either because they readily comply'd with his wicked Orders, or because they had long before embrac'd the Religion of the *Greeks*; or, lastly, because this Prince had not the time to attack them. During these troublesome Times, the *Ammonites* exercis'd their Rage against the *Jews* that inhabited the Mountains of *Gilead* (u); *Judas Maccabeus* march'd against them, took some of their Towns, destroy'd great Numbers of them,

(p) Jer. xl. 11. xli. 10, 15. (q) Jer. xli. 1-6. (r) Jos. Antiq. l. x. c. 1-14. (s) Polyb. l. 5. (t) Dan. xi. 41. (u) 1 Mac. v. 6-45. Jos. Antiq. l. xii. c. 12.

and

and conducted the *Israelites*, that dwelt in that Country, to *Palestine*. History does not clearly inform us what became of the *Ammonites* and *Moabites* after this: but 'tis most certain, that the *Assyrian* Princes, and after them the *Herods*, held the Sovereign Power over all the Country from beyond *Jordan* to Mount *Gilead*.

Sect. V. Of the Syrians of Damascus.

ARAM the Father of the *Syrians*, was the Son of *Shem* (w). His Posterity spread themselves over all *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*. I shall confine myself in this Place to *Syria* of *Damascus*; that is to say, to the ancient Kingdom of *Damascus*: as it is nearer *Palestine*, as it had a greater Relation to the *Jewish* Affairs, and as it is more frequently mention'd in the Writings of the Prophets.

Damascus was already a large and noted City in *Abraham's* time: some have even affirm'd, that this *Patriarch* reign'd there immediately after its Founder *Damascus* (x). *Josephus* (y) tells us, that *Hush*, the eldest Son of *Aram*, founded it. The Holy Scriptures say nothing of the Fame or Power of *Damascus* till the Reign of *David*. This Prince having declar'd War against *Hadadezer* King of *Zobab* in *Syria*, *Hadad* King of *Damascus*, came to his Assistance: but *David* obtain'd a signal Victory over them (z). *Josephus* asserts (a), that this *Hadad* was the first who took upon him the Title of King of *Damascus*; this he had from *Nicolaus Damascenus*, an Historian of that Country, who lived in the time of *Herod*.

Damascus remain'd in Subjection to *David* and *Solomon* all their Reign; but upon the Revolt of the *Ten Tribes*, this City finding themselves at a great distance from the Territories of *Rehoboam*, and taking the Advantage of the troublesome and weak State his Kingdom was in, threw off his Yoke, and maintain'd their Liberty for a good while after. The Scriptures tell us (b), that towards the latter end of *Solomon's* Reign, God rais'd him up an Adversary in the Person of *Rezon*, the Son of *Eliadab*, who, being Captain of a Band of Robbers, was receiv'd into *Damascus*, where he took upon him the Title of King. He began his Hostilities upon the Land of *Israel* in *Solo-*

(w) Gen. x. 22. (x) Justin. l. 36. (y) Jos. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. (z) 2 Sam. viii. 4, 5.
(a) Jos. Antiq. l. 7. c. 6. (b) 1 Kings xi. 23, 24, 26.

mon's

mon's time, and continued his Irruptions into the Kingdom of the *Ten Tribes*.

Asa, King of *Judab*, upon his being invaded by *Baasha*, King of *Israel*, sent and demanded the Assistance of *Benbadad*, the Son of *Tabrimon*, King of *Damascus*. He got him, by the means of Money, to break the Alliance he had made with *Baasha*, and make Incursions into his Dominions (b). A long time after *Benbadad* came and besieged *Samaria*, accompanied with thirty-two Kings his Allies, and at the Head of a prodigious Army. *Abab*, who was then King of *Israel*, finding he was not powerful enough to stand against him, acquiesced in all he required of him, giving him his Silver and Gold, his Wives and Children. But the King of *Syria*, not satisfied even with this, sent him word: *I will send my Servants to-morrow about thy time, and they shall search thy House, and the Houses of thy Servants; and it shall be, that whatsoever is pleasant in thine Eyes, they shall put it in their Hand, and take it away* (c).

Abab perceiving himself to be in a Snare, and that *Benbadad* would deal with him as he pleased, he resolv'd, by the Advice of his Counsellors, to stand a Siege, and trust to the Fortune of War. The City was very soon destitute of Provisions, and of all things necessary for their Defence; *Abab* despair'd of saving himself from the Hands of his Enemies: However, he was encouraged by a Prophet, who assured him of a certain Victory. Upon this they made a Salley, and put *Benbadad* and his Army to flight (d). The Year following, *Benbadad* got another Army on foot; and foolishly imagining that the God of the *Hebrews* was God of the Hills and not of the Valleys, was resolv'd to expect the coming of *Abab* on a Plain. The King of *Israel* went as far as *Aphek* in *Syria* to meet him, gave him Battel, slew 100,000 Men, and forced him to deliver himself into his Hands (e). *Abab* incur'd the Displeasure of God, by being even merciful to a Fault after this Victory; for he was satisfied with having the Cities *Benbadad* had taken, restored to him, and with asking Leave for the *Israelites* to build some Streets in *Damascus*, as the *Syrians* had done before in *Samaria*. The Lord was wrath at these Proceedings of

(b) 1 Kings xv. 18.
(c) Ibid. 33, 34.

(d) 1 Kings xx. 6.

(e) 1 Kings xx. 16.

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the King of *Israel*, and sent a Prophet to threaten him, that his Life should be taken away for saving that of a Man, whom the Lord had appointed to utter Destruction.

Benbadad being thus set at Liberty by *Ahab*, refus'd to perform his Promise of delivering up *Ramoth-Gilead*, and some other Towns he had taken from him during their Wars. *Ahab* put himself again at the Head of his Army, and got *Jebozaphat*, King of *Judah*, to march along with him, to retake *Ramoth*. The King of *Syria* gave Orders to his Officers to fight against none but the King of *Israel* only, and to bring him off dead or alive. *Ahab* having Intelligence of this, disguised himself, and went among the common Soldiers, desiring *Jebozaphat* to take upon him the Command of the whole Army, and to appear at the Head of the Troops in his Royal Habiliments. *Jebozaphat* sustain'd the Brunt of the Battel, as long as he was taken for the King of *Israel*. But finding he was like to fall, he cried out and made himself known. Upon that, they left off pursuing him; and whilst they were in search after *Ahab*, an Arrow shot at random gave that unfortunate Prince a Wound between the joints of his Harness, of which he died that very Evening (f).

Some Years after, *Benbadad* declared War against *Jebooram* the Son and Successor of *Ahab* (g). But *Elisha* the Prophet of the Lord broke all the Measures of the King of *Syria*, by discovering to *Jebooram*, the Designs, the Marches, the Ambushes, and all the Motions of the Enemy. *Benbadad* enrag'd at this, resolv'd to seize *Elisha*; but the Prophet struck with Blindness the Troops that were sent out to take him; and leading them into the midst of *Samaria*, open'd their Eyes; and having made them eat and drink, sent them back to their Master.

Benbadad came after this in Person to besiege *Samaria* (b). The City was soon reduced to Extremity. Provisions were sold at so prodigious a Rate, that a Mother slew and eat her own Son. The King of *Israel* in a fit of Despair sent to kill the Prophet *Elisha* at his own House, as if he had been the occasion of all these Misfortunes. But immediately repenting of his rash Orders, went himself to prevent the Execution of them. *Elisha* foreseeing what was about to happen, shut him-

(f) 1 Kings xxii. (g) 2 Kings vi. 8, 9. (b) 2 Kings vi. 24, 25, &c.

self

self up in his House with some of the Elders of the People; and when the King came, he told him, that on the Morrow there would be so great a Plenty of Provisions in *Samaria*, that a Measure of fine Flower, and two Measures of Barley, should be sold for a *Shekel*. Accordingly, that very Night, the *Syrians* being seiz'd with a panick Fear, betook themselves to flight, and left in their Camp, their Provisions, their Ammunition, and all that was valuable (i).

Elisha coming to *Damascus*, found *Benbadad* there sick. This Prince being inform'd of the Arrival of *Elisha*, sent *Hazaël*, one of his principal Officers, to him with Presents, to enquire of him whether he should recover of his Illness. *Elisha* seeing *Hazaël*, could not refrain from Tears, and told him, that the King's Disease was not Mortal, however he would die; and that *Hazaël* should reign in his stead, and bring Numberless Evils upon the *Israelites*. *Hazaël* being come back to *Benbadad*, told him he would certainly recover: but next day he stifled him in his Bed with a wet Cloath, and took upon him the Government.

Jebooram, King of *Israel*, having always in his Thoughts the Conquest of *Ramoth-Gilead*, unjustly taken from his Predecessors by the *Syrians*, laid Siege to it, and, in an Assault in which he carried the Town, receiv'd a Wound. Upon this he retired to *Samaria*, in order to be cured, leaving his Army behind to besiege the Citadel. *Jebo*, who commanded in his Absence, was privately anointed King by the Hand of a Prophet sent from *Elisha* (k). And having inform'd his Friends of what had been done, was immediately proclaim'd King of *Israel* by the whole Army. He breaks up the Siege, and marches against his Master, who was put to death as well as the King of *Judah* and the Prophets of *Baal*.

Whilst *Jebo* was busied in securing his new-gotten Power, *Hazaël*, King of *Syria*, waged War against *Israel*, and had daily some Advantage or other over them (l). He advanc'd as far as *Gath*, a City belonging to the *Philistines*, and resolv'd to attack *Jerusalem*. *Joash*, King of *Judah*, was forc'd to buy him off with all the Silver and Gold in the Temple, and Royal Treasury (m). *Benbadad*, the Son of *Hazaël*, follow'd his Father's Steps, and made War successfully against

(i) 2 Kings vii. 6. (k) 2 Kings viii. 28, 29, &c. & ix. 1, 2, &c. (l) 2 Kings x. 23. (m) 2 Kings xii. 17.

Judah

Judah and *Israel*. However, *Joash*, the Son of *Jeboabaz*, King of *Israel*, defeated him three times, and forced him to restore the Cities *Hazael* had taken from his Father (*m*). *Jeroboam the Second*, got the upper hand of the Kings of *Syria*; he took *Damascus* and *Hamath*, the two principal Cities of the Country, and extended the Kingdom of *Israel* to its antient Bounds, as it was in the time of *David* (*n*).

After the Death of *Jeroboam the Second*, the Kingdom of *Israel* by intestine Broils was almost brought to the brink of Ruin. The *Syrians* of *Damascus* took the advantage of this Juncture to restore their Monarchy. *Rezin* taking upon him the Title of King, enter'd into an Alliance with *Pekah*, who had usurp'd the Crown of *Israel*, and committed innumerable Ravages in the Kingdom of *Judah*, in the Reigns of *Forham* and *Abaz* (*o*). This last finding he was not able to resist the United Forces of these two Kings, sent and demanded Assistance from *Tiglath-Pileser*, King of *Assyria* (*p*), entreating him to invade the Territories of *Damascus*, in order to cause the Enemy to divide their Troops. The King of *Assyria* march'd against *Rezin*, took and demolish'd *Damascus*, put *Rezin* to death, and carried away the *Syrians* beyond the *Euphrates*. All this was done in the manner *Isaiab* and *Amos* had foretold (*q*).

Damascus rose again out of its Ruins. Its advantageous Situation never suffered it to lie long desolate. I am of opinion, *Sennacherib* took it in his March against *Hezekiah*, as *Isaiab* observes ix. 9. *Holofernes* took it also in the time of *Manasseh* (*r*). *Ezekiel* (*s*) reckons the Merchants of *Damascus* among those that traded to *Tyre* a little before *Nebuchadnezzar* became Master of it. *Jeremiah* (*t*) threatens *Damascus* with the Arms and Fury of *Nebuchadnezzar*, who apparently reduced it to his Obedience as well as the other Cities of that Country. After the Captivity, *Zechariah* (*u*) foretold the Calamities, which befel it, when the Generals of *Alexander the Great* conquer'd it (*w*). From that time I don't find *Damascus* had any relation to the *Jewish* Affairs, for which Reason I shall say no more of it in this Place.

(*m*) 2 Kings xiii. 3, 22, 25, &c. (*n*) 2 Kings xiv. 25, &c. (*o*) 2 Kings xiv. 37.
 (*p*) 2 Kings xvi. 7. (*q*) *Isai*. vii. 4, 8. viii. 4. x. 9. *Amos* i. 3, 4. (*r*) *Judith* i. 7, 11,
 17. (*s*) *Ez.* xxvii. 18. (*t*) *Jer.* xxv. 7, 10. xxvii. 8. xlix. 23, 24. (*u*) *Zech.* ix. 1.
 (*w*) *Plut.* in *Alex.* & *Q. Curt.* l. 3.

ANTIQUITIES

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OR, A

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OF

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A
DISSERTATION
ON THE
CHRONOLOGY,

The Years, Months, Days, and Hours, of the *Chaldeans, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and Hebrews.*



THE great Usefulness and Necessity of *Chronology* ^{*Chronology, its Usefulness.*} are acknowledged on all hands. Every one knows, that without *it*, History is but a mere *Jumble* of *Facts* and *Relations*, which are more apt to puzzle our Imagination, and breed Confusion in our Thoughts, than to form our Judgments and Conduct, and give us Experience and Prudence; which ought to be the principal Fruits of the Study of History. But as it was very *late* before any History was written, and as the *First Historians* ^{*of it so difficult.*} were not very careful to mark the *Epocha*, or *Time* of each Fact; hence it is, that so many Difficulties occur in our *Chronological* Studies, especially when we endeavour to reconcile the *Sacred* History contain'd in the *Books* of the *Old Testament*, with

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what *Prophane* Authors inform us concerning the Antiquities of the *Heathen* World.

The Author's
Design in this
Dissertation.

To put the Reader in a Capacity of judging how far *Chronology* may be depended upon, my Design at present is to lay before him what we have, of certain or uncertain, in *that* of the *Chaldeans*, *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, with whom the *Hebrews* were the most concern'd. Then I shall consider *that* of the *Hebrews*, and shall show the form of the *Year*, and the Method of dividing *Time* in use among these several Nations. An Enquiry that will serve to clear up abundance of Passages of the Holy Scriptures, which could not be explain'd separately without many tedious Repeating.

No exact
Chronology
from Scripture
only.

There are Authors of eminent Note, who, after a long and laborious Study of *Chronology*, receiv'd so little Satisfaction for all the Pains they had been at, that they do not scruple to affirm, it is impossible to fix an exact and regular *Chronology* from the Facts mentioned in *Scripture-History* only (a); much less from *Those in Prophane History*, where matters are not usually related with so many Circumstances, and whose Authority is infinitely below *that* of the Scriptures. We find by *Josephus*, in several places of his History, that the Years of the *Judges*, and of the *Servitudes* that happened in their Times, do not immediately follow one another; but are interrupted by the *Anarchies* which preceded the several *Servitudes* the *Israelites* were in: This is also the Opinion of *Julius Africanus*, in his *Chronology*. *Isaac Vossius* (b) observes, that the *Sacred Historians* never mention the Duration of the *Captivities* and *Anarchies* which were look'd upon as so many dead and unfortunate Spaces of Time. He says moreover, that *Josephus* omits the *Anarchies*, but not the *Captivities*, in his Account of the Years. *M. Simon* is of the same opinion with *Vossius* in this Matter (c). He thinks, that the *Sacred Writings* being only Abridgments of much larger Works, it is impossible to have an exact and

(a) Is. Voss. Can. Chron. p. 236. Pro firmo itaque habeatur sacras Literas contineri tantum Mensuram temporis Politici, nec posse ex illis colligi Mensuram temporis Physici. (b) Ibid. p. 235. Captivitates & Anarchiz velut Spatia mortua & insuflata in censum temporis politici non veniunt. (c) Hist. of the O. T. l. i. c. 1.

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certain *Chronology* from the Scriptures, because the *Genealogies* are broken and interrupted. Instances of this we find in the Book of *Ezra* vii. 3. where six Generations are omitted; and in *St. Mathew*, where six Persons are left out in the *Genealogy* of our Saviour.

St. Jerom, on account of the Differences between the *Chronology* of the Kings of *Judab* and *Israel*, says, it is lost time to study the *Genealogies*, and endeavour to reconcile the Difficulties of the *Scripture-Chronology* (d). He applies to this purpose the Words of *St. Paul* (e): Neither give heed to Fables, and endless Genealogies, which minister Questions, rather than godly Edifying. *Petavius* owns (f) there is no knowing, but by guess, the Number of Years from the Creation to the Birth of *Christ*; because the Scriptures, which alone can inform us in this Matter, do not exactly mark down the time.

These Difficulties and Reasons lie equally against *Profane*, Nor from as against *Sacred History*. We find in *Heathen* Authors im- Profane History alone. perfect Catalogues and broken *Genealogies*. *Solinus* (g) in his List of the *Macedonian* Kings, reckons but 8 or 9, whereas there were 23. *Justin* of all the *Assyrian* Kings, takes notice but of *Belus*, *Ninus*, and *Semiramis*; and without naming the rest, comes immediately to *Sardanapalus*. The *Persian Chronicles* (h) pass over in silence all the time between the Death of *Alexander the Great*, and the Reign of *Arfaces*; and very much shorten the time of the *Arfacida*; and when they mention *Arfaces*, they mention him as a *Persian*, Father to *Darius*, or *Artaxerxes*, and not as a *Parthian*. One may observe from what I am going to say in particular of the *Chronology* of the *Chaldeans*, *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, the great Difficulty of fixing *that* of their respective Histories. It is confess'd there is nothing very certain among *Profane* Writers, till they began to write History with some exactness, and ascertain the time by the *Olympiads*.

The Ignorance or Partiality of *Profane* Historians is doubt- The Reason of less the most common Reason of their Mistakes, or at least of it.

(d) Jer ad Vitalem. Hujusmodi hærere questionibus, non tam studiosi quam otiosi hominis esse videtur. (e) 1 Tim. i. 4. (f) Petav. Rat. Temp. p. 2. l. 2. c. 1. (g) Solin. c. 14. (h) Pezron. antiq. des tems retab. c. 8.

the

the Uncertainty we are in with regard to their *Chronology*: but however, even the most exact and faithful among them, have not always taken all the care necessary to fix the times. Sometimes they were willing to make a round Sum of what wanted some small matter of it; instead of 304, for instance, or 298, they put down 300 Years. They allow a 20 Years Reign to a Prince who reign'd but 19 Years, and some odd Months; and then making his Successor reign 10 Years instead of 9 and a half, they reckon the Sum of these two Reigns a round 30; whereas in truth it was but 29. By this means the same Year has been reckon'd three times over in the space of fifty Years. Neither Scripture, nor *Profane* Historians, hardly ever marked down a half Year or a broken Number; which makes it very probable, that it has frequently happened, either that they have let slip some Years out of their Account, or that they have added more than they should have done; by which means it is almost an impossible thing to be certain and exact in *Chronological* matters.

Another Source of the Difficulties in this Science, is, the various ways of dividing Time among these several Nations. Some *Apocryphal* Books assure us, that from the Creation of the World to the 160th Year of *Enoch*, they did not reckon by Years, but by Weeks; and that the Archangel *Uriel* was the first who reveal'd to *Enoch* what was meant by a *Month*, by a *Year*, by the Revolutions of the Seasons, or Stars⁽ⁱ⁾. Some Nations made their Year to consist of one, some of four, and some of six Months; others reckon the Summer one Year, and the Winter another: Those made their Years of 10, and these of 12 Months. There are to be met with, who divided their Year into four, and three, and two Seasons. Some made use of *Lunar* Months and Years, and others of *Solar*. The beginning of the Year was not every where alike. It was begun in Autumn, in Spring, in the midst of Winter. The manner even of beginning the *Civil* Day, was very different; some began it in the Evening, others at Midnight, others in the Morning, others again at Noon-day.

The Day and Night were divided several Ways; the Night was divided sometimes into three, sometimes into four *Watches*;

(i) See Salmaf. de Annis clima&.

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Making that
a round Sum
which was
not so.

Confounding
the different
Years with
one another.

Dis. V. *Chronology of the Chaldeans.*

the Parts of the Day were mark'd out in Proportion to the Progress of the Sun above the *Horizon*. When they began to reckon by *Hours*, the difference was no less than before. Now injudicious or unlearned Historians have frequently confounded all these several sorts of Years, and without taking the least Notice of the difference between the Years of the Nations they were speaking of, and those of their own Country, they have fix'd the *Times* by doubtful Marks, and by that means have introduced Confusion into *Chronology* and History: Hence arose, as *Pliny* observes, the excessive Antiquity the *Egyptians* claim'd to themselves, by reckoning every two Months for a Year, as we shall see presently.

After the *Olympiads* themselves, considerable Errors were committed, for want of Exactness; they have fix'd the time of very remarkable Events only by the Number of the *Olympiads*, without determining the precise Year of the *Olympiad* they happened in: they have likewise mark'd the time of one Action by its relation to some other famous and celebrated Action at that time; which being at this day unknown to us, necessarily leaves the Reader in uncertainty. This is evident in *Ezekiel*, who dates his Prophecy in the 30th Year of some Event, the precise time of which we know nothing of.

The Chronology of the Egyptians.

AFTER these general Observations concerning *Chronology*, I shall now more particularly consider that of the *Egyptians*. The *Egyptian* Priests were the only Persons who at first compos'd the *Annals* of their Nation. They were so close and reserv'd, that a Stranger could not come to the Sight of them, without an express Order from the King. These *Annals* were carried off by *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia*. But the Eunuch *Bagoas* sold them to the Priests again for a great Sum of Money^(k).

(k) Diod. l. 15.

1f

Very confus'd.

If this were so, one would be apt to think that the History and Chronology of the *Egyptians* were the most to be depended upon, and the best preserv'd of any in the World: since the care of digesting them was committed to Persons so well qualified, and who kept them with so great Circumspection from those that might have corrupted them. But when one comes to look carefully into these Matters, one finds greater Confusion here than any where else. They carry back their Antiquity so high, that all *Chronologers* are fain to give it up. Some absolutely, as Father *Petavius* (l), who treats their *Dynasties* as mere Fables and Inventions; others with some Changes and Restrictions, as *Eusebius*, *Africanus*, *Syncellus*, *Scaliger*: Others again reject them only in part, as *Marshallam*, who admits of only 140 of the 36525 Years, which *Manetho*, and the old *Egyptian Chronicle* cited by *Syncellus*, make the Duration of the 30 *Dynasties* amount to.

The Egyptian Dynasties.

What is peculiar in this Case, is, whereas the *Chronology* of other Nations commonly falls too short when compared with that in the Book of *Moses*; this of the *Egyptians*, on the contrary, mounts too high, so that in order to accommodate it to that in Scripture, the *Seventy*, in the opinion of some Writers, have designedly lengthened out the Lives of the ancient *Patriarchs*; by which Proceeding of theirs, they have brought great Confusion into the Scripture-*Chronology*. *Joseph Scaliger* (m) after having followed *Africanus* in the Disposition of, and in the Time he allows to, the *Egyptian Dynasties*, which he abridges, and ranges just as his Fancy leads him (n), is forced to own, that to place in order three *Dynasties* only, he should have occasion for a second *Julian Period*, because they exceed that *Period*, by 1336 Years. *Eusebius*, followed by the *Moderns*, is not more exact than *Africanus*, whom he copies after; he adds to, and cuts off from these *Dynasties* as he thinks fit. *Syncellus* complains aloud of the unfair Dealing of *Eusebius*; but for all that, not only imitates, but out-does him in this Particular, inventing out of his own head, Names of Kings, adding several Years, and retrenching what he pleases. So that

(l) Doctr. Temp. l. ix. c. 15. & l. x. c. 17.
(n) Marth. *reges* *egyp.*

(m) Can. *Uragog* l. ii.

there

there is nothing more confus'd and perplexing than the *Egyptian Chronology*.

Some of the Antients, in order to account for this incredible Antiquity, have asserted, that the *Egyptian Years* were much shorter than ours. *Palephatus* (o) says, that they reckon'd at first the Reigns of their Kings by days only: for instance, after the Death of *Vulcan*, his Son *Helios* reign'd 4477 days, which make just 12 Years, 3 Months, and 4 days. Their Year did not consist of 12 Months, till after some Nations became Tributary to them. Others affirm, that originally their Year was made up but of two, or four, or even but of one Lunar Month (p). King *Piso*, according to *Censorinus*, was the Person who first made their Year to consist of four Months, it being before but two, and afterwards fix'd it to twelve Months and five days (q).

But I can hardly believe that the *Egyptians* ever made use of so short and imperfect a Year as these Authors describe. (1.) *Moses*, who came out of *Egypt*, and was skill'd in all the Learning of the *Egyptians*, and who, it may be, liv'd before King *Piso*, mentioned by *Censorinus*, always reckons by Years of 12 Months, and by Months of 30 days each, as well before as after the Flood, as well in *Egypt*, as in other Countries, without the least Intimation in any of his Writings that they ever reckon'd otherwise. (2.) The *Egyptians* had a Notion, that the World was created the day the Sun makes his Entrance into *Cancer*, near which is the *Dog-Star*, called in their Language *Sothis* (r): This was the first day of their Year (s).

(o) Paleph. frag. ex Chronic. Alex. Μηνὲ δὲ τελευτῆς Ἡρακλῆος ἱκανέστερον Ἀγυρίων ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐννοεῖται. Ἡ δὲ τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ ὥστε, ὡς ἔναι ἐν τῇ 18. μηνὲς γ'. ἡμέρας δ'. ἡ γὰρ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ Ἀργύροισι πῶς ἢ ἄλλοι πρὸς ἀδελφὸν ἐν τῷ Ἰσχυρίῳ ἀλλὰ τὰς μετέδωκε τὸν ἡμέρων εἰς τὴν ἐλπίδα, ὡς γὰρ 18' μηνῶν ἀδελφὸς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπινυθῆναι ἐξῆν ἐνοικῶν ὑποταλῆς αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀδελφῆς τῆς βασιλίσσης.

(p) Plin. Quidam Lunæ Senio annum terminant, ut Egyptij; itaque apud eos aliqui & singula millia annorum vixisse ferunt. (q) Censor. de die natal. In Ægypto quidem antiquissimum factum, novissime annum bimestrem fuisse; post deinde à Pisone rege quadrimestrem factum, novissime annum ad xii Menses & dies quinque produxisse. (r) Sædus. (s) Porphy. annus ad xii Menses & dies quinque produxisse. (t) Porphy. Ægyptiis principium anni, non Aquarius ut apud Romanos, sed Cancer; nam prope Cancrum est Sothis, quam Græci Canis Sidus dicunt. Neomenia autem est ipsius Sothis ortus, qua Generationis Mundi ducit Initium.

B

The

The Form therefore of the *Egyptian* Year was already settled, and its first Month term'd *Sothis*, before it had the Name of *Toyth* or *Mercurius*: they look'd upon this Month as that wherein the World was created: A Tradition not introduced by *Mercurius*, but of the same standing with the *Egyptian* Nation itself. Consequently their Year all along consisted of a Revolution of Days, which constantly return'd when they perceiv'd the Waters of the *Nile* to decrease, at the rising of the *Dog-Star*, which of all the fix'd Stars, is the brightest, and, as *Plutarch* expresses it (1), seems to rule over all the rest; and surely, if *Taautus* or the *Egyptian Mercurius* liv'd after *Moses's* time, as some Chronologers affirm, the Opinion of his introducing the Year consisting of twelve Months, or 365 Days, must of Necessity fall to the Ground; since there is not the least doubt to be made, but that it was establish'd in *Egypt* before the time of *Moses*.

There is then no stress to be laid upon what the *Theban* Priests say, who boast so much of their Antiquity, even beyond the other *Egyptians*, when they maintain, that their *Mercurius* or *Toyth* regulated the *Civil* or *Political* Year by the Course of the Sun, and made it to consist of 365 Days; and that in Remembrance of this, the first Month of the *Civil* Year was called by his Name (2). It is extremely probable, that *Mercurius* regulated the *Egyptian* Year only with regard to Religion, by attributing to each of the twelve Months a Deity who was to preside over it, and that he invented also the Great *Period* of 36525 Years. *Jamblicus* (3) quotes *Manetho*, where he attributes this last Invention to him; and as for the dedicating the twelve Months to so many Deities, *Strabo* (4) observes that the *Theban* Priests give *Taautus* all the Honour of regulating the Year as to religious Matters.

The Veneration they had for these Superstitious Regulations of *Mercurius* was the Reason the Priests refus'd afterwards to admit of the *Intercalation* of a Day, which was judg'd necessary to be done at the end of every fourth Year; so that their *Religious* Year was different from their *Civil*, and their Festival

(1) Plut. de Iside. Isis apud eos Sidus est, quod Ægyptiacè, Sothis, Græcè Ἀργεῖον Ἀστράκων dicitur, quod in reliqua etiam Sydera regnare videtur. (2) Diodor. Sic. Bibl. l. 1. (3) Jamb. de Myst. Ægypt. de Diis. (4) Strab. l. 17.

Days

Days were always *Moveable*. Now the *Religious* and *Civil* Year could not meet again in the same *Point* of Time, till after a Revolution of 1461 *Civil* Years, which make just 1460 *Religious* ones; because in that Number of *Civil* Years there were just 365 *Intercalations*: This was called the great *Egyptian* Year; and from this great Year multiplied by 25, according to the *Lunar Cycle* *, was produced the *Grand Period* of 36525 Years before-mentioned.

As for the five days that were added to the last Month of the *Egyptian* Year, it is no easy matter to know who was Author of that Invention. The *Theban* Priests attribute it to *Toyth*; *Censorinus* to King *Piso*, and *Eusebius* to *Aseth*, who liv'd, according to him, in the time of *Isaac*; or, according to *Marsham*, in the time of *Josuah*. There is no way, as I take it, of reconciling these different Opinions, but by saying that *Piso* and *Aseth* are the same Person, and that *Mercurius* regulated the Year with regard only to religious Ceremonies. *Marsham* (y) shows, that according to the Calculation of *Censorinus*, the first Month of *Toyth* falls in with the 3392d Year of the *Julian Period*; which, according to *Usher*, is just after the time of the *Judges* of *Israel*: and therefore the custom of *Intercalating* a day every fourth Year, and perhaps of adding five days to the end of the last Month, was not yet in use among the *Egyptians* in the time of *Moses*: but there is no doubt that at least from that time the Months consisted of 30 Days, and the Year was measured by the Course of the Sun.

The *Egyptian* Year began in *Autumn*, as appears from *Macrobinus* (z) makes *Horus* the *Egyptian* to be told, ^{The Beginning of the Egyptian Year.} that is after 360 days, were placed between *August* and *September* (a). This they did from their Notion of the World's being made at that Season. They gave each *Sign* of the *Zodiack* the same God [as they thought] as presided over it in the beginning of the World. The Sun's House was *Leo*, *Mercurius's*

* The *Lunar Cycle* is 19, not 25. (y) Sæcul. xi. p. 310. (z) Macrobin. Saturn. l. 1. Explicitis duodecim Mensibus, id est 360 diebus, reliquos quinque dies inter Augustum atque Septembrem anno suo reddunt. Vide Censor. de die Nat. c. 18. (a) Solin. Polyb. c. 35. Quod tempus Sacerdotes natalem mundi indicaverint, id est tertium decimum calend. August.

B 2

Virgo,

Virgo, Venus's Libra, Mars's Scorpio, Jupiter's Sagittarius, Saturn's Capricornus (b). You may consult likewise *Cicero, de natura deorum*, l. 2. and *Lactantius Divin. Instit.* l. 1 c. 4. and *Josephus's Antiquities*, l. 1 c. 4. who insinuates this Opinion of the *Egyptians*, as he is speaking of the Flood.

The *Egyptians* had but three Seasons in their Year, namely, Winter, Spring, and Summer. Hence *Pallas* was styl'd *Tri-togeneia* (c).

Reckoning by
Weeks very
antient in the
East.

The Custom of reckoning by *Weeks*, is of a very ancient Date in all the *East*, says *Scaliger* (d). And it is still in use at this day throughout the whole World. The *Jews* begin their Week on *Saturday*, the Christians on *Sunday*, the Heathens on *Tuesday*, the *Mahometans* on *Friday*. This Custom of reckoning by *Weeks* came from the *Egyptians* to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and to all other Nations: *Dion Cassius* (e) speaks of it as a Custom universally receiv'd. He refers the Original of it to the Seven Deities, that in the Religion of the *Egyptians* presided over the Seven Days of the Week, viz. *Saturn, Sol, Mars, Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, Luna*. But we have a much more certain Account of this Matter from the *Hebrews*, in the History of the Creation of the *Universe*; and *Dion* no doubt is mistaken in saying that this way of reckoning time had not long obtain'd in the World. *Selden*, in his third Book *de Jure Naturali & Gentium*, c. 19, &c. has very largely prov'd the Antiquity of this Custom.

The Egyptian
Day.

Authors are divided in their Opinions concerning the time of the beginning and ending of the *Egyptian Day*: some think they reckon'd from Midnight to Midnight (f). Others affirm that they followed the *Chaldeans* in this Point, and began their Days at Sun-rising; some again imagine they began them at Noon, because *Ptolemy* the famous *Egyptian Astronomer* frequently does so: but others (g) will have it, that they began their Day in the Evening, and ended it at the same time. *Sal-*

(b) Macrob. Som. Scipion. l. 1. c. 31. Sic factum est, ut singuli eorum signorum Domini esse dicantur, in quibus cum Mundus nasceretur, fuisse credantur.

(c) See the Author's Comment. on Gen. viii. 22.

(d) Ab omnibus Orientis populis, ab ultima antiquitate usitatum est, ut per Septimanas dierum sua facerent comperta.

(e) Dion. Cass. Hist. Rom. l. xxxvii. Id institutum ab Ægyptiis haud ita dudum ad omnes homines dimanavit.

(f) Plin. l. 2. c. 77. Ægyptii & Hipparchus a mediâ nocte in mediam.

(g) Alex. ab Alex. l. 4. c. 20. Genial. Dier.

masius

masius (b) fancied he could reconcile all these different Notions, by supposing that the *Egyptian Years* being all of an equal length, and consisting of 365 Days, 6 Hours, the Beginning of the Year was never fix'd, nor consequently that of the Day, but was reckon'd throughout the Year as they began to reckon the first Day; so that, for Instance, if the Year began at Midnight, all the days of that Year began in the same manner: and the following Year beginning six hours later, the Days began likewise at six of the Clock in the Morning; and so on, still advancing six hours every Year.

I am rather apt to think, that the *Egyptians* have acted variously in this respect; that in old time, before they were in Subjection to the *Persians* and *Chaldeans*, they reckon'd their Days from one Evening to another, just as the *Nations* bordering upon *Egypt* have done since that time, as the *Arabians, Lybians, and Jews*. When the *Chaldeans* in the Reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the *Persians* in the time of *Cambyfes*, became Masters of *Egypt*, they introduced the Custom of beginning the Day at Sun-rising, as was done at *Babylon*. From the time of *Alexander the Great*, and the Reign of the *Ptolemies*, they began again their Day in the Evening. Perhaps in the time of *Pliny*, the *Roman Custom* of beginning the Day at Midnight had taken place: If *Ptolemy* began the Day at Noon, he did it as an *Astronomer* and *Mathematician*.

HARR.

The Custom of dividing the Day into Hours, is of a longer standing in *Egypt* than any where else in the World; the very Term *Hora* [an Hour] comes from *Horus*, a name the *Egyptians* gave the Sun. *Victorinus* (i) quotes *Cicero*, as saying, that *Mercurius Trismegistus* having observ'd that the *Cynocephalis* staid twelve times a Day, and always at an equal distance of Time, and that he made a noise at stated hours; divided the Day into twelve equal Parts, which he call'd *Hours*. Altho' this relation has very much the air of a Fable, and no doubt but the *Cynocephalis* is an imaginary Creature, however we don't find this Custom so antient in any other Nation as in *Egypt*. *Trismegistus*, to whom this Invention is attributed, liv'd not long after *Moses*, if we may believe *Eusebius* and *Marsham*.

(b) Salmasi Exercit. Plin. p. 552.

(i) Macrob. l. 1. c. 21. & Pausan.

The



The Chronology of the Chaldeans.

Chronology of
the Chalde-
ans takes in
that of the
Medes and
Persians, and
Assyrians.

ONE cannot well give an Account of the *Chronology* of the *Chaldeans*, without considering at the same time that of the *Assyrians*, *Medes*, and *Persians*: In short, without inquiring into the Original and Duration of these three Great Monarchies. *Bossuet*, Bishop of *Meaux*, has very judiciously remark'd the uncertainty of all that hath been said upon this Head; and plainly pointed out the Mistakes of the *Greek* Historians. I shall give the Reader what he says in his own words (*k*).

'What the greatest Part of the *Greek* Writers have said concerning the three first Monarchies, seem'd of doubtful Authority to the more wise and learned *Grecians* themselves. *Plato* (*l*) makes appear, in the *Person* of an *Egyptian* Priest, the extreme Ignorance of the *Greeks* in matters of Antiquity in general; and *Aristotle* ranks among the *Romancers*, those who have writ of the *Assyrian* Affairs.

'As it was very late before the *Greeks* began Writing, and as they chiefly consulted the Diversion of their Readers, they compos'd their antient Histories from confus'd *Memorials*, and minded only the ranging their Materials in an agreeable Order, without troubling themselves much about the Truth of Things.

'And most certainly the Order in which the three first Monarchies are usually placed, is meer Invention. For after the downfall of the *Assyrian* Empire in the time of *Sardanapalus*, the *Medes* are brought upon the Stage, and after them the *Persians*; as if the *Medes* succeeded to the whole Power of the *Assyrians*, and the *Persians* were establish'd upon the Ruins of the *Medes*.

'Whereas on the contrary, it is evident that when *Arbaces* revolted from *Sardanapalus*, he brought not the *Assyrians* into Subjection, but only freed the *Medes* from their Yoke. (*m*) *Hero-*

(k) *Disc. de l'Hist. Universelle*. Part. 1. p. 42. (l) *Plat. in Tim.* (m) *Herod. l. 1. c. 26, 27.*

dotus,

Dis. V. Chronology of the Chaldeans.

'*dotus*, follow'd in this by the best *Chronologers*, introduces their first King *Dejoces* fifty Years after their Revolt; it is manifest moreover, from the uniform Testimony of this great Historian, and of *Xenophon* (*n*), not to mention others, that during the time allotted to the Monarchy of the *Medes*, there were very powerful Kings in *Assyria*, who were dreaded by all the *East*, and whose Empire *Cyrus* destroy'd when he took the City of *Babylon*.

'If therefore the *Greeks*, for the most part, and the *Latins* who trod in their Steps, make no mention at all of these *Babylonian* Kings, if they gave no place to this large Empire in their Histories of the first Monarchies, if we find nothing in their Works concerning these celebrated Kings, *Tiglath-Pileser*, *Salmanser*, *Sennacherib*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, and several others so much spoken of by the Sacred and Oriental Writers; it must be owing either to their Ignorance, who were more eloquent in their Narrations, than curious in their Searches after Truth, or else to our having lost those Histories of theirs which were writ with greater Care and Exactness.

'*Herodotus*, indeed, promis'd a particular History of the *Assyrians*, which we have not, either because it was lost, or because he had not time to finish it; and we might reasonably expect that so judicious an Historian would not have omitted the Kings of the second *Assyrian* Empire, since we find, in the Books now extant of this noble Author, *Sennacherib*, who was one of them, styl'd King of the *Assyrians* and *Arabians*.

'*Strabo*, who liv'd in the Reign of *Augustus*, gives an Account of what *Megasthenes*, an antient Author about the time of *Alexander*, had left in writing concerning the famous Exploits of *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Chaldea*, whom he makes to traverse *Europe*, penetrate into *Spain*, and carry his Arms as far as *Hercules's* Pillars. *Ælian* mentions *Tibigamus* King of *Assyria*, no doubt the *Tiglath* of the Holy Scriptures; and we have in *Ptolemy* a Catalogue of Princes who reign'd over the Great Eastern Monarchies, among whom we find a long Succession of *Assyrian* Kings unknown to the *Greeks*, and very reconcileable with the *Scripture-History*.

'Should I relate what we are told of these Matters by the *Syrian Annals*, by *Berosus*, by *Abydenus*, by *Nicolaus Da-*

(n) *Id. l. 1. Xen. Cyrop. v. vi. &c.*

'*masenus*,

'*masceus*, I should run out to too great a length. *Josephus*, and *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, have preserv'd very valuable Fragments of these and a vast number of other Authors, that were perfect and entire in their Time; whose Testimony confirms what the Scriptures tell us concerning the *Eastern Antiquities*, and particularly concerning the History of the *Assyrians*.

'As to the Monarchy of the *Medes*, to which *Prophane* Historians, for the most part, give the second place in their ranging the *Eastern Empires*, as if actually separated from that of the *Persians*, it is certain the Scriptures always join them together. But laying aside the Authority of the Sacred Writings, the Order alone of the Facts make it appear that this is the Truth of the Matter.

'The *Medes* before *Cyrus*, tho' a considerable and powerful Nation, were eclipsed by the superior Grandeur of the Kings of *Babylon*; but *Cyrus* having conquer'd their Dominions by the united Forces of the *Medes* and *Persians*, of whom he afterwards became the Sovereign by a rightful Succession, as *Xenophon* observes, it is plain the Great Monarchy whereof he was the Founder, ought to take its Name from the two Nations: So that the Empire of the *Medes*, and that of the *Persians* are one and the same thing, tho' the great Fame of *Cyrus* occasion'd the Preference to be given to the Name of the *Persians*.

'It is moreover very probable, that before the *Babylonian* War, the Kings of the *Medes* having extended their Conquests along the *Grecian* Colonies in *Asia Minor*, were by that means become famous among the *Greeks*, who attributed to them the Empire of all *Asia*, as they knew none but them of all the *Eastern* Kings. In the mean time the Kings of *Nineveh* and *Babylon*, tho' more powerful, yet being less known to the *Greeks*, pass'd almost un-mentioned in the *Grecian* Histories now extant; and all that space of time between *Sardanapalus* and *Cyrus*, was given to the *Medes* alone.

'There is therefore no occasion to take so much pains to reconcile in this Point *Prophane* with *Sacred* History; for as to what relates to the first Monarchy of the *Assyrians*, the Scriptures do but just mention it, without naming either *Ninus*

'*Ninus* its Founder, or, except *Phul*, any of his Successors; because their History had nothing in common with that of the People of God. As for the *Second Monarchy* of the *Assyrians*, the *Greeks*, either having no Knowledge of it at all, or but very little, have confounded it with the first.

'If those *Greek* Authors are objected, who range and dispose just as they please, the three first Monarchies, and make the *Medes* succeed to the *ancient Assyrian* Empire, without saying a word of the *New*; which the Scripture represents in so powerful a Condition: it need only be answer'd, that they were entirely ignorant of this part of History, and are no less contrary to the more curious, and knowing Writers of their own Nation, than to the Scripture-Account of things.

'But what cuts off in one word all Difficulties, is, that the *Sacred Pen-men* living nearer the Times and Territories of the *Eastern* Monarchies, and writing moreover the History of a Nation, whose Affairs were intermix'd with those of these great Empires; had they no other Advantages besides, these were sufficient to impose Silence both upon the *Greeks* and the *Latins*, who copied after them.

'It remains now to discover one of the Causes of the Obscurity of these ancient Histories. As the *Eastern* Kings assumed several Names, or, if you will, several Titles, which were afterwards used instead of their proper Names; and as other Nations translated and pronounced them in a different manner, according to the several Idioms of their respective Tongues, Histories of so great Antiquity, of which we have so few genuine Remains, could not but be rendred by these means extremely obscure. The Confusion of Names must of Course breed a great Confusion in the Things and Persons themselves; hence the Difficulty of placing in the *Grecian* History, the Kings that went by the Title of *Abasbuerus*, a Name unknown to the *Greeks*, but frequently mentioned by the *Oriental* Writers. Who could imagine that *Cyaxares* was the same Name with *Abasbuerus*, compounded of the word *Ky*, that is to say, *Lord*, and *Axares* evidently the same with *Axuernus* or *Abuenerus*? Three or four Princes bore this Name, tho' they had Others besides. If we were not told that *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Nebuchodonosor*, and *Nabopolassar* are the same Name, or the Name of the same Person, one

' could hardly believe it; and yet it is certainly so. *Sargon* is the same with *Sennacherib*, *Oziab* with *Azariah*; *Zedekiah* with *Mathaniab*; *Jeboabaz* is called also *Shallum*; *Afaraddon*, or *Esfarbaddon*, is stiled *Afnapper* by the *Cuthbeans*; and by an odd sort of turn, the reason whereof is unknown, *Sardanapalus* is changed by the *Greeks* into *Tonos Cancoleros*.'

But after all, in what manner soever these three famous Monarchies are ranged, it will be evident, that their *Chronology* will still remain uncertain; for in short, it must be taken either from the Scriptures, or from the *Eastern* Writers, or from the *Greeks* and *Latins*. Now the Scriptures have not said enough to settle a regular *Chronology*; we have only some Fragments of the *Eastern* Writers, and those for the most part, of doubtful Authority; the *Greeks*, as every one allows, had but a very imperfect Knowledge of these matters; and besides, they writ very late, and widely differ from one another in their Calculations and Accounts, so that very little deference is to be paid to what they say. As for the *Latins*, they did nothing more than barely copy from the *Greeks*, and consequently their Authority can be no greater than *that* of their Original.

What is it the Scriptures inform us concerning the antient *Assyrian* Monarchies: They tell us, that *Nimrod* was a mighty Hunter, famous throughout the *East*, who having brought in Subjection to him Men that before were free, fix'd the Seat of his Empire at *Babel*, or *Babylon*; and that *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Calneh* in the Land of *Shinar*, were under his Dominion. The Scriptures add, that some time after he carried his Arms into *Assyria*, and built there *Nineveh*, *Rehoboth*, *Calah*, and *Resen*; Commentators generally attribute to *Asbar* the Building these four Cities (o); but all agree, that *Nimrod* or his Successors very soon became masters of them, and so united the two States: for *Ctesias*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, both say, that from the very first, *Nineveh* and *Babylon* were subject to the same Prince. From this time to the Reign of *Hezekiah* (p), the Scriptures say nothing of the *Assyrian* Monarchy (q). *Merodach* the Son of *Baladan* King of *Babel*

(o) Gen. x. (p) 2 Kings xx. 11, 12.
Babylon called Amraphel, in Gen. xiv.

(q) There is mention of a King of

Isent

Dis. V. Chronology of the Egyptians.

sent Ambassadors to *Hezekiah* to know the Truth of the Miracle that had happened during his Illness. After this, the Scriptures represent to us powerful Kings of *Assyria*, *Pul*, *Tiglath-Pileser*, *Salmaneser*, *Sennacherib*, and *Esfarbaddon*, towards the latter end of the Kingdom of *Israel*. *Babylon*, as was just now observ'd, had powerful Kings also in *Hezekiah's* Reign; and in process of time, *Nebuchadnezzar*, so much spoken of in the *Sacred* Writings. We don't find the least mention of the Kings of the *Medes*, tho' this was the time that Kingdom was at the height of its Grandeur, if we may give any credit to *Profane* Authors, who say nothing during all this time of the *Assyrians*, or *Babylonians*; except some Writers, who by accident mention some of the Names of their last Kings, but in such a manner, as gives us no great Notion of their Power.

Let any one now compare what *Profane* History informs us of the Founding, Extent and Power of the *Assyrian* Monarchy with what the Scriptures say of them; and I am satisfied, he'll soon be sensible that *Profane* Writers either tell us a parcel of Fables, or speak of a different Empire from that founded in Gen. x. 10, 11. and consequently that it is impossible, as to the Point of *Chronology*, to reconcile *Sacred* and *Profane* History; nay, it is impossible to make *Profane* History consistent with itself. If we admit of the Testimony of *Ctesias* (r), *Herodotus* must be rejected (s); and if the Testimony of *Herodotus* be receiv'd, we must reject *that* of all the other Historians, who make the *Assyrian* Empire last much longer than he does; who places the Beginning of it after the Reign of the *Chaldeans* and *Arabians*, of whom the other Historians say not one Word.

It is certain then, that the *Assyrian* Monarchy lasted much longer, and began much sooner than *Herodotus* says it did, seeing the Scriptures expressly declare it was founded by *Nimrod* about one hundred Years after the Flood: but however, it must be confess'd, that the Beginning and Extent of this Monarchy were not so extraordinary as Historians pretend. We have likewise evident Proofs of this from the Scriptures; where

(r) *Ctesias* says the *Assyrian* Empire lasted 1300 Years.
Diod. and Just. follow *Ctesias*.

(s) *Herodotus* but 520.

we find nothing said expressly of this Monarchy; and what is there related of the Kings bordering upon *Babylon*, is a clear Evidence of the *Babylonians* being then in a very low Condition. In the time of *Abraham* (r). *Amraphel*, King of *Babylon*, was among the Kings that came to assist *Chedorlomer* King of *Elam*, who seems to have been more powerful than *Amraphel*, as he had Kings tributary to him, even as far as *Palestine*. In the time of the Judges, *Chusban* King of *Mesopotamia* conquer'd the *Israelites* (u); as did *Eglon* King of the *Moabites* some time after (w), and then *Fabin* King of *Canaan* (x), the *Midianites*, *Moabites*, *Philistines*, &c. brought them into Subjection by turns. *David* waged War with *Hádadezar* King of *Zobah*, whose Kingdom extended itself from the *East* to the *Euphrates*, and from the *West* to *Damascus*. In all these Transactions, not a word of the Kings of *Assyria*; they never took the least Umbrage, never stirred at all during so many Wars carried on even upon their very Frontiers: They were not therefore in so flourishing a Condition, as the *Greek* Historians would fain make us believe.

It is evident from what has been said, that the *Chronology* built hitherto upon the Authority of Historians, is very uncertain, especially in regard to the History of the *Assyrians* and *Medes*; and as for the Founding of the *Persian* Monarchy by *Cyrus*, I shall make appear in my Preface to *Daniel*, that our *Historians* and *Chronologers*, by endeavouring to reconcile *Xenophon's* Account of this Matter with that of *Daniel*, have brought in the utmost Confusion in this History, and advanced things absolutely inconsistent with what the Prophet says of it. But I shall enter no farther into these matters in this Place.

The *Chaldeans* had all along the Reputation of great Skill in *Astronomy*, and the *Greeks* look'd upon them as their *Masters* in this *Science*. The Antiquity of their *Astronomical Observations*, made a great Noise at the time *Alexander* conquered *Asia*; and Fame, as is usual in such Cases, had made it much greater than it really was. *Diodorus Siculus* (y)

(r) Gen. xiv. (u) Judges iii. 8. (w) Ibid. 12, 13. (x) Judg. iv. 1, 2, 3.
(y) Diodor. l. 2. p. 83.

assures

assures us, that the *Chaldeans* carried back the Antiquity of their *Observations* four hundred and seventy-two thousand Years. *Cicero* reckon'd but four hundred and seventy thousand (z). *Epigenes*, cited by *Pliny* (a), says seven hundred and twenty thousand; but this vast Number of Years so exceeds all belief, that *Cicero* condemns the *Chaldeans* in this Point of Folly, Vanity, and Imprudence. *Aristotle* (b), curious of knowing the Truth, desired *Calisthenes* to send him word of what he could meet with, that might be depended upon for certain in this matter at *Babylon*. *Calisthenes* sent him *Observations* for 1907 Years, from the Beginning of their Monarchy to the Reign of *Alexander the Great*.

In comparing this number of Years with the *Scripture-Chronology*, we shall find that it goes back as far as the time of the Building of *Babel*, and beginning of *Nimrod's* Reign, Founder of the *Assyrian* Monarchy; whence it follows, that the *Chaldeans* from that time reckon'd by Years of 12 Months, or 365 days, and that in all probability the Year was of that Form from the Creation of the World, since the Founders of *Babylon*, or *Nineveh*, could not receive this way of reckoning from any but the *First Men*, who had liv'd in that Country: so that their Year was all along uniform and the same, which can't be said of any other Nation whatever.

The *Chaldeans*, *Babylonians*, *Persians*, *Syrians*, began the day at the rising of the Sun, their chief Deity, and ended it with the same. It is not known whether theis Nation, or the *Egyptians* first divided the Day and Night into Hours; the Original of this Custom is not found, tho' there is no doubt of its Antiquity, among the *Chaldeans*. The Ground of this Invention, as related by the *Egyptians*, favours too much of Fable. The *Greeks* receiv'd it from the *Babylonians*, and not from the *Egyptians*. The *Greeks*, says *Herodotus*, learnt of the *Babylonians* the Use of the *Dial*, and the Division of the Day into twelve equal Parts (c). We find in the *Chaldee* of *Daniel* (d) the Term *Shach*, rendered in our Bible by *Hour*; which is a Confirmation of what has been said of the Antiquity

(z) Cic. l. 2. de Divinat. (a) Plin. l. vii. c. 6. In the printed Copies it is but 720 Years; but the Context shows it ought to be read 720,000. (b) Apud Simp. l. 3. de Cælo. (c) Herod. l. xi. c. 109. Πόλον, ἢ γνῶμονα, ἢ τὰ δυνάμεις μέτρον τῆς ἡμέρας πρὸς Βαβυλωνίων ἑμαθόν Έλληνες. (d) Dan. iv. 19. ΠΥΛΩ.

of

of *Hours* among the *Chaldeans*. There is likewise express mention of *Hours* in *Tobit* (c), who liv'd and writ in *Chaldea*.



The Chronology of the Greeks.

ALTHO' the Nation of the *Greeks* is one of the most antient in the World, and the most celebrated for their Learning and Love of History, it is however but too true, that they are in the number of those who know the least concerning their own Antiquities. I have attempted to trace their Original in my Commentary on *Gen. x.* and shall here examine their *Historical Age* and *Chronology*. The *Greeks* themselves give up all that pass'd before *Ogyges's Flood*. They look upon all their *Historical Accounts* before that time as fabulous and uncertain; and they who have undertaken to write the *Grecian History*, have confin'd themselves either to the Times after the *Trojan War*, as *Diodorus Siculus*, or to the Return of the *Heracidae* into *Peloponnesus*; as *Ephorus of Cumæ*, the Disciple of *Socrates*, in his History of the *Lacedæmonian Kings*. *Hellanicus of Lesbos* disposed the *Chronology* of his History by the Succession of the Priestesses of *Juno*, the first of whom liv'd about an Age before *Cecrops*. *Julius Africanus* hath fix'd the *Chronology* of the *Athenians* to *Ogyges's Flood*, which happen'd in the Reign of *Ptolemy*, King of *Argos*, 1020 Years before the first *Olympiad*. In fine, *Varro* begins not the *Historical Age* of the *Greeks*, till after the *Olympiads*.

But even after the *Olympiads*, the *Greeks* are far from having taken all the care necessary to mark exactly the Times. The most antient *Greek* Historians extant, had but little regard to *Chronology*; they generally relate the bare Matters of Fact, without fixing the beginning of their Histories by any certain *Epocha*, and marking the Year of each Event by it: If they

(c) Tob. xi. 14. Vulgate. Sustinuit quasi dimidiam fere horam. & xii. 22. Prostrati per horas tres. But there is no mention of Hours in the Greek, nor in our English Translation.

some-

sometimes chance to mention the *Olympiads*, it is in a loose manner, without observing the precise Year of the Fact they are relating.

It was somewhat late (f) before they began to record the Names of those who carried off the Prize at the *Olympick Games*; and their Design in so doing, was not to fix the time, but only to encourage others to Virtue by this mark of Distinction. The first that thought of making a Catalogue of the Names of the Conquerors, was one *Exanoridas* (g), who could not live before the 50th *Olympiad*. *Hippias* of *Elis*, after a long time, gave a List of the *Olympiads*, but without any solid proof for what he advanc'd (h). *Plato* introduces one *Hippias* talking with *Socrates*, who was wont to be present at the *Olympick Games*; but as it was the 95th *Olympiad* from *Corabus*, before *Socrates* died, the Authority of this *Hippias* can be of no great weight in this matter.

Corabus is the first Conqueror to be met with upon Record, and this was not till the 27th *Olympiad*: from hence the *Æra* of the *Olympiads* began about 108 Years after their Institution by *Iphitus*. The Names of the Conquerors before *Corabus* are not known; and the Memory of him was luckily preserv'd by means of his Tomb. We have good reason to doubt, whether the Names even of those after *Corabus* were not forged, since *Daicles* who is placed the sixteenth after him, should be reckon'd from *Iphitus*, who crown'd him at the seventh *Olympiad*.

Timeus is thought to be the first that introduced the *Olympiads* into History; he liv'd in the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*: after him we meet with *Eratosthenes* and *Polybius*, the most antient *Greek* Historian extant, that made use of the *Olympiads* in his History, he began where *Timeus* left off.

After what has been said, it will not seem at all strange, if the antient History and *Chronology* of the *Greeks* is so very uncertain, since the time of the first *Olympiads*, which are the Soul of their *Chronology*, is so little known. We may reckon three several *Æras* of the *Olympiads*; the First when they were

(f) Pausan. Eliac. 1. p. 354.

(h) Plut. in Numa.

(g) Idem, Eliac. 1. p. 538. ap. Marth. Sæc. xvi.

institi-

instituted first of all by *Atreus*, the Son of *Pelops*, at the Funeral of his Father, when *Hercules* (i) carried off the Prize, 346 Years, according to the Calculation of *Velleius* (k), before their being re-establish'd by *Iphitus*, *Lycurgus*, and *Cleosthenes*; from the time of this second Institution, to the first *Olympiad* used by *Chronologers*, wherein *Corabus* came off Conqueror, was 108 Years; so that the true Beginning of the *Olympiads* was above 400 Years before the vulgar *Æra*; *St. Clemens* of *Alexandria* reckons 427, *Eusebius* 430, *Syncellus* 600 Years before *Corabus*.

The Founding the Kingdoms of *Argos* and *Sicyon* in *Peloponnesus*, are moreover very noted *Epochs* in the *Grecian* Histories; but *Marshall* makes appear, that there is little else besides Fallshoods and Uncertainties in All that is said about them. *Pausanias* (l) assures us, that the first King of *Argos* was *Phoroneus* the Son of *Inachus*; he adds, *Inachus* was not a Prince, but a River: *Anticlistides* calls (m) *Phoroneus* the most antient King of *Greece*; and *Acusilaus* says, that *Phoroneus* the *Argive* was the first Man; a Poet of *Phoronis* styles him the Parent of Mankind (n). In *Plato's* time (o), nothing was look'd upon so antient in *Greece* as *Phoroneus* and *Niobe*: and *Syncellus* owns, that the *Greek* Histories afford nothing of a more ancient Date than *Inachus* and his Son *Phoroneus*, Kings of *Argos*.

Hence it follows, that the Catalogue of the Kings of *Sicyon*, which are said to have reign'd at *Telchinis*, call'd afterwards *Sicyon*, is all a Forgery; for if no Kingdom in all *Greece* is suppos'd to be of a longer standing than that of *Argos*, the Kingdom of *Sicyon*, which is reckon'd 200 Years older, must of consequence be a meer Fiction. *Homer* (p) says, *Adrastus* was the first King of *Sicyon*. The Name of *Adrastus* occurs in the *Arun-del Marbles* in the *Attick* Year 325. To this Height may the Antiquity of the Kings of *Sicyon* be carried, which Place was as yet in Subjection to the Kings of *Argos*, at the time of the *Trojan* War (q). *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* (r), fixes the Number of the *Generations* that the *Pelasgi* remain'd in *Pelo-*

(i) It is uncertain whether it was *Hercules* the Son of *Jupiter* and *Alcmena*, or *Hercules* one of the *Dactyli* Idæi.

(k) Vell. Patere. l. i.

(l) Pausan. l. 2. p. 112.

(m) Plin. l. vii. c. 36.

(n) Ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. l.

(o) In Timæo.

(p) Il. v. 572. Καὶ Σικυῶν βδ' ἄρ' Ἀδράστου πρῶτος ἡγεμῶν.

(q) Dionys. l. i.

(r) Vide Mar-

ponnesus

Dis. V. Chronology of the Greeks.

ponnesus and *Theſſaly*; but the Duration of these *Generations* not being settled, it is impossible from thence to determine with any certainty how long these People inhabited these Countries.

But how should the *Chronology* of the *Grecian* Histories be regular and exact, since their Year was of so many different Lengths? Several Nations made the Year to consist but of four Months (r). The *Arcadian* Year consisted first of one Month only, and afterwards of three; so that among them, each of the four Seasons was a compleat Year; the People of *Caria* and *Acarmania* reckon'd by Years sometimes of one Month, and sometimes of six. But from the time of *Homer*, the *Grecian* Year seem'd to be fix'd to twelve Months, which were apparently *Lunar* ones.

Solon, as *Plutarch* relates (s), having observ'd that the *Lunar* Months were not equal, and that the *Conjunction* of the Sun and Moon did not always return at the same Point of Time, ordered that that part of the Day which preceded the *Conjunction*, should be included in the foregoing Month, and that the other part should be reckon'd to the following Month: so that the Day immediately after the *Conjunction* was term'd *Neomenia*, or the first Day of the Month; each Month had 30 Days compleat, and the Year 360. This is evident from what *Solon* says to *Cæsus* in *Herodotus* (u), and from the Riddle concerning the Year made by *Cleobulus* one of the seven *Wise Men*. A Father hath 12 Sons, and each of these hath thirty Daughters of a different Hue and Form; some are *White*, and some are *Black*; and tho' they are all immortal, yet they die every Day (w).

The *Athenian* Year then was not properly either *Solar*, or *Lunar*: It was not *Solar*, because the *Solar* Year consists of 365 Days and 6 Hours. It was not *Lunar*, because the *Lunar* Year is but 354 Days, whereas that of the *Athenians* was 360; and when *Macrobius* and *Solinus* say, that the antient *Grecian* Year was *Lunar*, they mean only that the *Greeks* had

(r) Censor. de Die natali.

(s) Plut. in Sol.

(u) Herodot. l. i. c. 32.

(w) ἵψ' ὁ παῖς, πρὸς δὲ θυγατέρας; τὸν δὲ πατέρα
παῖδες τεύχοντες ἑκάστη ἑξ ἑσπερίων.
Αἱ γὰρ λευγαὶ ἔσονται ἰδιῶς, αἱ δ' αὖτε μαλαίνονται.
Ἀθάνατοι δὲ πᾶσαι ἀποφθινύσονται πάντοι.

D

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a greater regard to the Moon than to the Sun, in forming their Months and Years. In *Solon's* Time, they *intercalated* a Month at the end of every two Years; and this is what they call'd *Trieteris* (x), as if this *Intercalation* had been made in the third Year: but it is my Opinion, that this *Intercalation* was omitted after the new modelling of the Year by this Law-giver: for the Year then consisting of 360 Days, the overplus at 2 Years end being but 10 Days, was not sufficient for the *Intercalation* of a Month. This Form of the *Athenian* Year, continued in use a long time; and tho' *Eudoxus* and *Plato* had learn'd of the *Egyptians* the true Method of regulating the Year by the Course of the Sun, as *Strabo* remarks (y), yet the old Custom prevail'd; and even in the time of *Demetrius Phalereus*, the *Athenian* Year consisted only of 360 Days, as may be seen in *Pliny* (z), who says that they set up 360 Statues of this Philosopher, as many as there were Days in the Year. But about the same time *Calippus* encreased the Days of the Year to 365, and a quarter (a), which makes it probable that the *Greeks* then first began to make use of the Method of the *Egyptians*. They added to the 365 Days, one Day every fourth Year; which for that reason was call'd *Penteteris* (b), as if that Day had belong'd to the fifth Year. In process of time it appeared, that this *Intercalation* did not answer all Defects, and that there remain'd still some space of Time not included in the Year modell'd after this manner. This put the *Greeks* upon inventing *Cycles* of Years, for Instance, the *Cycle* of * *Meton* of 19, the *Cycle* of *Philolaus* of 59, the *Cycle* of *Calippus* of 76, and the *Cycle* of *Hipparchus* of 304 Years.

The

(x) *Trieretis*, Censorin. de Die nat. c. 18. Herod. l. 1. c. 32. & l. 11. c. 14.

(y) *Strab. l. 17.* Η γένεσις τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν ὡς ἔλλα μάλιστα, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν παρὰ τὸν μ-πτερον ἐνέθεν ὡς τὸ ἐδαμνικὸν τῶν ἱερῶν ὑπομνηματα.

(z) *Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 6.* Trecentas Sexaginta statuere; nondum anno hunc numerum excedente.

(a) Censor. c. 19.

(b) Πεντηετηρ.

* *Meton's Cycle* of 19 Years, is the same with our Golden Number. The Council of Nice supposing with *Meton*, that after the Revolution of 19 Solar Years the New Moons would return again to the same Day and Hour, introduced the use of the Golden Number in the Calendar. But herein they were mistaken; for after 19 Solar Years, the New Moons return sooner by an Hour and a half than they did before, so that in 19 times 19, or 361 Years, they fall out a day sooner than is express'd in the Calendar, by which means the New Moons are now almost five days before those mark'd by the Golden Number. However, the Church

The *Acbaians* began their Year at the rising of the *Pleiades*, that is to say, in the beginning of the Summer; the *Athenians* (c) began *Theirs* at the vernal Equinox: they reckon'd their Days from one Evening to another, and divided the Year into four Seasons, Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter. There is no mention of the *Hours* of the Day in *Homer* (d). He divides the *Night* into three Portions, and the Day after the same manner. He distinguishes the Day into Morning, Evening, and Noon (e).

Anaximenes and *Anaximander* received from the *Babylonian* the Custom of reckoning by *Hours* (f); *Anaximander* first found out the *Sun-Dial*, and fix'd it up in a place expos'd to the Sun at *Lacedæmon*, in order to observe the Sun's Motion and the *Equinoxes*. The Term *ᾠρα* (*Hora*) occurs in *Homer*, who styles the *Hours* the Door-keepers of *Heaven*; but they are to be understood of the *Seasons* of the Year, call'd *Hora* by the antient *Greeks*. The *Latins* had a Goddess named *Hora*, the Wife of *Quirinus*: Thus *Ovid*,

Horanique vocat, quæ nunc Dea juncta Quirino.

Church of England still retains this way of computing the New Moons, which are therefore styl'd Ecclesiastical Moons, to distinguish them from the true ones. In like manner, the same Council imagining the Solar Year to consist exactly of 365 Days and 6 Hours, suppos'd the vernal Equinox to be fix'd for ever to the 21st of March, as it was at that time; and so order'd Easter to be celebrated on the Sunday after the first full Moon, which happened next after the 21st of March. But as they reckon'd the Solar Year 11 Minutes more than it really is, in 121 Years the Equinox fell out a day sooner than it did in their time; by which means in 1582, the Year the Calendar was reform'd by Pope Gregory III. the vernal Equinox was gone back to the 11th of March, which gave occasion to the striking out of the Calendar ten Days, (hence the New and Old Style) and so the Equinox was reduced to its primitive State; and to prevent the like Variation for the future, it was order'd, that three Leap Years should be omitted in every 400 Years, because in that time the 11 Minutes would be increas'd to a little more than three Days, which Excess is so inconsiderable, that it would not cause the Alteration of a Day in 20,000 Years.

(c) Atticus occasum spectat, Babylonius ortum, Nox Media Aufonii, Media at lux perplacet Umbra.

(d) Il. x. 252. — τῶν δὲ νύκτων δὲ πάλιν νύξ Τῶν δὲ μεσημέριον, τετάρτη δ' ἐν μεσσημέριον.

(e) Il. 110. Ἄνδρες ἐπεὶ καὶ καμνοὶ θάνατος ἐν μεσσημέριον κατὰ τὴν ἰσοπέδιον, ἢ πάλιν, ἢ δέξιον, ἢ μέσον ἡμῶν.

(f.) Laert. ex Phavorino.

They made her to preside over the Gates of Heaven, together with the God *Janus*.

Præsidio foribus calicum mitibus Horis.

There was at first but one Goddess call'd *Hora*, or *Versilia*; but in process of time they worshipped three, by the Name of *Eunomia*, *Dice*, and *Irene*, whom they feign'd to be the Daughters of *Jupiter* and *Themis* (g).

*Et Jovis & Themidos Hora de Semine nata,
Eunomia, atque Dice, atque Irene dices.*

These three *Hours* represented the three parts of the Year, Spring, Summer, and Winter; but having afterwards divided the Day into five Parts, they increased the number of these Goddesses likewise to five, and divided the Year into as many Seasons. When they came to divide the Day into twelve Hours, they had also twelve Goddesses. This Religious Observance is much antienter among the *Greeks*, than among the *Latins*. *Porphyrus* in *Eusebius*, Præp. l. 3. c. xi. says, that there were two sorts of *Hours*, the one *Cælestial*, the other *Terrestrial*; the first were employ'd by *Jupiter* in opening the Gates of Heaven, the Second were subservient to *Ceres*: they carried two *Baskets*, one full of Flowers, to represent the Spring, and the other full of Ears of Corn, as an *Emblem* of Summer. After Clocks and Watches came in use, the *Hours* were not generally call'd *Hora*, but *Signa*, Signs or Marks, and were rang'd at an equal distance upon the Dial-Plate, whereon they were engraven.

(g) Hesiod. Theog. Διὸς ἔργον ἡρώεσσι λιπαρὴν Θέμις, ἡ περὶ Ὠρας,
Εὐνομίῃσι δίκασ' τε καὶ Ἐρήνῃ πεδαιόταν;
Ἀπτε ἔργα ὠραίων ἡσυχασσέσσι βροτοῖσι.

The

The Chronology of the Latins.

THE antient History of those Nations, who first peopled *Italy*, is so intricate and obscure, that after all the Care and Pains the *Antients* and *Moderns* have been at, they have not been able to clear it up. The Original even of *Rome* itself, and the *Chronology* of the Reigns of the first Kings, is so uncertain, that there is no knowing what to trust to. If we may believe *Agathocles* of *Cyzicus*, *Strabo*, and *Cluverius*, *Enceas* never landed at all in *Italy*; there never were any such Persons as *Numitor's* Grandsons, who bore the Names of *Romulus* and *Remus*; and the City of *Rome* was built by the *Arcadians* brought into *Italy* by *Evander*, who fix'd their Abode upon the Banks of the River *Tiber*. But the time of founding this City is as little known as the Name of its Founder; which is not to be wonder'd at, since there was no antient *Roman* Historian that writ either *Truth* or *Fable*, as is observ'd by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* (b), who, of all Historians, search'd the most diligently into the Antiquities of the *Romans*. The *Building* of *Rome* was not examined into till the Consulship of *Marcus Portius Cato*, 559 Years after its being founded: He places it 432 Years after the taking of *Troy*; but as the *Trojan* War, compared to the time of the first *Olympiad*, is a very uncertain Point of *Chronology*, it may be infer'd that the Year of the *Building* of *Rome* is much more uncertain, which others place 384 Years after the Destruction of *Troy*, 38 Years before the first *Olympiad*, or in the fourth Year of the first *Olympiad*, or in the third or fourth Year of the second *Olympiad*, or in the third Year of the sixth, or the first or second of the seventh, or sooner or later; for there is nothing to be depended upon in this matter.

The Form of the Year was not every where alike among the antient People of *Italy* (i): the *Lavinians* made their

(b) Dionys. l. 1. c.

(i) Cenforin. de Die natali.

Year

Year to consist of 13 Months, or 374 Days: the *Umbri* theirs of 14 Months. *Romulus's* Year was made up of 10 Months (k), as well as that of the *Albani*: it consisted of 300 Days, and began in *March*, and ended in *December*, which was the tenth and last Month. *Numa Pompilius* made up the Months 12, and the Days 355. *Junius* in *Censorinus* attributes this Emendation to *Tarquin*, who added *January* and *February* to the ten Months the Year consisted of before. It was ordained, that every two Years a Day should be added to *February*, to make the *Civil* of the same length with the *Natural* Year; but it was soon perceiv'd that this *Intercalation* was not sufficient: It was left to the Priests, to add what days they thought fit to the Year, in order to render it compleat. The Negligence, or Ignorance of the Priests, was the Cause of so great Confusion in the Year, that *Julius Caesar* was oblig'd to reform it, by making it consist of 365 Days and a quarter, which quarter becoming a day in that time, was intercalated at the end of every four Years; this is call'd the *Julian* Year, form'd upon the *Egyptian* Model.

The ancient *Romans* began their Year in *March*, and afterwards in *January* (l). *Ovid* says, the Year began with the Sun, because at that time the Sun returns again towards us;

Principium capiunt Phœbus & Annus idem.

As for the several Dignities and Employments in the *Roman* State, they did not always commence in *January*: in the Consulship of *P. Ebutius*, and *Q. Servilius*, the Magistrates entered upon their respective Offices on the *Calends* of *August*: in the time of the *Decemviri*, on the *Ides* of *May*, and afterwards on the *Ides* of *December*: which Custom continued till the second *Punick* War; when the Beginning of the Year, with respect to the Magistrates, was fix'd to the *Ides* of *March*. But however, we find after this, it was varied again, sometimes

(k) *Ovid. Fast.*

Annus erat decimum cum Luna receperat Orbem;
Hic numerus magno tunc in honore fuit.

(l) *Alex. ab Alex. Genial. Dies. c. 24.*

to

to the *Calends* of *July*, and sometimes of *October*, till at length in the Reign of *Augustus*, it was brought back again to the *Calends* of *January*. In the Reign of *Nero*, the *Senate* was so weak, as to enact that the Year should begin in *December*, in honour of that Prince's Birth. They proceeded more steadily with regard to their religious Observances; they continued upon the first day of *March*, which was likewise the first day of the Year, to change the Laurel Leaves on the *Rods* of the *Consuls*, on the Gate of the High Priest, of the Priests of *Jupiter*, and of the *Vestal Virgins*; who solemnly lighted up on this day the Sacred and Eternal Fire, which it was their Business to keep always burning.

The Months were no less different than the Years of the several Nations of *Italy*. The *Albani* allow'd 36 days to *March*, 12 to *May*, 28 to *August*, 16 to *September*: The People of *Tusculum* gave to *July* 36 days, and to *October* 32; and the *Aricini* 39. *March*, which before was the first Month of the Year, became the third, as it was among the *Albani*, after *Numa's* Reformation of the Year. The *Sabins*, and *Peligni* (who inhabited the *Hither Abruzzo*) rank'd it in the fourth Place; the *Laurentes* and *Phelisci* in the fifth; the *Hornici* in the sixth, and the *Æquiculi* in the tenth (m). The Names of the Months were often changed out of Flattery; *Quintilis* and *Sextilis* had the Names of *Julius* and *Augustus* given them; *April* for some time bore the Name of *Nero*, and *May* of *Claudius*; *October* was stiled *Domitian*, and *September*, *Tacitus*. In the Reign of *Commodus*, some Flatterers call'd *August* by his Name, and *September* by that of *Hercules*, *October* they term'd the *Invincible*; *November* was nam'd *Exuperatorius*, and *December*, *Anasennius*; but of all these Alterations, none were of any long Continuance, but *July* and *August*. The *Romans* divided their Year into five Seasons, Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter, and the Winter *Solstice*; that is to say, the time when the Days were at the shortest, *Bruma*.

They did not reckon by *Weeks*; but had three *Terms* to express the Days of the Month by, viz. *Calends*, *Nones*, and *Ides*.

(m) *Ovid. Fast. l. iii.*

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The *Calends* were the first Day of every Month. In *March*, *May*, *July*, and *October*, the six next Days belong'd to the *Nones*; in the rest of the Months, the four next only. From the *Nones* to the *Ides* there were always 8 days; and what remain'd after the *Ides*, was stiled the *Calends* of the following Month (*n*).

The *Ausonians*, an antient Nation of *Italy*, and after them the *Romans*, began their Days at Midnight, and ended them at the same time. The People of *Umbria* and *Tuscany*, began and ended them at Noon. It was a good while first before they divided the Day into Hours. The term *Hour*, does not occur in the Laws of the *twelve Tables*, as *Censorinus* observes; whence it is inferred, that they did not reckon at *Rome* by *Hours*, at least for 300 Years. They divided the *Day* into four Parts, and the *Night* in the same manner: and after the whole *Day* was divided into 24 Hours, and the use of *Dials*, and *Hour-Glasses* grown common, they continued on the old way of reckoning the *Night* by *Watches* in the Camp and Army. We find likewise among the *Romans*, the Custom of counting 12 unequal Hours in the *Day-time*, beginning at Sun-rising, and ending at Sun-set, and so for the *Night* beginning in the Evening, and ending in the Morning.

The 12 Hours of the *Day* were longer or shorter than those of the *Night*, according as the *Day* exceeded the *Night*, or the *Night* the *Day*; and it is affirm'd (*o*), that the *Antients* had *Clocks* so order'd, that, notwithstanding the different Lengths of the *Day*, they show'd the Hours in such exact

(n) The Method of expressing the Day of the Month in Latin, is thus: The first day of every Month is term'd *Calendæ*. The 7th and 15th of *March*, *May*, *July*, *October*, and the 5th and 13th of the rest, are called *Nones* and *Idus*. The day before these, and the last of every Month, is stiled *Pridie Nonarum*, *Iduum*, *Calendarum*. The intermediate days are thus found out: Subtract the given day of the Month from the *Nones*, or *Ides*, and add one to the remainder, the *Sum* is the day before the *Nones*, or *Ides*. Suppose the 10th of this present *Nov*. Take 10 from 15 (the *Ides*) and to the remaining 5 add 1, (i. e.) *Quarto Iduum*, or *Ides*, (ante being understood) *Novembris*. But if the day of the Month exceeds the *Idus*, subtract it from all the days of the given Month, and add 2 to the remainder: The *Sum* will be the day before the *Calends* of the next Month. Thus take the 18th day of *November* from 30, and adding 2 to the remaining 12, it will be *Decimo quarto Calendarum Decembris*.

(o) Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. l. iv. c. 20.

Pro-

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Proportion, that the Sixth Hour always fell upon the middle of the *Day*, what Season soever of the Year it happened to be. *Anaximenes*, as I before observ'd, is said to be the Author of this Invention.

It is no easy matter, to know when *Sun-Dials* were first introduced into *Rome*; it is certain there were no publick ones to be seen before that *M. Valerius* brought with him from *Sicily*, which did not prove so useful as was expected; for being made for the *Latitude* of *Sicily*, it was found to go wrong at *Rome*. *L. Philippus* caused another to be made; and *P. Cornelius Nasica*, ordered a *Clepsydra* to be framed, which shew'd the Hours in the *Night*, and when the *Sun* did not shine, by the running of *Water*: from this time; this Invention was daily improved.

The Chronology of the Hebrews.

AS my chief and principal Design is to consider the *Chronology* of the *Hebrews*, all that has hitherto been said, is only in order to prepare the way to it. The *Chronology* of the *Chaldeans*, *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, is of no farther Concern to us here, than as it serves to assist us in our Study of the Holy Scriptures.

The *Hebrews*, not to consider them as the peculiar People of God, had vast Advantages above all other Nations, as to the Certainty of their Origin and Antiquity. The first Writers of this Nation lived in a Country where the Tradition of those great Events, which happened in the beginning of the World, was better preserved than in any other Place whatsoever. The *Chaldeans* were always very curious concerning their Antiquities; *Astronomy*, which was all along cultivated by them, and the Presence of the First Men, who inhabited *Chaldea*, did not a little contribute to the Certainty of their History and Chronology.

Abraham lived 75 Years in *Chaldea*: he had an opportunity of conversing with the *Patriarchs* who had lived before the Flood, and had been acquainted with the First Men. *Isaac* the Son of *Abraham* married *Rebecca*, a very religious Woman

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man of that Country, and sent *Jacob* into *Mesopotamia*, where he had it in his power to be confirm'd in the Knowledge of all his Father had inform'd him of. *Jacob* went down into *Egypt* with his whole Family; where they dwelt in a separate State from the *Egyptians*, in a continual Expectation of the Deliverance promised them by *Joseph* (p): *After my Death, God shall surely visit you, and bring you out of this Land, unto the Land which he swore to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob.* Whilst they waited for the Completion of this Promise, their principal care was to instruct their Children concerning the Life, Age, and *Genealogy* of their Forefathers.

During this Interval, God rais'd up a Person every way qualified to reveal his Good-Pleasure to Mankind, and transmit to Posterity the Knowledge of those important Truths, which began to admit of some Change, and were in danger of being very soon forgot, even by the *Hebrews* themselves. *Moses*, skilled in all the Learning of the *Egyptians*, and well versed in all the Traditions of his own Nation, inspired and assisted by the Spirit of God, commits to Writing an account of the long Lives of the *Patriarchs* before and after the Flood, and gives us an infallible History of all the remarkable Events, at least with regard to Religion and the *Jewish* Commonwealth, that happened from the Creation to his Death.

Altho' after *Moses* the Sacred History is not carried on in so regular a manner, yet is it sufficient to afford us a Succession of Events with their *Chronological Marks*, to the time of *Cyrus*, (where the Scripture-History ends) in order to begin again from *Darius*, and afterwards from the *Maccabees*; and the great Privilege of this *History* and *Chronology*, is, that it is of divine Authority; and consequently there is not the least Doubt to be made concerning the *Epochs* which are distinctly revealed in the holy Scriptures, where we meet with abundance of fix'd and certain Points of time; whereas in *Profane* History, hardly do we find one that is not liable to many Objections.

The great Difficulty in relation to the *Sacred History* and *Chronology*, is the reconciling them with *Profane* Authors, and the making the best choice among the several Memorials where-

in *Scripture-Chronology* is handed down to us; for the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* Texts, and the *Septuagint-Version*, being different from one another, the question is to know which of the three is preferable to the other two.

As to the former Difficulty, the reconciling *Profane* with *Sacred* History, this should not be look'd upon as of any great Consequence; for altho' it would be better if they could be made to agree in all Points, or at least as to the main, yet if this be not feasible, the whole Blame must fall upon *Profane* History, which being founded only upon *Human* Authority, cannot in the least prejudice us against the *Divine* Authority of the Scriptures; in case therefore we were to meet with any Contradictions that are irreconcilable, we should not hesitate one Moment to lay the Fault of the Inconsistency of the Accounts upon the *Profane* Historians in favour of the *Sacred* Pen-Men, to whom an inviolable Respect is due. But the Labours of the greatest part of our *Chronologers* make it appear, that it is not absolutely impossible to reconcile the *Sacred* with *Profane* History.

It is however to be confess'd, that in matter of *History* and *Chronology*, we must not expect to meet with no Contradictions: *Profane* Historians frequently run counter to one another. Let a Man, if he can, reconcile what is said by different Authors, concerning the antient *Eastern* Monarchies, the *Trojan* War, the Voyage of the *Argonauts*, the first Kingdoms of *Greece*, the Life of *Cyrus*, &c. How many various and contrary Opinions do we find upon these and the like Heads? God has even permitted, that in the Holy Scriptures themselves, the like Difficulties should occur; we meet there with several seeming Contradictions, the clearing up of which, requires all the Learning and Sagacity of the ablest *Commentators*. But however, it ought not to be inferred from hence, that the *Sacred* History and *Chronology* are inconsistent with themselves; neither should it hinder us from endeavouring, to the utmost of our power, to remove these Difficulties. It is *Excess* of Zeal, and an ill-grounded pious Notion, to imagine, that *Heathen* Writers are entirely to be thrown aside, and that we ought never to clear up, or adjust the *Sacred* by the Assistance of *Profane* History and *Chronology*: *Actum esset de Chronologia Sacra, si absque exoticis monumentis foret; quod cum sapientissimi Scriptores* Tatianus, Clemens Alexandrinus,

drinus, Tertullianus, Africanus, Eusebius, *alique animadvertissent, omnino sine exotica Historiâ, intervalla sacra deprehendi posse desperarunt. Dicatur igitur tumidis buccis, & elato Supercilio atrocem injuriam Spiritui Sancto fieri, si Historia sacra ab exotica subsidium petat. Quasi illa magna ignominia sit, si Historia exotica sacra ancilletur.*

As for the other Difficulty, the Choice of the best *Text* to settle the *Chronology* by, there is no room for Doubt or Hesitation in this matter, after the Determination of the Council of *Trent*, wherein the *Vulgate* is declared to be *Authentick*, especially since it is conformable to the *Hebrew*. Every one knows the Deference, *Antiquity* paid to the *Septuagint-Version*. It is agreed on all hands, that it was followed by almost all the *antient Fathers* and *Ecclesiastical Historians*; but then it was because *Hebrew* was not so well understood as at this Time, and because the *Greek Version* was to them instead of the *Original*.

I shall now consider the Form of the *Jewish Year*. Before the *Law*, the *Hebrew* and *Egyptian Year* were the same: As the *Israelites* were born and bred in *Egypt*, they could not well make use of any other Year, but what was established in that Country. *Moses* in computing the Duration of the Flood (a), plainly shows that the *Hebrew Year* consisted of 365 Days, or 12 Months of 30 Days each, except the last, which consisted of 35. The *Hebrews* had no *intercalated Months*, unless at the end of every 120 Years, when the beginning of the Year was carried back 30 whole Days (b); but there is no mention in the Scriptures, either of a thirteenth Month, or of any *Intercalation*.

After their Deliverance out of *Egypt*, without making any Alteration in their *Civil Year*, they instituted a new Form of the Year as to religious Matters, and made it partly *Solar*, partly *Lunar*. This Year began in the Spring, and the Passover was celebrated on the 14th Day of the *First Month*, which was the seventh of the *Civil Year*. What I have said of the *Lunar Years* of the *Hebrews* for their religious Ceremonies, can't be sufficiently prov'd till after the Time of *Alexander the Great*. It is plain from *Ecclesiasticus* (c), the

(a) Gen. vii.

(b) Vide Scalig. de Emendat. Temp. l. iii.

(c) xliii. 6.

Macca-

Maccabees, *Josephus*, and *Philo*, that they made use of the *Grecian Year*; that is to say, their Year was *Solar*, and their Months *Lunar* (d), and this *Maimonides* confirms (e). *St. John*, in his *Revelations*, makes also the Years to consist of *Lunar Months* of 30 Days each; for according to him, three Years and a half, or 42 Months, make 1260 Days (f).

It was not till after the *Talmud*, that the *Jews* made use of purely *Lunar Years*, which were reduced to the *Solar* ones by the means of *intercalating* a Month every three Years. This Month they called *Ve-Adar*, or the *Second Adar*.* According to this Regulation it is, that we are to understand all that the *Rabbins* inform us concerning the Year they at present make use of, made up of 12 Months, which consist of 30 and 29 Days alternately. The Months of 30 Days are called *Pleni*, and those of 29 *Cavi*. These Months began not, according to the *Rabbins*, on the Day of the *Conjunction* of the Sun and Moon, but when the Moon made its first Appearance. There were posted, say they, on the Tops of the Mountains, Men hired on purpose to observe the Moment of the Moon's appearing; and for fear of breaking the Commandment, by which they were ordered to celebrate a *Festival* in the beginning of the Month, they kept, as is said, two Festival Days, one of which was term'd *Dies latentis Lune*, and the other *Dies apparentis Lune*. *M. Toinard* (g) judiciously remarks, that this Custom was observ'd only in the Country, in Places at a great Distance from *Jerusalem*. For at *Jerusalem*, and the Towns round about, the *New Moons* and Festival Days were always fixed by the great Council or *Sanhedrim*. The *Rabbins* support this Notion of theirs from a Passage in the first Book of

(d) Universi Græci Annos juxta Solem, Menses verò & Dies juxta Lunam agebant.

(e) Menses Anni, Menses Lunæ; Anni autem quos nos computamus, sunt Anni Solis.

(f) Rev. xi. 2, 3. xii. 6, 14. xiii. 15. (g) Toin. Harmon. Evang. Not. p. 154.

* This they were obliged to do, for otherwise, the Lunar Year, or 354 Days falling short of the Solar Year eleven Days, every three Years, the beginning of the Year would be carried back one Month and three Days; by which means the Passover would be celebrated before there were any Lambs, and the Pentecost before the Corn was ripe, &c. But by the Intercalation of a Month, every three and sometimes every two Years, the first Month was kept from varying always less than 30 Days.

Samuel, xx. 5. which I shall examine elsewhere. As for the Custom of hiring Men to observe the first Appearance of the Moon, they prove it from these Words in *1 Chron.* xii. 32. *And of the Children of Isachar, which were Men that had Understanding of the Times to know what Israel ought to do: The Heads of them were two hundred, and all their Brethren were at their Commandment.*

The *Civil Year* of the *Hebrews* began in Autumn, as it did among the *Egyptians*. The end of the Summer, and the time after the In-gathering of all the Fruits, is termed by *Moses* the End or Revolution of the Year (*b*). *Ezekiel* (*i*) mentions the Beginning of the Civil Year, and it is still call'd by the *Jews* *Rosch Hasebana*; or the first Day of the Month *Tisri*, which answers to our *September* *. *Josephus* (*k*) says the Flood began in the second Month of the (*Civil*) Year, called by the *Macedonians* *Dios*, and by the *Hebrews* *Marchesvan*, the same with our *October*. After *Moses* had fixed the beginning of the *Ecclesiastical Year* to the Month *Nisan*, they still continued to begin the *Civil Year* in Autumn, as they had done before. It is thought that the Day of *Atonement*, which was celebrated on the tenth of *Tisri*, was instituted in Remembrance of the Fall of *Adam*, who, with the World, was created at that Season.

The *Hebrews* had three sorts of Weeks. (1.) Weeks of seven Years, the last of which was the *Sabbatical Year*, wherein they neither plowed nor sowed their Lands. (2.) The Year of *Jubilee*, consisting of seven times seven, or forty-nine Years. (3.) Weeks of Days. The Year of the *Jubilee* was

(b) *Exod.* 23. 16. 34. 22. (i) *Ezek.* 40. 1. (k) *Joseph.* *Antiq.* l. 1.

* The *Jewish* Months do not exactly correspond with ours, but the nearest View is this:

1. <i>Nisan</i> .	{ March. April.	5. <i>Ab</i> .	{ July. August.	9. <i>Cisleu</i> .	{ November. December.
2. <i>Iyar</i> .	{ April. May.	6. <i>Elul</i> .	{ August. September.	10. <i>Teberth</i> .	{ December. January.
3. <i>Sivan</i> .	{ May. June.	7. <i>Tisri</i> .	{ September. October.	11. <i>Shebat</i> .	{ January. February.
4. <i>Tamus</i> .	{ June. July.	8. <i>Marchesvan</i> .	{ October. November.	12. <i>Adar</i> .	{ February. March.

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somewhat like the *Great Year* of the *Egyptians*, and was, at the same time, both *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical*.

They reckoned the Day from one Evening to another. *Moses* expresses the *Civil Day* by these two Terms, the *Evening* and the *Morning*, of which the Day was composed. The *Evening*, or the *Night*, preceded the Day, which was called the *Morning*. *Moses* makes no Distinction between the *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil Days*. Now the Festival-Days began at one Evening, and ended at the next, *From Even to Even shall you celebrate your Sabbaths* (l).

The Beginning of them was between the two Evenings*, that is to say, about the Close of the Day: *Moses* makes use of these Terms, not only when he is settling the beginning of the Festivals, but also when he is giving an Account of common and indifferent Matters: For instance, God promises to send Quails between the two Evenings (m), and it is said a little after that, *at Evening the Quails came up*; which shews, that these two ways of speaking are equivalent. In *St. Matthew* it is said, that the first Day of the Week began in the Evening (n).

This Custom hath all along continued among the *Jews* as to their *Ecclesiastical* Reckoning, and from them it hath passed to the *Christian Church*, whose *Offices* for *Holy-Days* begin in the *Vigil* or Evening before. Several antient Nations, for a good while together, began their Day in the same manner in the Evening, as the *Athenians*, according to *Aulus Gellius* (o) the *Gauls*, the *Germans*, and the *Numidians* of *Libya* (p). *Caesar* saith thus of the *Gauls* (q): *Spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum, sed noctium finiunt; & dies natales, & mensium, & annorum initia sic observant, ut noctem dies subsequatur. Tacitus* speaks to the same purpose of the antient *Germans*: *Nam agendis rebus hoc (nempe*

(l) *Levit.* 23. 32.

(m) *Exod.* 16. 6. *Vulg.*

(n) *Math.* 28. 1.

(o) *A. Gell.* lib. 3. c. 2.

(p) *Apud Nicol.* *Damasc.*

(q) *Caesar* de *Bell.* Gall. l. vi.

* Some imagine, that by these Words, (between the two Evenings) in Hebrew, *Bein Haarbaima*, as meant the time from the Sun's beginning to decline, called the first Evening, to *Sun-set*, called the second Evening; but *Calmer*, with our English Translators, supposes these two Expressions, between the two Evenings, and in the Evening, to mean the same thing.

*occasum solis) hoc auspiciatissimum initium credunt, nec die-
rum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant. Sic constituunt;
sic conducunt; nox ducere diem videtur.* This Usage is still to
be seen in some antient *German Writings*, where *three Nights*
are put instead of *three Days*. The *English* at this very time
express themselves after the same manner: They call the
Week *Se'nnicht*, which literally signifies *Seven Nights*. In
Bohemia, and the Neighbouring Nations along the Borders of
Poland, they still begin the Day in the Evening, and reckon
24 Hours from one Evening to another. The ancient Poets
commonly place the Night before the Day, just as *Moses* does
in *Genesis*; *Hesiod*, in his *Theogonia*, calls the Night the Parent
of the Day (r). The *Arabians* attribute the Night to the Day
following; so that their Day commences over Night (s).

Thales the *Milesian* (t) being asked which of the two, the
Day or the Night, was first made; answered, that the Night
was before the Day. We read in the Verses of *Orpheus*, that
the Night was the Mother of the Gods and Men (u).

An *Indian* Philosopher gave *Alexander the Great* an
Answer quite contrary to that of *Thales* (w); and as *Alexan-
der* was wondering at it, the Philosopher told him, *To an
ambiguous Question, an ambiguous Answer* (x).

It is affirmed, that after the *Romans* became Masters of
Judea, the *Jews* had three sorts of Days; (1.) Their *Festival-
Days*, which begun and ended, as we have already observ'd, in
the Evening. (2.) Their *Civil Days*, which were reckoned from
Midnight to Midnight. (3.) And lastly, some will have it,
that they had besides another sort of Day, which they rec-
koned from one Morning to another, allowing twelve Hours to
the Day, and as many to the Night; but these Hours [being
always the twelfth part of the time of the Sun's being above
the Horizon] were of unequal Lengths, according to the different
Seasons of the Year. This was done in imitation of the

(r) Νύκτος δ' αὐτ' αἰθέρετι καὶ νύκτα ἐξέγενοντο
Οὐς τὴν αὐτὴν αἰθέρα φιλοῦσι μύχεται.

(t) Pietro de la Valle, Let. 14. (u) Apud Diog. Laert. in Thal.

(w) Νύκτα δὲ τὴν γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν ἀποθνήσκειν.

(x) Plut. in Alex. τὸν ἀπορῶν ἐπαίσχυνον, ἀναγκὴ καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀπορῶν ἔτα.

Greeks

Greeks and *Romans*, to whom the *Jews* were by turns brought
into Subjection.

There appear no Footsteps of the use of Clocks and Watches,
and the Manner of dividing the Day into Hours among the
Hebrews. *Moses* speaks in several Places of the *Morning*,
Noon, and *Evening*. We don't find by his Writings, that
the *Hebrews* in his time divided the Day after any other man-
ner; the Night was divided into three Parts, the *Evening*,
Midnight, and the *Morning-Watch* (y).

We find nothing in the Bible about *Hours*, till the time of
Hezekiah; when mention is made of *Degrees*, by the Shadow of
which the Hours are supposed to have been shown on the Dial of
Abaz (z). If the term *ἡσ* (*an Hour*) occurs sometimes in the
Septuagint, it is only to express the Season of the Year, in the
same Sense in which it is used in *Homer* and *Hesiod*.

In the New Testament we find the Night divided into four
Watches (a), a Custom borrowed from the *Romans*. The
Greeks also sometimes divided it into four, but oftener into
three, *Watches*; and this last is the most antient way of divi-
ding the Night, as was just now observ'd. As for *Hours*, there
is mention in St. *John* (b), as well as in St. *Matthew* (c), of the
twelve *Hours of the Day*; which makes it probable, that the
Jews followed then the way of reckoning the Day by *unequal
Hours*, according to the Custom of the *Greeks*, and *Ro-
mans* (d).

(y) Exod. xiv. 24. Judg. vii. 19. Lament. ii. 19. See likewise Psalm. xc. 5. &
cxix. 148. (z) See the Author's Commentary on 2 Kings xx. 11. (a) Matth. xiv.
25. Mark vi. 48. & xiii. 35. (b) John xi. 9. (c) Matth. xx. 3, 4, 5.
(d) See the Author's Comment. on Matth. xvii. 45.

A Chronological Table of the High-Priests of the Jews.

Years before Christ.	* According to Scriptures.	According to Chron. vi.
1448	I. Aaron Brother to Moses, the first High- Priest of the Jews, died in the Year of the World 2552.	I. Aaron.

* Calmet, with Usher, places the Birth of Christ in the Year of the World 4000.

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Eleazar

Years before Christ.	According to the Scriptures.	According to Chron. vi.
1429	II. Eleazar died about the Year 2571.	2 Eleazar.
1410	III. Phinebas died about 259c.	3 Phinebas.
	IV. Abiezer or Abishua } In the time of the	4 Abishua.
	V. Bukki. } Judges, Years	5 Bukki.
	VI. Uzzi. } uncertain.	6 Uzzi.
1112	VII. Heli, of the Family of Ithamar, made High-Priest in 2848, died in 2888.	7 Zerabiab.
	VIII. Abitub, (Years uncertain).	8 Meraioth.
1088	IX. Abiah. He lived in 2911, or 2912.	9 Amariah.
1056	X. Abimelech, or Abiathar, put to death by the Command of Saul, in 2944.	10 Abitub.
1011	XI. Abiathar, or Abimelech, or Abimelech, in the Reign of David, from 2944, to 2989.	
1000	XII. Zadok 1. in the Reigns of Saul, David and Solomon, from 2994, to 3000.	11 Zadok.
970	XIII. Abimaaz in the Reign of Rehoboam, about the Year 3030.	12 Abimaaz.
908	XIV. Azariah, or Amariah, in the Reign of Jehoshaphat, about the Year 3092.	13 Azariah.
874	XV. Jehovan apparently the same with Jehoada in the Reign of Joash, 2Chron. xxiv. 15. He died in 3126, aged 130.	14 Jehovan.
836	XVI. Azariah, perhaps the same with Zechariah killed in the Temple, in 3164.	15 Azariah.
779	XVII. Amariah, perhaps Azariah in the Reign of Uzziab, in 3221.	16 Amariah.
	XVIII. Abitub. } In the Reign of Jotham,	17 Abitub.
	XIX. Zadok. } Years uncertain.	18 Zadok.
735	XX. Uriah in the Reign of Abaz, in 3265.	
	XXI. Shallum, or Mofollan, the Father of Azariah, and Grandfather of Hilkiab, Year uncertain.	19 Shallum.
722	XXII. Azariah in the time of Hezekiah King of Judah, about the Year 3278, 2 Chr. xxxi. 10.	

XXIII.

Years before Christ.	According to the Scriptures.	According to Chron. vi.
	XXIII. Hilkiab, likewise in the Reign of Hezekiah.	20 Hilkiab.
620	XXIV. Eliakim, or Joakim, or Hilkiab, in the Reign of Manasseh. He continued in the Reign of Josiah, to the Year 3380, or longer.	
	XXV. Azariah perhaps Neria, Father to Seraiah, and Baruch, (Year uncertain.)	21 Azariah.
584	XXVI. Seraiah, the last High-Priest before the Captivity, put to death in 3416, by the order of Nebuchadnezzar.	22 Seraiah.
533	XXVII. Jebozadak, during the Captivity from 3416, to 3467.	23 Jebozadak.
532	XXVIII. Jeshua, or Jesus, the Son of Jebozadak, return'd out of Captivity in 3468.	24 Jeshua.
	XXIX. Joiakim in the Reign of Xerxes, Year uncertain.	
450	XXX. Eliashib, or Jashib, or Hashib, in the time of Nehemiah in 3550.	
	XXXI. Joiada, or Judah, Neh. xii. 10.	
	XXXII. Jonathan, or Joannes, Year uncertain.	
318	XXXIII. Jaddua, or Jaddus, receiv'd Alexander the Great, into Jerusalem in 3673, he died in 3682.	
298	XXXIV. Onias I. made High Priest in 3682. died in 3702.	
289	XXXV. Simon I. Surnam'd the Just, from 3702, to 3711.	
256	XXXVI. Eleazar from 3712, to 3744.	
229	XXXVII. Manasses from 3745, to 3771.	
215	XXXVIII. Onias II. from 3771, to 3785.	
195	XXXIX. Simon II. from 3785, to 3805.	
166	XL. Onias III. made High Priest in 3805, depos'd in 3829, he died in 3834.	
	XLI. Jason, or Jofas, purchases the High Priesthood in 3809 was depos'd in 3832.	
158	XLII. Menelaus, or Onias IV. made High Priest in 3832, put to Death in 3842.	
	XLIII. Lyfimachus, Vicegerent to Menelaus, slain in 3834.	

XLIV.

Years before Christ.	
150	XLIV. <i>Altinus</i> , or <i>Jacimus</i> , or <i>Joakim</i> , made High-Priest in 3852. died in 3844.
146	XLV. <i>Onias</i> V. retired into <i>Egypt</i> , where he built the Temple of <i>Onion</i> , in 3854.
157	XLVI. <i>Judas Maccabeus</i> restored again the Altar and Sacrifices in 3840, he died in 3845.
140	XXVII. <i>Jonathan</i> the <i>Asmonean</i> , Brother to <i>Judas Maccabeus</i> , made High-Priest in 3843, died in 3850.
131	XLVIII. <i>Simon Maccabeus</i> , from 3860, to 3869.
102	XLIX. <i>Johannes Hircanus</i> , from 3869, to 3898.
101	L. <i>Aristobulus</i> , from 3898, to 3897.
74	LI. <i>Alexander Jannæus</i> , from 3899, to 3925.
25	LII. <i>Hircanus</i> High-Priest 32 whole Years, died in 3974.
	LIII. <i>Aristobulus</i> , his Brother, got possession of the Priesthood in his Lifetime, and kept it 3 Years and 3 Months, from 3935, to 3940.
33	LIV. <i>Antigonus</i> the Son of <i>Aristobulus</i> , and Nephew of <i>Hircanus</i> , enjoy'd the Priesthood 2 Years 7 Months, from 3964, to 3967.
31	LV. <i>Ananias</i> , whom <i>Herod</i> brought from <i>Babylon</i> in 3968, was deposed some time after in 3969.
30	LVI. <i>Aristobulus</i> , the last of the <i>Asmoneans</i> , was High-Priest but one Year, he was drowned in 3970.
29	<i>Ananias</i> , was made High-Priest again in 3971. It is not known how long he remained so, his Successor was
19	LVII. <i>Jesus</i> the Son of <i>Phabi</i> , deposed in 3981.
	LVIII. <i>Simon</i> the Son of <i>Boetius</i> in 3981, deposed in 3997.
	LIX. <i>Matthias</i> the Son of <i>Theophilus</i> , from 3999, to 4000. <i>Elleni</i> was substituted in his Room one day.
Valg. Era. 1	LX. <i>Joazar</i> the Son of <i>Simon</i> , the Son of <i>Boetius</i> , from 4000, to 4003.
6	LXI. <i>Eleazar</i> , Brother to <i>Joazar</i> , from 4004, to 4009.
7	LXII. <i>Jesus</i> the Son of <i>Siah</i> , from 4009, to 4010.
13	<i>Joazar</i> a second time, from 4010, to 4016.
	LXIII. <i>Ananias</i> the Son of <i>Seth</i> , from 4016, to 4027.
	LXIV. <i>Ismael</i> the Son of <i>Phabi</i> , in 4027.
	LXV. <i>Eleazar</i> the Son of <i>Ananias</i> , in 4027.
25	LXVI. <i>Simon</i> the Son of <i>Camithus</i> , in 4028.
35	LXVII. <i>Joseph</i> , surnamed <i>Caiphas</i> , from 4029, to 4038.
37	LXVIII. <i>Jonathan</i> the Son of <i>Ananias</i> , from 4038, to 4040.
42	LXIX. <i>Theophilus</i> the Son of <i>Jonathan</i> , from 4040, to 4044.
42	LXX. <i>Simon Cantharus</i> , the Son of <i>Simon</i> I. from 4044, to 4045.
44	LXXI. <i>Matthias</i> the Son of <i>Ananias</i> , from 4045, to 4047.
45	LXXII. <i>Alioneus</i> , from 4047, to 4048.
	<i>Simon Cantharus</i> a second time deposed the same Year 4049.
47	LXXIII. <i>Joseph</i> the Son of <i>Caneus</i> , from 4048, to 4050.
63	LXXIV. <i>Ismael</i> the Son of <i>Phabeus</i> , from 4050, to 4066.
	LXXV. <i>Joseph</i> , surnamed <i>Cabei</i> , in 4066.
	LXXVI. <i>Ananias</i> the Son of <i>Ananias</i> in 4066.
64	LXXVII. <i>Jesus</i> the Son of <i>Ananias</i> , in 4067.
	LXXVIII. <i>Jesus</i> the Son of <i>Gamaliel</i> , in 4067.
68	LXXIX. <i>Matthias</i> the Son of <i>Theophilus</i> , from 4067, to 4070.
70	LXXX. <i>Phannias</i> the Son of <i>Samuel</i> , from 4070, to 4073.
	From the Death of <i>Aaron</i> , to the Destruction of <i>Jerusalem</i> , 1521 Years.

ANTIQUITIES

SACRED and PROFANE:

OR, A

COLLECTION

OF

Curious and Critical DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

Old and New Testament.

Written in French by the Learned
D. AUGUSTIN CALMET.Done into ENGLISH, with Notes, by N. TINDAL, M.A.
Vicar of Great Waltham in Essex.

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- II. On the Original and Antiquity of Circumcision, proving what has been advanced by Herodotus, and others after him, to be false in almost every Particular.

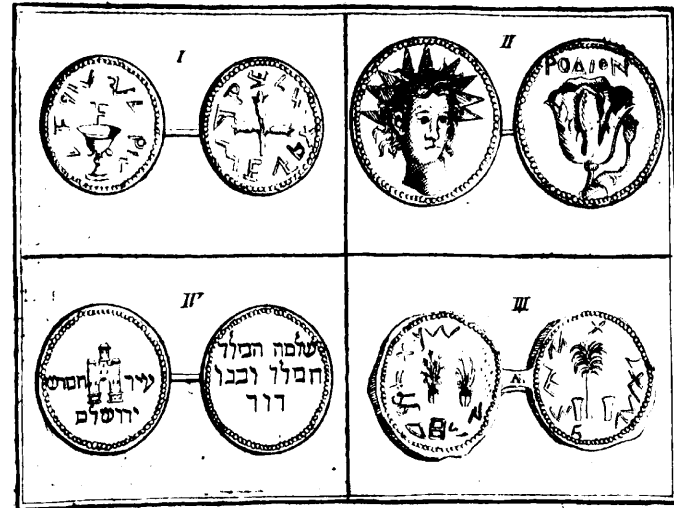
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A DISSERTATION concerning the Antiquity of Coined Money. To which is added, The Reduction of the *Hebrew* Money, Weights, and Measures to our *English* Ones.

TH E most antient Manner of *Trafficking* we know *Traffick was* of, was *That* of Exchanging one Commodity for another. In the Beginning, every one gave what *carried on at first by Exchange.* to him was *Useless* or *Superfluous*, in lieu of something *Necessary*, or *Convenient*. But as it did not always happen, that what one had occasion for, another had by him; or if he had, that he was willing to part with it; Men

Explanation of the Cuts.

I. A *Hebrew* Shekel with the *Pot* that contain'd the *Manna*, and these Words *Shekel* *Israel* on the one side. On the other, *Aaron's Rod* that budded, with these Words, *Jerusalem Kadoshab*, (i. e.) *Jerusalem the Holy*.

II. A *Rhodian* Coin, supposed to be one of the Pieces given to *Judas* to betray our Saviour. The *Head* of the *Colossus* radiated on one side, with a *Star*, and the Word *Rhodian* on the Reverse.

III.

Men soon found themselves obliged to agree to make use of some *precious Metal*, whose known and fixed *Value* might serve to settle the *Price* of Things, and remove the Inconveniences that attended the way of *Bartering*. In process of Time, they thought it expedient to put a *Publick Stamp* upon this *Metal*, in order to show its *Value*, warrant its *Weight* and *Goodness*, and render it fitter for Trade and Commerce. The Design of this Impression at first was only to save the Trouble of weighing the *Metal*, and examining its Fineness. The Kings and Heads of *States*, and *Commonwealths*, reserv'd to themselves the *Prerogative* of setting the *Stamp*, of ascertaining the *Value*, and of making the *Money* pass current among the People; but it must not be imagin'd, that all these things were done at once, or at the same time in the several Nations of the World. Accordingly, we can trace out successively among the *Persians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, the Original of *Coin* in Ages very distant from one another; and several whole Nations are to be met with, who carried on the old way of Trading by Exchange, a good while after the Invention of Money.

No Coin at the time of the Trojan War, nor some time after

At the time of the *Trojan War*, the Use of Money was unknown to the *Greeks*. *Homer* and *Hesiod*, who lived about that *Period*, say not a word of *Gold* or *Silver Money*; they express the Value of a *Thing* by saying it is worth such a Number of *Oxen*, or *Sheep*: They denote the Riches of a private Man, by the Multitude of his *Flocks* and *Herds*; and of a Country, by the Largeness of its Pastures, and Plenty of its *Metals*. *Homer* (a) acquaints us, that *Glaucus* exchanged with *Diomedes*

III. One of *Simon Maccabaeus's* Medals, on one side a *Palm-Tree* denoting the Victory of *Corn*, the Inscription *Legaalath Sion*; (i. e.) the Redemption of *Sion*; on the Reverse, two *Handfuls* of *Corn*, with *Shenath Arbang Chafsi*; (i. e.) 4th Year and half.

IV. An *Hebrew Coin*, supposed to be in use in the time of *Salomon*, on one side the Front of the Temple, with *Jerusalem hier Hakodesh*; (i. e.) *Jerusalem* the City of Holiness. On the Reverse, *David Hennelek ubeno Shealomah hammelek*; (i. e.) King *David* and his Son King *Solomon*.

(a) Il. 2. 234. Εἰς δὲ Πάριον Κρονίδης Φρίνας ἔειλετο Ζεὺς,

Ὅς πρὸς τοῦδε διουχόμεν τρυχὰ δμῶϊα,
Χρύσεια χαλκίον ἐκατόμβαι ἐμβαλόντων.

Dacier translates (ἔειλετο Φρίνας) he elevates his Mind; i. e. inspires him with a Greatness of Soul, &c. See her Notes. She proves her Opinion from Porphyry. Pope observes, it may more justly be rendered, He took away his Senses.

his

his Golden Arms, for the other's Brafs ones. *Glaucus's* were valued at a hundred Oxen; and *Diomedes's* only at Nine *. The same Poet (b) describing the manner of Trafficking in the Camp before *Troy*, says that they purchas'd *Lemnian Wines*, in exchange for Brafs, Iron, Skins, Oxen, and Slaves.

The *Antients* and *Moderns* are divided about the first Inven-<sup>The first Au-
tor of Money</sup>tor of Money among the *Greeks*. *Lucan* (c), gives it for *Itho-
nus* King of *Thessaly*, the Son of *Deucalion*: Others will have <sup>among the
Greeks.</sup> it, that *Erichonius* first taught the *Athenians* and *Lycians* the use of it. He was, as it is said, the Son of *Vulcan*, and brought up by the Daughters of *Cecrops*, King of *Athens*; from whence one may judge of his Antiquity. *Aglathenes*, as cited by *Pollux* (d), attributes the Honour of this Invention to the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Naxos*; but the general Opinion is, that *Phido*, King of *Argos*, who was Contemporary with *Lycurgus* and *Iphitus*, introduced the use of Money into the Island of *Aeëmus* (e), to enable the People the better to get their Livelihood by Trade, the Barrenness of the Place not permitting them to do it any other way. Some of this Prince's Coin is still in Being (f): On one side is represented an oval Buckler like the *Roman Ancile*; on the other a little Pitcher and a Bunch of Grapes, with this Inscription *ΦΙΔΩ*. *Lycurgus*, on the contrary, to prevent the *Spartans* from having any Dealings with Foreigners, made a cumbersome sort of Money, of Iron, tempered in Vinegar, to render it good for nothing else (g). His desire was, says *Trogus* (h), that Trade should be carried on not with Money, but by Exchange of Commodities. The Use of Gold and Silver was prohibited at *Sparta* (i). The Widow of King *Polydorus*, who reigned about 130 Years after *Lycurgus*, had a Present of Oxen made her to

* Hence may be infer'd, that Gold was to Brafs then, but about 11 to 1.

(b) Il. H. 473. Ἄλλοι μὲν χαλκῷ, ἄλλοι δ' ἀδάμαντι σιδήρεϊ,
Ἄλλοι δὲ βίβοϊ, ἄλλοι δ' αὐτοῖσι τίεσσιν,
Ἄλλοι δ' ἀνδραπόδεσσιν.

(c) Luc. Pharsal. l. 6. Primus Theffalicæ Duxor telluris Ithonus
In formam Calidæ percussit pondera Massæ:
Fudit & argentum Hammis, aurumque Monetâ
Fregit, & immensis coxit fornacibus æra.

(d) Lib. ix. c. 6. (e) Strabo. l. viii. (f) Sperl. de Num. non cufis.
(g) Plut. in Lycurg. (h) Just. l. iii. Emi singula, non pecunia sed compensations
mercium jussit. (i) Athen. l. vi. c. 4.

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purchase an House with. After *Lyfander* had pillaged *Athens*, the *Spartans* began to have Gold and Silver Money; but it was expended only upon publick Occasions, private Persons being forbid the Use of it upon pain of Death. The Inhabitants of *Clazomenes*, like the antient *Britons*, had none but Iron-Money, as well as the *Byzantines*; who, as *Aristophanes* remarks (k), were wont to swear by their Money.

The Form of
the old Grec-
cian Money.

As to the Form of the antient *Grecian Money*, *Plutarch* (l) thinks it was like so many small *Spits*, or *Rods* of Iron and Brass. Hence, says he, it is, that our smallest Money is still called to this day *Oboli* (*ὀβολοι*, signifying in *Greek*, a Spit), and that the Piece worth six *Oboli*, is termed *Drachma*, (or Handful), so many of these small Rods being required to fill the Hand. Some Antients affirm there was Money in *Lydia* and *Persia* before there was any in *Greece*. *Herodotus* (m) assures us, that the *Lydians* were the first who coined Gold and Silver Money, and made use of it in Traffick. *Xenophanes*, as cited by *Pollux* (n), says the same Thing. But they don't tell us when the *Lydians* began to do this. In *Crasus's* time, they don't seem to have had any coined Money: The Riches that Prince was so famous for, consisted only of Gold and Silver *Bullion*; as may be gathered from *Herodotus's* own Words; who says (o), that *Crasus* having given *Alcmaon* leave to take as much Gold as he could carry off, *Alcmaon* puts on a large Suit of Clothes, enters the Treasury, and fills every place about him, even his Shoes, and his Hair with small Bits or Shavings (*ψιγυατα*) of Gold. The Antients call'd Gold in *Ingots*, *Aurum factum*; but in the *Ore*, as it came out of the Mines or Sands, *Aurum infectum*.

The Darics. Before the Time of *Darius Hystaspes* (p), it does not appear that the *Persians* had any Money. This Prince made an order, that the Gold and Silver he receiv'd for Tribute should be weighed, the Silver by the *Babylonian*, and the Gold by the *Eubæan* Talent. The Gold and Silver thus paid, he melted down separately in Earthen Vessels; and as he had occasion, he broke the Vessels, and cut off as much of the Metal as he

(k) *Arist. Nubes*, Act. 1. Sc. 3.

(l) *Plut. in Lyfand.*

(m) *Herod. l. 1. c. 94.*

(n) *Pollux. l. ix. c. 6.*

(o) *Herodot. l. vi. c. 125.*

(p) *Herod. l. iii. c. 89. &c.*

wanted.

Dis. VI. the Antiquity of COINED-MONEY.

wanted. *Herodotus* (q) remarks, that this same Prince, desirous of rendering his Memory immortal, caus'd *Medals* to be struck of the purest Gold, which had never been done by any King before him. These *Medals*, as is said, were what they call'd *Darics*.

Other Historians agree pretty well with *Herodotus* in this Matter. *Polycrites*, as cited by *Srrabo* (r), assures us, that the *Persian* Kings laid up in their Palaces and Strong-Holds, the Silver they received for Tribute, and made no more of it into Money, than what served to defray their necessary Expences: and this is the reason that almost all their Silver was in *Ingots*, and so very little in *Specie*. *Diodorus Siculus* (s) confirms what *Polycrites* says: He observes, that *Alexander* found at *Susa* above 40,000 Talents of Gold in *Ingots*, which had been a long time laying up against the pressing Occasions of the State, and but 9000 in *Darics*. *Quintus Curtius* makes it 50,000 (t). The Kings of *Persia* at this day coin no Gold Money, except a few Pieces to throw among the People at their coming to the Crown, which are not of a fixed and certain Value. *Justin* (u) informs us, that the antient *Parthians* made no other use of Gold and Silver but to adorn their Arms.

After the time of *Darius Hystaspes*, there was plenty of *Darics* in *Greece*. It appears from *Plutarch* (w), that these Pieces of Money were stamp'd on one side with the Effigies of an Archer. *Agessilaus* King of *Sparta* being called home out of *Asia*, to the Assistance of his own Country, said he was driven thence by 30,000 Archers, because *Timocrates* had distributed that Number of *Darics* among the *Athenian* and *Theban* Orators, to get a War declared against the *Lacedæmonians*. *Mardonius* was left behind in *Greece* by *Xerxes* with a great quantity of Gold and Silver in *Ingots* and Money (x).

What has been said of these *Darics* being first coined by *Darius Hystaspes*, is contradicted by some other Writers, who will have an antienter *Darius*, and not *Darius Hystaspes*, to be the Inventor of this Money. To confirm their Opinion,

(q) *L. iv. c. 166.*

(r) *Str. l. xv. ad finem.*

(s) *Diodor. l. xviii.*

(t) *Argenti non signati formâ sed rudi pondere.*

(u) *Just. l. xli.*

(w) *Plut. Apop. Lacon.*

(x) *Herod. l. ix.*

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they cite the *Scholias* of *Aristophanes*, and *Suidas*, who say, that the *Darics* were made not by *Darius* the Father of *Xerxes*, but by a more antient *Darius*, who is supposed to be the same with *Darius* the *Mede* (y) in Scripture, and mentioned also in *Æschylus* by the same Name (z). It is pretended, that the *Darkmonim* and *Adarkon* of the Scriptures (a), are the *Darics* of this antient *Darius*, which were in being from the time of the beginning of the Reign of *Cyrus* *. There are some that even assert, that these *Adarkonim*, (called *Darkonoth* by the *Talmudists*) were in use ever since the time of *David*: but others (b) are of Opinion, they were only a plain Bit of Gold or Silver of a certain weight, without any Stamp; and that they are derived from the *Greek Drachma*, and not from the Term *Daric*.

No old Persian
or Lydian
Coin now ex-
tant.

However this be, there is at this time no antient Money, either of the *Lydians*, or *Persians*, in being. The oldest coin'd *Medals* to be met with in the Cabinets of the Curious, are all *Greek*; and of these the most antient are *Those* made in the Reign of *Amyntas*, Father to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, and Grandfather to *Alexander the Great*. There is mention in History of *Decaboei* and *Hecatombœi* in the time of *Theseus*; but it is not certain whether they were a sort of Coin, or no. *Sperlingius* takes them to be pieces of Silver, without any Impression at all, of a certain weight, and worth one, ten, or a hundred Oxen.

We must not then imagine, when we hear of the antient *Grecian* Money before *Amyntas*, that it was like ours, or stamp'd with any Symbolical or Natural Representation. If it had any Mark, it was in all likelihood only to warrant its Goodness, fix its Weight, and save the trouble of putting it at every turn into the Scales. I can hardly believe that the Gold-Money of *Phido*, before mention'd, was coin'd in his Time, or that any Gold or Silver Coin was current in *Greece* before the *Persian* Money came among them. It is surprising to think how ex-

(y) Dan. v. 31. (z) Æsch. in Persis. (a) Ezra ii. 69. 1 Chr. xxix. 7.
(b) Sperling. de Num. non Cufis.

* Priccaux believes that they were coined by Cyaxares, or Darius the Mede, whilst Cyrus was carrying on his Wars. They were made of the finest Gold, and weighed about 2 Grains more than our Guineas, and consequently worth about five or six and twenty Shillings of our Money. They were in great Request throughout all the East. F. 1. B. 2. Conn.

treme

treme scarce Gold and Silver were formerly in that Country. *Athenæus* (c) tells us, that *Philip* King of *Macedonia*, every time he went to sleep, laid under his Bolster a little Gold-Cup; he had; so highly did he value it, because of the great Scarcity of that Metal. *Anaximenes* of *Lampsacus*, as quoted by the same Author, says, that *Eriphilus's* Golden Collar became so very famous throughout *Greece*, only upon account of the Rareness of Gold; and adds, that they look'd upon a Silver Cup at that time with Admiration, as it was something very new and extraordinary. *Gyges* King of *Lydia* was the first who sent Presents of Gold and Silver to the Temple at *Delphos*: They had never seen before that any thing but Brass or Copper, and instead of fine Statues and other Ornaments, had only Trevers and Kettles. The *Lacedæmonians* designing to gild the Head of *Apollo's* Statue, and finding they could get no Gold in *Greece*, sent to consult the Oracle where they might get some. They were directed to *Cræsus* King of *Lydia*, who supply'd them. *Hiero* King of *Syracuse* having a mind to present at *Delphos* a Tripod of Gold, fought throughout all *Greece* for some of that Metal; at length, he meets at *Corinth* with some at the House of one *Architeles*, who had by little and little amass'd a vast quantity. *Architeles*, over and above what was demanded of him, threw in, as a Present to the King, as much Gold as he could hold in his Hand. *Hiero* in return sent him a Vessel freighted with Corn and other things. Can it be suppos'd, after all this, that Gold and Silver-Money were at that time common in *Greece*, or the adjacent Islands? *Lycurgus* (d) and *Plato* (e) banish'd from their Commonwealth both Gold and Silver, thinking Brass and Iron were sufficient. *Plutarch* describes the antient Money to be like little Brass or Iron Rods. And the *Perovetians* (f) heretofore made use of small Spits of Iron instead of Money. I have already taken notice, and shall again hereafter, of several Nations that had formerly no other sort of Money.

Some Antients (g) have affirm'd, that *Janus* was the first who coin'd Gold-Money in *Italy*. The Image of that God on one side, and of a Ship on the other, which were to be seen on

(c) Athen. l. 6. c. 4. (d) Plut. in Lycurg. (e) Plat. l. 5. de Legib.
(f) Latius ap. Horn. l. 3. de Orig. Gen. Amer. c. 3. (g) Draco. Corcyr. ap. Ath. l. 15. c. 14.

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the oldest *Medals* of *Italy* and *Sicily*, and of some *Cities* of *Greece*, gave some weight to this Opinion, which for all that has no solid Foundation: For these Pieces with the Impression of *Janus* on them, were of a much later Date than his Time, and struck only to preserve the Memory of his Arrival in *Italy* (b).

Altho' the *Romans* in the beginning made use of *Metals* in Commerce, their chief Riches however lay in their Lands and Flocks (c). They did not count, but weigh their antient Money (k), which consisted of rough Bits of Brass without any Impression: *Æs rude*. King *Servius* first stamp'd on it the Figures of *Sheep* and *Oxen*, whence it was term'd *Pecunia* (l). *Varro* (m) assures us, that the same Prince began to make Silver-Money. Tho' *Pliny* asserts, that no Silver-Coin was made use of at *Rome* till fifty Years before the first *Punic* War. They had nothing of this kind, says he, till after they had vanquish'd *Pyrrhus*. In all probability therefore *Servius's* Silver-Money was not coin'd. *Pliny* adds moreover, that they did not till 62 Years after begin to stamp any Gold-Money.

In the time of the first *Punic* War, they made two Sorts of Brass-Money. The thickest and heaviest Sort (*Æs grave*) was mark'd on one side with *Janus's* two Faces, and on the other with the *Prow* of a Ship. On the *As* of two Ounces were represented *Ships*; and on their Silver-Coins were to be seen *Chariots* with two or four Horses, which for that reason were called *Bigati* or *Quadrigati*. *Pliny*, from whom I have taken these Particulars, seems to think that the Gold-Coins were stamp'd only with the Figure of some *Domestick* Animal.

We have no Proof of the *Egyptians* or *Phœnicians* having any coin'd Money before the *Grecian* Monarchy was erected in the *East*. There are no antient *Coins* or *Medals* of these Nations now extant (n). The *Gauls* don't seem to have had any Money till they were conquer'd by the *Romans*. The Gold and Silver found at *Toulouse* in the Temple and *Sacred* Lakes,

No antient Egyptian or Phœnician Money.

The Gauls had no Money.

(b) At bona posteritas Puppim signavit in Ære
Hospitis adventum testificata Dei.

(i) Plin. l. 69. c. 3.

(k) Id. l. 33. c. 3.

(l) Id. l. 8. c. 3.

(m) Var. ap. Char. l. 1.

(n) In the Cabinet of M. Girardon is a sort of a Leaf of Gold, like a Rose-Leaf, said to be found in the Mouth of an Egyptian Mummy. Lucian says, they put an Obolus under the Tongues of the Dead, to pay Charon for their passage.

were

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were without any Shape or Form (o), *Aurum atque Argentum inelaboratum*. When *Cæsar* landed among the *Britons*, they *As well as the Britons and Spaniards* had no Money but small Plates of Metal without any Mark, *Solinus* assures us, they had neither Markers, nor Coins, but trafficked by Exchange (p). Some antient Nations of *Spain*, before the Arrival of the *Phœnicians*, and even a long while after, traded in the same manner; they exchanged one Commodity for another, or cut off a Piece of a Gold or Silver-Plate, in proportion to the Value of the thing they wanted (q).

The *Scythians* (r) and *Sarmatians* (s) knew not what Gold and Silver meant; they carried on their Trade by way of Exchange. The *Albanians* and Those who inhabited along the *Araxis* had neither Money, nor Weights nor Measures, and never reckon'd above an Hundred, says *Strabo* (t). At this time the *Circassians* and *Avocassians* have no Money. *Bernier* (u) they make use of little Shells found on the *Maldivian* Sands, instead of small Money. The whole Trade of *Mingrelia* (w) is carried on by Exchange of Merchandizes; Silver has no settled Price among these People, and all the Money they have is Formost Bark of the Mulberry-Tree, which they harden and stamp with the Seal and Arms of the King: Strangers can put off no other Money in the Territories of the *Great Cham*. *Haiton* says, In the Kingdom of *Cathay* the Money is made of square Bits of Paper or Past-board, on which is the Impression of the King's Arms.

The *Chinese* Money are small Pieces or Bars of Gold and Silver, whose Value depends upon their Weight. For which reason, they wear at their Girdles a Pair of Scales to weigh their Money with. They have only Brass Farthings mark'd with the Arms of their Country; or a sort of Rings, which they carry about them upon Strings. In the Kingdom of *Siam* and *Japan* the Money is not stamp'd like ours. In *Mexico* the Fruit of the *Cacao*-Tree, of which *Chocolate* is made, serves for Money. It is not above an hundred Years ago, that the *Laplanders* first made use of Money. In *Ethiopia* their Money is made of

(o) Strabo. l. 4.

(i) Mele, l. 11. c. 1.
de l'Etat d'Indoustan.

(p) Solin. c. 35.

(r) Strab. l. 11.

(q) Strab. l. 3.

(s) Id. l. 6.

(u) Bern. Tom. 2. & Lettre.

(w) Chardin. Voy. de Perse.

(x) Id. t. 2.
Gold

Gold and *Salt*: The Gold is in *Ingot*s, and the *Salt* is in Pieces of a Foot long, three Inches thick, and of the same breadth. The Money of the Kingdom of *Lar* (*γ*), conquer'd about 150 Years since by the *Persians*, was a small round Silver-Rod about the bigness of a Goose-Quill, bent two double, and an Inch in length. There are some to be seen still in that Country.

The Hebrew
Money.

After all that has hitherto been said concerning the Original of Coin among the *Persians*, *Lydians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, and other Nations, it will be a difficult matter to believe that the *Hebrews* had any Money like ours, at a time wherein the Use of it was most certainly unknown to all the World besides; and if it be true, that neither the *Phanicians* nor *Egyptians*, who border'd upon the *Jews*, and had the greatest Dealings with them, had no Money before the Use of it was introduced by the *Persians* and *Greeks*, we may venture to affirm the same thing of the *Hebrews*. *Ezekiel*, in his long Description of the Trade and Riches of *Tyre*, says not a word that intimates the Use of Coined-Money; he mentions only Gold and Silver, Tin and Lead, Brass and Iron, that were exposed to Sale in their *Fairs* (*z*).

But it will not be sufficient in this Case to make use of Negative Proofs, since the Scriptures frequently speak of the Traffick and Silver of the ancient *Hebrews*. The Question is, to know whether this Silver is to be understood of Coined-Money or no. *Moses* informs us, that *Abraham* was exceeding rich, not only in Cattle, but in Gold and Silver (*a*). The same *Abraham* purchases a *Cave* to bury *Sarah* in, for 400 *Shekels* of Silver, current Money with the Merchant (*b*). *Abimelech* King of *Gerar* made him a Present of a thousand Pieces of Silver (*c*); *Joseph* was sold by his Brethren for twenty Pieces of Silver (*d*); *Jacob* sent his Sons into *Egypt* to buy Corn, and gave them Money to pay for it (*e*); and the *Egyptians* themselves bring to *Joseph* all their Money to buy Bread during the Famine (*f*). All these Passages evidently prove, that they traded with Silver, and even with Silver-Money. But what sort of Money was this? Was it stamp'd and of an uniform

(*γ*) See *Tavernier* and *Paul of Venice*, l. 2. c. 21.

(*z*) *Ezek.* 27.

(*a*) *Gen.* 13. 2.

(*b*) *Gen.* 23. 16.

(*c*) *Gen.* 20. 16.

(*d*) *Gen.* 37. 18.

(*e*) *Gen.* 42. 43.

(*f*) *Gen.* 47. 14.

Weight

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Weight like ours, or was it only of a good Fineness and a certain Weight, without any Mark or Impression?

If this Question was to be put to the *Vote*, the Opinion, that Coin'd Money was in use in *Abraham's* time, would no doubt have the Majority on its side: but in matters of this nature, not the *Numbers*, but the *Reasons* are to be consider'd. We must examine the *Original Text* itself, and see how far these Expressions of *Moses* do naturally lead us. We find in the *Hebrew Text*, the Names of *Gold* and *Silver*, their *Weight* and *Fineness*, and their *passing Current* with the Merchant: but all this amounts not to the least Proof of their having any Mark or Stamp; there is not so much as one Word that intimates the Impression, Shape or Form of this Money. The Terms *Shekel*, *Talent*, *Gerah* and *Bekah*, are all Names of Weights, and not of Coins. The *Passing* of the *Silver* among the Merchants, is no argument for its being stamp'd or coin'd, since there are whole Nations at this very day, who trade with uncoin'd Gold and Silver. We may conclude then, that the Passages of Scripture above-mention'd do not prove that the *Hebrews* had any *Silver-Coin* in the time of *Abraham* and the other *Patriarchs*.

The Expression of *weighing the Money* made use of in some Places of Scripture, is a farther Proof of this ancient Custom of paying the Pieces of Silver by Weight, before the Value of each Piece came to be ascertain'd by its Mark. *Abraham* weighs (*g*) the 400 *Shekels* he paid for *Sarah's* Burying-place. *Joseph's* Brethren brought back the Money they found in the mouth of their Sacks in full Weight (*h*). The *Shekel* * and *Talent* were the common Weights for all sorts of Things. *Moses* (*i*) says, the *Bracelets* *Eliezer* gave *Rebecca* weigh'd ten *Shekels*, and her *Ear-rings* half a *Shekel*. The Lord commanded *Moses* (*k*) to take 500 *Shekels* of *Myrrh*, and 250 of *Cinnamon*, after the *Shekel* of the *Sanctuary*, to make an *Holy Ointment*. Elsewhere it is said (*l*), that the *Brass* of the *Offering* was seventy *Talents*: now it is well known, Brass was not used in Commerce. We read in 2 *Sam.* xiv. 26. that the Hair *Abalom* cut off yearly from his Head, weigh'd 200 *Shekels* †. *Zechariah*

(*g*) *Gen.* xxiii.

(*h*) *Gen.* xliiii. 24.

* *Shekel* in Hebrew is the same as *Pondus* in Latin, and *Stater* in Greek.

† 7 lib. 6 oz. 0 p.w. 10 gr. 2/3 Troy-weight.

(*i*) xxiv. 22.

(*k*) *Exod.* xxx. 23, 24.

(*l*) *Exod.* xxxviii. 29.

C

riab

riah (m) instead of saying a *Lump* of Lead, says a *Talent* of Lead, because that Term was general, and did not signify any Sort or Sum of Money in particular.

In the Books of Scripture written after the Time of *Moses* we find the same Expressions in the Payments of Money. *Isaiah* (n) represents the Wicked weighing their *Silver* in the *Balance* to make an Idol of it. *Jeremiah* (o) weigh'd in a Balance the seventeen *Shekels* he paid for a Field he had purchased. To weigh their Money, I am apt to believe, they generally carried about them at their Girdles a *Balance* and *Stones* of a certain Weight, or it may be Copper or Leaden Weights, term'd *Stones* in Scripture. *Moses* (p) forbids them to have in the *same Bag divers Weights* (in *Hebrew*, a Stone and a Stone) a great and a small. The Covetous Man in *Amos* (q) is brought in saying, *When will the New Moon be gone, that we may sell Corn, making the Ephah small, and the Shekel great, and falsifying the Balances.*

In order to prevent these and the like Impositions, there were Weights and Measures laid up in the Temple, as Standards. The Scriptures, to denote a perfect and just Weight, make use of this Expression, *The Shekel of the Sanctuary*. In the 2 *Sam.* (r) mention is made of the *King's Weight*, because to Him belong'd the Regulation of the Money, Weights and Measures, and every thing relating to Publick Trade and Commerce. *Sperlingius* imagines, that the *King's Weight* and that of the *Sanctuary* are put in opposition to the Foreign Weights of the *Egyptians*, *Phonicians*, and *Canaanites*. The *Hebrew Shekel*, say they, was heavier than the *Weight* of those other Nations, the *Hebrews* were concern'd with. The generality of *Commentators* give into the Notion, that the *Hebrews* had two sorts of Weights. The one *Holy*, or of the *Sanctuary*; the other *Profane*, or for *Common Use*: and that the first was as heavy again as the second. But the Reasons made use of to support this Opinion, don't seem at all convincing. *M. Pellerier*, in his Dissertation on *Absalom's Hair*, will have it, that by the *King's Weight* was meant the *Babylonian Weights* used by the *Jews* during the Captivity, or in a very little time after.

(m) Zech. v. 7.
(q) Am. viii. 5.

(n) Isai. xlv. 6.
(r) xiv. 16.

(o) Jer. xxxii. 16.

(p) Deut. xxv. 13.

The

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The Antient *Jews* traded only with Gold and Silver: we meet with some of their Medals in Brass; but they are either counterfeit, or struck in the time of *Simon Maccabeus*. The *Turks*, *Arabians*, *Egyptians*, and the other *Eastern Nations* in general, have at this day none but Gold or Silver Money (s).

I am apt to believe, that the Antient Gold and Silver Money consisted of *Bars*, *Ingots*, or small *Rods* like the *Chinese Money* before mentioned. We read in the *Psalms* (t) of *Bits* or *Pieces* of Silver, which may be understood as cut off from the *Ingots*. We meet likewise with this Expression in Scripture, *Bundles of Silver* (u), which possibly may denote the small *Rods* or *Spits* of Silver bound up together, as *Plutarch* describes the *Oboli*, a *Handful* of which made a *Drachma*. It must however be owned, that to bind up Silver signifies sometimes to put it into a Linnen Cloth or Purse, or in their Girdles; but this contradicts not my Conjecture. *Achan* (w) found among the Spoils of *Jericho*, a *Wedge* of Gold of fifty *Shekels* weight, and 200 *Shekels* of Silver besides. *David* leaves *Solomon* nothing but Gold and Silver and Brass in *Ingots*, and *Lumps*. The Gold *Aaron* made the *Calf* with, and what was offered for making the *Tabernacle*, and what the People gave in *Josiah's* time for repairing the Temple, was none of it in coined Money.

Altho' the Antient *Hebrews* carried on their Trade mostly with Silver, yet they continued to traffick likewise by Exchange. The *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and *Chaldee Paraphrase* assure us, that *Jacob* bought of the *Children of Hamor*, a parcel of a Field for 200 *Kesitaths* *. This Term is very unknown. But if any one will insist upon it, that *Kesitath* means a piece of Money stamp'd with the Image of a Lamb, and in use in *Abraham's* Time, he is too absurd to be seriously reasoned with, and must be left to enjoy his own Fancy. *Jacob* demands of *Laban* for the Reward of all his Labour, nothing but *Cattle* (x); and makes no other Present to his Brother *Esau* (y). The Author of the Book of *Job* (z), alludes to the way of Trafficking by

(t) Bellon. observ. l. 2. c. 103.
Hof. xlii. 12.

(u) lxviii. 30.

(w) Gen. xlii. 35. Pro. vii.

* In our English Bible, for 200 Pieces of Silver; in the Greek, Chaldee, and Latin, for 200 Lambs. See the Author's Comment. on Gen. xxxiii. 19.

(x) Gen. xxx. 33.

(y) Gen. xxxii. 18.

(z) Job ii. 4.

Exchange in these Words: *Skin for Skin, yea, all that a Man hath will he give for his Life.* The Prophet *Isaiah* (a) plainly expresses the way of Trafficking both with Silver and by Exchange: *Come, says he, buy Wine and Milk without Money, and without Price, (or Exchange). Wherefore do ye spend Money for that which is not Bread? and your Labour for that which satisfieth not?* Judah only offers *Tamar* a Kid from his Flock (b). *Solomon* in return for the Timber and Workmen he was supply'd with from *Hiram*, sends him only Corn and Oil (c). *Hosea* (d) purchases a Wife for fifteen pieces of Silver, and an *Homer* and a half of Barley.

The Credit of certain pretended antient *Shekels*, supposed to have been coin'd in *Judea* in the Reigns of *David*, or *Solomon*, is very much lessened among the *Learned*. And altho' these *Pieces*, in comparison of the Times of *Moses* and the *Patriarchs*, are of a late Date, yet would they be good Proofs of the Antiquity of the *Hebrew Money* above that of the *Grecian* or *Persian*. These *Shekels* being stamp'd with the *Samaritan* Letters, it was concluded they were made before the *Babylonish* Captivity, it being the common Opinion that the old *Hebrew* Letters were entirely laid aside after that time; and as these *Coins* had on one side, *Jerusalem the Holy*, and on the other, The *Shekel of Israel*; it was infer'd, They must have been made before the Separation of the *Ten Tribes* under *Jeroboam*, because after that, *Jerusalem* was not look'd upon by the *Israelites* any longer as the *Holy City*.

But it is an easy matter to show the Weakness of these Arguments; the every Supposition they are built upon, namely, that the *Samaritan* Characters were never used by the *Jews* after the Captivity, is contradicted by a plain Matter of Fact, for the *Hebrew Money* coined in the time of *Simon Maccabeus*, is marked with *Samaritan*, (or rather *Phanician*, or old *Hebrew* Letters) and *Antiquaries* are agreed, that all the *Coins* with *Chaldean* Characters, such as are now in the *Hebrew Bible*, are Counterfeit. The same may be said of the *Medals* which are put upon us for *David's* or *Solomon's*: They carry with them the Marks of their being forg'd; the Metal they are made of, is Modern; the Impressions are often Tri-

(a) *Isaiah* lv. 1, 2.
(d) *Hos.* iii. 2.

(b) *Gen.* xxxviii. 17.

(c) *1 Kings.* v. 10, 11.

they

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fling; some of them are of Brass, and I have shewn the antient *Hebrews* made use of no such thing in Commerce. *Sperlingius* assures us, that it is not above a Century or two since these *Pieces* appeared in the World, and that he knew a Man in *Holstein*, that had a Forge where he privately coined them.

M. Patin says, That among the vast Number of Collections of *Medals* he has had a sight of, he never met with one true antient *Shekel*. *M. Morel* owns, there are true *Shekels*, but avers they are no older than the time of *Simon Maccabeus*; and this is the Opinion of all the great *Antiquaries* I have consulted in this Matter. Accordingly, I reckon among the false Ones, the *Medals* of *Abraham*, with an *Old Man* on one side, and a *Calf* on the other; the *Medals* of *Moses*, whereon he is represented with *Horns* like *Alexander the Great*, and some of his Successors, with these Words on the other side, *Thou shalt have no other Gods but me.* In the same Class are to be put the *Medals* of *Joshua*, stamp'd on one side with a *Bull*, and on the other with a *Unicorn*; of *David*, with his *Scrip*, and a *Tower*; of *Mordecai*, with *Sackcloth* and *Ashes*, and a *Crown*. I reject also the *Shekels* that are shown in some of our antient *Churches* for betraying our Saviour. These last are antient *Rhodian Medals*, with the Head of the famous *Colossus* dedicated to the Sun on one side, and a *Rose* on the other.

As for the true *Shekels* struck in the time of *Simon Maccabeus*, we read in *1 Macc.* xv. 6. that *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, gave *Simon* the *High-Priest* leave to coin Money of his own. But seeing it was unlawful for the *Jews* to make any Images, *Simon* was satisfied with ordering to be engraven on his Money some *Emblematical Figure*, or some *Vessel* of the Temple; for Instance, a *Water-Pot*, or a *Cup*, or a *Lyre*, on one side, and on the other, a *Palm-Tree*, with its Fruit, or a *Vine Leaf*, or a *Sheaf of Corn*, or some such thing: the Inscription on one side, a *Shekel*, or half *Shekel* of *Israel*, according to the Value of the Piece; on the other, the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, or 5th Year of the Deliverance of *Sion*. Tho' *Simon* was *High-Priest* above eight Years, we don't find any of his Money for more than four or five Years of that time; and we meet with none at all of his Successor *Jannaeus*, tho'

* They are to be seen at St. John de Lateran.

he

Fig. I.

Fig. IV.

Fig. II.

Fig. III.

he was *High-Priest* twenty Years. It is suppos'd, that the *Jews* in all likelihood represented to *Simon*, that these *Impressions* on his Money, were no less contrary to Law, than the *Figures* of *Men*, or *Animals*; and therefore he was forced, upon that account, to desist from making any more Money.

There are some who are of Opinion, it was not in *Judea*, but in some *Samaritan* Cities under his Obedience, that *Simon* caused these *Medals* to be struck; because, as they think, the *Samaritan* Characters, with which they are mark'd, were diffus'd by the *Jews*, and because he durst not stamp on his Money any *Figures* or *Images* within the Bounds of *Judah*. But as he might be told, that the doing that in a *Samaritan* City, which he would not venture to do in a *Jewish* one was a meer Evasion of the Law, *Simon* entirely drop'd a Privilege he could not make use of without infringing the Law of the Land. All this indeed is but Conjecture, but then these Conjectures are not without some Grounds. It is well known, what a Stir the *Jews* made to oblige *Pilate* to erect without the City, the Images of the Emperor he had brought into *Jerusalem* (e). *Vitellius* going to wage War with the *Arabians*, and designing to pass thro' *Judea*, the *Jews* went to petition him not to spread, as he march'd, the *Roman* Ensigns, on which was represented the Effigies of the Emperor.

Herod the Great having placed, by way of Ornament, some *Trophies* in the *Theater* he had built at *Jerusalem*, the People mutiny'd, taking them for *Armed Statues*, and would not be appeased till by taking off the Arms they were satisfied they were nothing but Trunks of Trees dress'd up in that manner (f). *Herod the Tetrarch* having adorn'd his Palace at *Tiberias* with several *Figures* of *Animals*, *Josephus* the Historian was deputed (g) by the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*, to go and persuade the People of *Tiberias* to pull it down to the Ground. The same Historian was of Opinion, that *Solomon* acted contrary to Law (h) in supporting the Vessel called the *Brazen-Sea*, in the Temple, with the *Images* of Oxen. He takes notice in another Place (i), of the great Combustion the *Jews* were in at *Herod's* placing an Eagle of Gold over the Gate of the Temple. *Tacitus*

(e) *Jos. Antiq.* l. xviii. c. 4.(f) *Jos. ibid.* c. 7.(g) *Lib. de vita sua.*(h) *Antiq.* l. 8. c. 2.(i) *Antiq.* l. 17. c. 8.

tells

tells us, the *Jews* were inflexible in the Point of *Statues*; that they would suffer none in their Towns; that neither out of Consideration for their own Kings, nor Respect for the *Roman* Emperors, could they be induced to receive them (k). *Origen* (l) assures us, there was not in the whole Nation any *Carvers*, *Painters*, or *Statuaries*.

Altho the *Jewish* Doctors are not agreed concerning the Meaning of the Law, which forbids the making the *Representations* or *Images* of Things; and altho' some hold it lawful to represent *Enigmatical*, or *Hieroglyphical* Figures, which have no real Existence in Nature; yet is it matter of Fact, that the greatest part of them maintain the utter Unlawfulness of making any *Image* of what kind soever, even of the very Stars, tho' done meerly for Ornament's sake (m); and *Leo* of *Modena* (n) affirms, that the *Modern* *Jews* have no such thing as an *Image*, or *Statue*, neither will they suffer any in their *Houses*, much less in their *Synagogues*: but however, this does not hinder them from making use of Coined-Money, and even of *Images* or *Figures* made by others, and that not only upon account of Trade, but likewise for Ornament; and most certainly in the time of our Saviour (o) in *Judea*, they made use of the *Roman* Money with the *Impressions* of the *Cæsars*.

Hence may be inferred the Reason why *Simon* did not continue to coin Money as he had begun. The *Asmonean* Princes, who succeeded his Son *Joannes Hircanus*, were not so scrupulous; they were represented on their Money, with some Mark of the Fertility of *Judea* on the other side. This Practice continued among the *Jews* till the entire Ruin of their State and Nation by the Arms of *Vespasian*.

We meet in Scripture with several sorts of Money; for Example, The *Talent*, the *Shekel*, the *Bekah*, or half *Shekel*, the *Gerah*, or *Obolus*. Some more unknown Pieces, as the *Kestath*, and the *Adarkonim*, or *Darkmonim*; the *Mina*, the *Denarius*, the *Stater*, which were *Foreign* Coins. The Opinions of those who have written of the *Value* and *Weight* of the *Hebrew* Money, are so very different, that it is a hard matter to be determined in this Particular. The *Shekels* of *Simon*

(k) *Tatit.* l. 5.(l) *Lib. 4. contra Cels.*(m) *Selden, de jur. Gen.* l. 2. c. 6.(n) *Leo Murin.* p. 1. c. 2.(o) *Mat.* xxii. 17.

Mac-

Maccabeus, are not all exactly of the same Weight, as I am inform'd by those who have weigh'd several of them. But as the Generality of Readers are desirous to be fix'd in these matters, and don't care to trouble themselves with so dry a Study, I shall here subjoin *Tables*, wherein the *Hebrew* Measures, Weights, and Money, are reduced to our Standard*.

* Calmet has taken *M. Pelletier's Account* of these Matters, but as the French Heights, Measures, and Money, are as unknown to most Readers, as the Hebrew ones, I have taken the pains to reduce them to our English Standard, upon the Suppositions mentioned in the Notes underneath the Tables. To which I have added the Value of the Grecian and Roman Coins, and their way of reckoning Sumsof Money.

The Money in the Tables is chiefly to be understood of Silver, which is reckon'd at 5 s. per Ounce, and the Gold at 4 l (i. e.) 16 to 1. Tho' our Money is suppos'd to be all pure Silver or Gold, yet it is not so; every Pound of Silver is divided into 12 Ounces, of which 11 and 2 penny Weights are pure, and the remaining 18 Penny Weights is Alloy: so a Pound of Gold is divided into 24 Carrats, or half Ounces, of which in our Guineas there are 22 Carrats of fine Gold, and 2 of Alloy, (i. e.) of Silver or Copper.



English

English Measures and Weights: To which the Hebrew ones are reduced.

Long-Measures.

Inch.	Foot	Yard	Pace	Fath.	Pole	Furl.	Mile
12	1	3	5	2	1	10	1
36	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
60	5	2	1	1	1	1	1
72	6	2	1	1	1	1	1
192	16	5	3	1	1	1	1
7920	660	210	132	110	40	1	1
63360	5280	1760	1056	880	320	8	1

Wine-Measure.

Solid Inches	Pint	Gall.	Barr.	Head	Butt	Tun.
28 1/2	1	4	2	1	1	1
231	8	1	1	1	1	1
727 1/2	252	3 1/2	1	1	1	1
1455 1/2	504	63	2	1	1	1
2910 1/2	1008	126	4	2	1	1
5821 1/2	2016	252	8	4	2	1

Corn, or Dry Measure.

Solid Inches	Pint	Gall.	Peck	Bushel	Quarter.
34 1/2	1	4	2	1	1
272 1/2	8	1	1	1	1
544 1/2	16	2	1	1	1
2178	64	3	4	1	1
17424	512	64	32	8	1

Troy-Weight.

Grains	Penny-weight	Ounce	Pound.
24	1	1	1
480	20	1	1
5760	240	12	1

Hebrew Long Measure*.

Etzba or Digit.	Miles.	Paces.	Feet.	Inch.
4	0	0	0	0 1/2
12	0	0	0	3 1/2
24	0	0	0	10 1/2
400	0	145	4	7 1/2
2000	0	729	3	0
4000	1	403	1	0
12000	4	153	3	0
96000	33	172	4	0

* The Reduction of the Hebrew Long-Measures to our English ones, is founded upon the Supposition that the Hebrew Cubit, is the same with the Egyptian, which Mr. Greaves, by carefully measuring the Pyramids, found to be 21 1/2 English Inches. Calmet makes it to be 20 1/2 French Inches from M. Pelletier, which is within a Tristle the same: for 15 French are equal to 16 English Inches.

A Fathom 4 Cubits. Ezekiel's Reed 6 Cubits. Arabian Pole 8 Cubits. Schoenus, or Egyptian Measuring Line 80 Cubits. The Egyptian Aroura was 10,000 Square Cubits, or 3 Roods, 2 Perches 5 1/2 Square Feet.

D

The

The Hebrew Liquid Measures *.

Log.				Gall.	Pint.	S.Inch.
4	Cab.			0	0	18 $\frac{1}{2}$
12	Min.			0	2	15 $\frac{1}{2}$
24	6	2	Seab.	1	7	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
72	18	6	3 Bath, or Ephah.	5	5	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
720	180	60	30 10 Homer.	56	4	27 $\frac{1}{2}$

Caph $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Log.

The Hebrew Dry Measures.

Cab.				Peck.	Gall.	Pint.	S.Inch.
1 $\frac{1}{2}$	Gomer, or Omar, or Assaron.			0	0	2	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
6	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	Seab.		0	1	4	30 $\frac{1}{2}$
18	10	5	Epha.	2	0	6	23 $\frac{1}{2}$
90	50	15	5 Letech.	12	0	0	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
180	100	30	10 2 Homer.	24	0	0	32 $\frac{1}{2}$

Gachal $\frac{1}{10}$ of a Cab.

The Hebrew Weights.

Shekel.				Lib.	Ounc.	Pwt.	Gr.
100	Maneh, or Mina.			0	0	9	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
5000	50 Talent.			189	8	15	17 $\frac{1}{2}$

In Money 60, but in Weight 100, Shekels went to the *Maneh*.

* The Proportion the Hebrew Measures bear to one another, is plainly express'd in Scripture; yet it is difficult to know the Capacity of any one of them in our Measures. The Reduction of them in these Tables, is built upon the Ephah's being suppos'd equal to a Cube, whose Side is the Zereth, or half Cubit. Arbuthnot makes the Ephah 7 Gall. 4 Pints, 15 Sol. Inches.

The Rabbins mention the Betza, or Egg $\frac{1}{2}$ of a Log. The Pondion, or 2 Logs. The Cos, or Grace-Cup after Dinner $\frac{1}{2}$ of a Log. The Rebuth of the same Dimension. The Mikue large enough to wash a Man in, contain'd 40 Seah.

Where we meet in the Septuagint or Vulgate, or English Bible, with the Terms, Medius, Bufnel, Cadus, Ceramium, Chous, Congius, they are generally to be understood of the Bath or Ephah.

The Metretes of Syria (John II. 6.) equal to the Roman Congius 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ Pints. The Eastern Coryla $\frac{1}{12}$ of an Ephah, about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Pint.

The

The Hebrew Money * reduced to the English Standard.

Gerah.					l.	s.	d.	q.
10	Bekah.				0	0	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
20	20	Shekel.			0	1	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1200	120	60	Maneh or Mina.		0	4	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
60000	6000	3000	50 Talent.		6	16	7	1 $\frac{1}{2}$

A Shekel of Gold 16 to 1.
A Talent of Gold 16 to 1.

341 10 4 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
5464 5 8 2 $\frac{1}{2}$

The Grecian † and Roman ‖ Money

Lepton.					l.	s.	d.	q.
7	Chalkos				0	0	6	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
56	8	Obolus.			0	0	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
356	48	6	Drachma.		0	0	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
600	100	Mina.			0	0	7	3
30000	6000	60	Talent.		3	4	7	0

193 15 0 0

Truncius.					l.	s.	d.	q.
2	Sestertii.				0	0	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
4	2	Libella, or As.			0	0	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
10	5	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Sestertius.			0	0	3	0
20	10	5	Quinarius, or Vistertius.		0	0	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
40	20	10	4 2 Denarius.		0	0	3	3
96	Adina, or Libra.				3	2	0	0
6912	72	Talent.			223	4	0	0

216 0 0 0

* The Alexandrian Drachm, and Didrachm, were the same as the Hebrew Bekah, and Shekel, the first of which was the Tribute Money paid by every Jew to the Temple yearly. The Alexand. Drachm was double of the Attic; a Babylonish Talent was 7000 Attic Drachms, or 70 Minas.

† The Grecian way of counting Sums of Money, was by Talenta, Minae, and Drachmae; for Instance, 11 Tal. 19 Min. 8 Drach. (i. e.) 2192 l. 17s. 3d. as appears by the Table above.

‖ The Roman manner was from one to 1000 Sestertii (equal to a Sestertium) and then from one to 1000 Sestertia (equal to Decies Sestertium, Centies being understood) from thence to Centies H. S. Millies H. S. Millies Centies H. S. equal to 888,020 l. 16 s. 8 d. Sterling.

Page

Page 172. Line 6. After these Words, in that Country, add

Marcus Paulus Venetus (a) says, that in the Province of *Canichu* in *Tartary*, the Money consists of small Rods of Gold of a certain Weight, and of little Lumps of Salt extracted from Water boil'd over the Fire. And that in the Province of *Caraia*, instead of Money, they make use of *Yellow* and *White* Stones taken out of the Sea.

(a) Marc. Paul. Ven. l. 2. c. 38, 39.

The End of Book II. Vol. I.



ANTIQUITIES

SACRED and PROFANE:

OR
Curious and Critical DISSERTATIONS
ON THE
Old and New Testament.

VOL. I. BOOK III.

Containing,

The Customs and Manners of the Jews; as, The Original and Effects of Circumcision: Of their Civil and Military Government: Their Marriages, Funerals, Divorces, Habits, Food, Schools, and Sects, &c. The Knowledge of which is absolutely necessary for the Understanding numberless Passages as well in the New, as in the Old Testament.

Illustrated, as Occasion requires, with Copper-Plates.

E



A DISSERTATION concerning the Original and Antiquity of *Circumcision*.



THE *Egyptians* formerly gave out, That *Circumcision* had its first Rise among them. *Herodotus* crediting the Reports of the *Egyptian* Priests, possessed the *Greeks* with this Notion; and the Adversaries of the Gospel hoping to wound the *Christian* Religion thro' the Sides of *Judaism*, have not failed all along to object to us, that *Circumcision* was not peculiar to the *Jews*, but invented by the *Egyptians*, and therefore that the Posterity of *Abraham* were not rendred by this Ceremony more Holy than other Nations, by whom it was practised before; and consequently the *Hebrews* had no reason to look upon it as the distinguishing Mark of the Chosen People of God. This is what *Celsus* throws out against the *Christians* (a). In answer to which, *Origen* replies, that the *Jews* in affirming themselves to be the first Practisers of *Circumcision*, were as worthy to be believed, as the *Egyptians*, who vainly assumed to themselves that Honour. That the *Circumcision* of the *Jews* widely differed from that of the *Egyptians*, or even of the *Ishmaelites*, in the End and Design of it, in its being enjoind by a Law, and in the Intent of those that practised it. That the *Jews* acknowledged only the *Circumcision* on the Eighth Day, and held the rest as superfluous and useless; and therefore it was quite beside the Purpose, for *Celsus* to confound Ceremonies and Practices that had nothing in common between them. Lastly, that *Jesus Christ* having freed his Followers from the Obligation of that Law, it was entirely needless for a *Christian* to undertake the Defence of what no longer concerned him. *Julian* the Emperor (b) affirm'd, that *Abraham* going from *Chaldea* into *Egypt*, learnt there the Use of *Cir-*

(a) *Cels.* ap. *Orig.* l. 1. & 5. cont. *Cels.*

(b) *Ap. Cyr.* l. x. con. *Jul.*

cumcision; and that it was incumbent on *Christians* who stiled themselves the Children of *Abraham*, to follow the Example of their Father in this Particular. But *St. Cyril*, without troubling himself much with refuting this Notion of *Julian's* concerning *Abraham*, sets about proving that the *Circumcision* required by *Jesus Christ* of all *Christians* was that of the *Heart* only; the other of the *Flesh*, being entirely unnecessary to Salvation.

As there are at this Day several Learned Men (*c*), who seem to be of Opinion, that *Circumcision* began not in the Person of *Abraham*, but was in use before his Time, at least among the *Egyptian* Priests; I shall endeavour to make appear, that all Nations, who practised this Ceremony, either had it from the *Jews*, or did it in Imitation of them; and that all *Herodotus* and other *Prophane* Authors after him have advanced concerning the Antiquity of *Circumcision* among the *Egyptians*, *Phanicians*, *Ethiopians*, and *Colchians*, is false in almost every Particular.

The *Egyptians* were always great Boasters of their *Antiquity* and Cryers up of their *Inventions*; they could not bear any Nation should pretend to any Thing before them, especially in Matters of Religion. Possessed as they were with the Notion, that Religion and the Way of Worshipping the Gods, had its Origin from them; they set themselves up for the Authors of almost all the religious Ceremonies in the World. Hence the great Hatred and Antipathy they all along express'd against the *Jews*. The real Antiquity of the *Jewish* Nation, the Majestick Air of their Ceremonies, the Opposition between their Laws and the *Egyptian* Customs and Manners, were Objects that stirred up their Rage and Jealousy.

The *Greek* Historians, who designed to examine into the Antiquity of Nations, and the Origin of religious Practices, imagined they needed only to apply to *Egypt* for Information in these Matters. The great Name the *Sages* of that Country had acquired, drew thither almost all the antient *Grecian* Writers: from whence, with some few Truths, they brought back these numberless *Fables* they put off upon us.

Herodotus is one of those, whose Authority is the most call'd in question. *Manetho* the *Egyptian* accuses him of advancing

(c) *Marsham. Can. Ægypt. Sæc. v. & le Clerc. in Gen.*

cing

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ing many Falsities for want of knowing the *Egyptian* Antiquities. *Diodorus Siculus* (*d*), as much a *Grecian* as he was, charges him in the same manner; and I cannot here but take notice of his gross Mistakes concerning the Antiquity of *Circumcision* among the *Egyptians*, *Ethiopians*, *Colchians*, and *Phanicians*; and this the rather, because it is he that has led the other Historians, who came after him, into Error.

The *Egyptians*, says *Herodotus* (*e*), take a contrary Course to almost all other Nations in their Customs and Manners; they receive *Circumcision*, a Practice unknown to all, but those to whom they have communicated it. Again he says (*f*), the *Colchians*, *Egyptians*, and *Ethiopians*, are the only People who from the Beginning practised *Circumcision*; for, adds he, the *Phanicians* and *Syrians* of *Palestine*, confess they had it from the *Egyptians*; and as for the *Syrians* along the Banks of *Thermudoon* and *Parthenius*, they own they receiv'd it not long since from the *Colchians*. But as for the *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*, I cannot say, continues *Herodotus*, which of the two Nations practised it first; tho', in all probability, the *Ethiopians* learnt it of the *Egyptians* by trading with them: This is what *Herodotus* affirms, the Truth of which I shall now enquire into.

He sets out with palpably contradicting himself: The *Egyptians* (says he) are distinguish'd from all other People by *Circumcision*, and yet there are several Nations that practised the same in Imitation of them. And after he had asserted, that the *Colchians*, *Egyptians*, and *Ethiopians* had it from the very Beginning, he inconsistently declares, he knows not which of the Two the *Egyptians*, or *Ethiopians*, were first Circumcised. *Herodotus*, who so well distinguishes between the *Ethiopians* of *Asia*, and those of *Africa*, and who could not but know that these last came from *India* to settle to the Southward of *Egypt*, ought to have considered, that these *Ethiopians* could not have practised *Circumcision* from the Beginning, since they were derived from the *Ethiopians* of *Asia*, among whom it was never received: and therefore he should have asserted without any Hesitation, as he does elsewhere, that the *Ethiopians* receiv'd *Circumcision* from the *Egyptians*, after their arrival upon the Borders of *Egypt*.

(d) *Diod. l. 2.*

(e) *Lib. 1. c. 35, 36.*

(f) *Lib. 1. c. 104.*

What

What *Herodotus* afterwards affirms, that the *Phanicians* and *Syrians* of *Palestine*, confess they receiv'd Circumcision from the *Egyptians*, is still more evidently untrue; for the *Phanicians* and *Jews* were the only People of *Syria* that practis'd it; now neither of these ever owned any such thing. The *Jews* look'd upon *Abraham*, or rather God himself, as the Author of their Circumcision; and the *Phanicians* refer'd theirs to *Ilus*, one of their antient Kings, as we shall see hereafter. *St. Barnabas* in his Epistle (g), says that all the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, and *Egyptian* Priests were circumcised. *St. Epiphanius* (h) says likewise, that the *Ishmaelites*, or *Saracens*, the *Samaritans*, *Idumeans*, and *Homerites* receiv'd Circumcision as well as the *Jews*. *St. Jerom* (i) adds moreover the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*. *St. Ambrose* (k) affirms, that not the *Egyptian* Priests only, but some also of the *Ethiopians*, *Arabians*, and *Phanicians* were circumcised. The same thing is asserted in the Book concerning Circumcision, amongst the Works of *St. Cyprian*.

So that, according to these Writers, whose Antiquity and Authority is undoubted, Circumcision was very much spread in the *East*. I say nothing of the *Ishmaelites*, *Idumeans*, *Arabians*, *Ammonites*, *Moabites*: These may All have had it from *Abraham*. It is well known, *Johannes Hircanus* compell'd the *Idumeans* to be circumcised after he had brought them into Subjection (l). The Case was evidently the same with the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*. I am apt to suspect, that by the *Phanicians* these Authors meant the *Samaritans*; for *St. Epiphanius*, who mentions the *Samaritans*, says not a word of the *Phanicians*. Now we are at no loss at all to discover the Origin of Circumcision among the *Samaritans*, since they receiv'd the Laws of *Moses*. There remain then the *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*. And since these last don't pretend to be the first that practis'd this Ceremony, but refer the Origin of it to the *Hebrews* or the *Egyptians*, the whole Difficulty falls upon this single Point; namely, the Original of Circumcision among the *Egyptians*.

Now it appears from all who have writ on this Subject, that Circumcision was never enacted by Law, nor universally

(g) Ep. 32. (h) C. 2. contra. Hæres. 30. (i) Hieron. in Jer. ix.
(k) Amb. Annot. in Levit. Ep. 72. (l) Jos. Antiq. l. 13. c. 17.

practis'd

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practis'd among the *Egyptians*. *Philo* (m) says, they were circumcised upon four several Accounts. The first was to avoid a dangerous Malady call'd *Ἀφθεῖς* [or a burning Ulcer]: to which they who are not circumcised are the most liable. The second was to preserve that part of the Body in the greatest Purity, by cutting off that which might contain any Filth or Uncleaness. With the same View it was, they shav'd off all the Hair of their Bodies, lest any thing that might defile them should stick thereon. The third Reason was entirely *Symbolical*, and so nothing to our Purpose. The fourth and last Reason was, to make them the more *Fruitful*, for they pretended that those who are circumcised procreate with greater Ease than they who are not.

St. Ambrose (n) seems to think that the *Egyptians* look upon it as a piece of Impiety in a Priest not to be circumcised. They imagine, that neither the *Magicians*, nor *Astrologers*, can do any thing by their Art, without being circumcised. *Vestigi*us (o), a celebrated Physician, affirms, that there is a natural Reason why the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*, as well *Women* as *Men*, are circumcised. As for the *Men*, their *Fore-Skin* grows in such a manner, that they are forced to cut it off out of Necessity, and not at all upon a religious Account, tho' among these superstitious People, Religion may also be concerned in it. The Reason is much the same for the *Women* *: what is certain in this matter is this, that Circumcision is not general nor obligatory among them. They may make use of it as a Remedy, if they think fit. But here I must be understood to except the *Mabometans*, among whom the *Men* are obliged by Law to be circumcised.

St. Clemens of *Alexandria* (p), relates how that *Pythagoras* being come into *Egypt*, to be instructed by the *Prophets* of that Nation, readily suffered himself to be circumcised, in order to be initiated into their *Mysteries*, and informed in the Secrets of their *bidden Philosophy*. *Origen* (q) gives us an exact Catalogue of those that are circumcised among the *Egyptians*, viz. The *Geometricians*, *Astronomers*, those who foretel future E-

(m) Philo. de Circumc. p. 810.
Anal. c. 6.

(n) Amb. Ep. 72.

(o) Vestig. Synt.

* See the Latin Note from Heutius hereafter.

(p) Strom. l. 1.

(q) Origen. in Rom. tom. 2. & in Jer. Hom. 5.

vents:

vents by inspecting the *Intrails* of Beasts, their *Prophets*, those who study *Hieroglyphicks*, *Diviners*, Teachers of *Mysteries*, and those who are initiated in order to be taught; all these are obliged to receive *Circumcision*. *Josephus* (r) remarks, that all the *Egyptian* Priests are circumcised, and abstain from Swines Fleih. *St. Epiphanius* (s) makes the same Observation, and avers that the Priests alone at that time were circumcised.

But the Business is to know when the *Egyptians* first practised this Ceremony. *Artapanus*, in *Eusebius*, (t) assures us, that *Moses* communicated it to the Priests of *Egypt* and to the *Ethiopians*. *Origen* (u) seems to favour this Opinion, when he says, that what made Circumcision to be in so great Vogue among *Foreign Nations*, was the Dread of an Angel, an Enemy to the *Jews*, who slew all that were not circumcised, but had no Power over those that were. A Notion founded upon what we read in *Exod. iv.* of an Angel that met *Moses* in his return into *Egypt*, and sought to slay his Son: *Zipporah* the Mother of the Child, had no other way to save her Son, but by circumcising him upon the Spot. Others affirm, that Circumcision was introduced into *Egypt* by the *Israelites* that went down thither with *Jacob*.

In the Beginning, the *Hebrews* and *Egyptians* kept at a great Distance from one another; they did not eat nor sojourn together, neither did they intermarry; but in process of time, they made nearer approaches to one another, and when *Moses* led the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*, some of them had married *Egyptian* Wives; they dwelt together in the same Towns, and received the same Customs: Several had left off being Shepherds, the Profession of their Forefathers, and were run into the superstitious Practices of the Country; however, they steadily adhered to Circumcision, and it is not unlikely they refused to mix thus with the *Egyptians*, unless they submitted to a Ceremony, the *Hebrews* have all along so punctually observed, notwithstanding all their other Prevarications and Fallings off.

These Reasons, how plausible soever they appear to be, are opposed by others that seem no less probable. If the *Egyptians*

(r) *Jos. l. ii. con. Ap.* (t) *Epiph. Hær. xxx.* (s) *Præp. l. ix. c. 28.* (u) *Orig. l. v. con. Cels.*

suffered

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suffered themselves to be circumcised, in order to draw the *Israelites* into their Cities; and if the *Israelites* quitted the Profession and Religion of their Ancestors, what hindered but that, in the space of 205 Years, the two Nations should have entirely become one People? However, this was so far from happening, that the Number of *Israelites* that had taken *Egyptian* Wives was but small; and so far were the two Nations from being confounded, that it is exceeding probable, the great distance that was kept up between them, was the reason of the King of *Egypt*'s seeking utterly to destroy the *Israelites*. It is thought also, that the Princess of *Egypt* knew *Moses* to be of *Hebrew*, and not of *Egyptian* Parents, by the Mark of Circumcision.

When *Moses* in the Law prescribes the Terms, on which *Strangers* were to be admitted to their Ceremonies, and have a Share in the Privileges of the People of God, he always lays down Circumcision in the first Place, without excepting the *Egyptians* from this general Rule, which doubtless he would have done, had they been circumcised in his Time, as well as the *Israelites*. The only Favour shewn that Nation, upon account of the *Israelites* having lived as *Strangers* in their Land, was, that their Children of the third Generation should enter into the Congregation of the Lord (w), provided, as *Commentators* understand the Words, they were circumcised and became obedient to the Law.

After the Departure of the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*, and during their sojourning in the Deserts of *Arabia*; as they held no Correspondence with any other Nation (x), and were united together, as it were, in one City, they left off the Use of Circumcision; the Reason of this Ceremony, viz. to distinguish them from the rest of the World, ceasing, they thought the Practice of it might cease also; but upon their Arrival in the Land of Promise, amidst the *Canaanites*, God commanded all that were born in the Wilderness to be circumcised, and when *Joshua* had put this Order in execution, God told him, *This Day have I rolled away the Reproach of Egypt from off you* (y). As if he had said, I have taken away that wherein you resembled the *Egyptians*, which was a Shame and Reproach to you. When the Sons of *Jacob* let *Shechem* know they could not be

(w) *Deut. xxiii. 7.*

(x) *Theod. quæst. 3. in Jes. Nave.*

(y) *Jos. v. 9.*

allied to his Family, whilst they remain'd uncircumcised, they told him, *We cannot do this thing, to give our Sister to one that is uncircumcised, for that were a Reproach to us* (z): as much as to say, whoever bears not about him the Mark of Circumcision, is look'd upon by us with Horror and Abomination: The *Canaanite* and the *Egyptian* therefore were equally a Reproach to the *Israelites*, as they were uncircumcised.

Marshall (a) makes use of the forecited Words of *Joshua*, as a Proof of his Opinion, that the *Egyptians* in the time of *Moses* were circumcised: *I have rolled away the Reproach of Egypt from off you*, means, according to him, I have taken from you what was equally thought a Reproach by the *Egyptians* and by you; as if the *Egyptians* had ever universally receiv'd Circumcision, and as if they look'd with Contempt on those that were uncircumcised, or were bound in Duty, or by some Law, to practise this Ceremony. By the *Reproach of Egypt*, therefore in this place, must be meant the Abomination and Horror the *Israelites* had for the *Egyptians*, upon account of their not being circumcised. After what has been said, we may conclude, that in the Days of *Moses* and *Joshua*, the *Egyptians* had not as yet received Circumcision: let us therefore consider the Times after them.

The most common Opinion is, that the *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians* first practised this Ceremony in the Reign of *Solomon*. The Foundation of this Notion is built upon the great Trade that was then carried on between them and the *Jews*: but since it has been denied that the *Egyptians* had this Custom from the *Hebrews* during their Abode in *Egypt*, it will hardly be granted that the Union between the two Nations in the time of *Solomon*, should have had that effect; especially seeing this Argument is back'd with no others. And as for the *Ethiopians*, who are said to receive Circumcision by the means of their Queen, who undertook a Journey to *Jerusalem* on purpose to see *Solomon*, it must be observed that she was not Queen of the *Ethiopia* we are speaking of, but of *Sheba* in *Arabia*; so that the Visit she paid *Solomon*, and the great Esteem she had for his Person, could signify nothing towards the introducing Circumcision among the *Ethiopians*, who had no manner of Relation to her.

(z) Gen. xxxiv. 14.

(a) Marshall, Can. Egypt. Sac. v.

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Bochartus and some other Learned Men are of Opinion, that Circumcision did not pass into *Egypt* directly from the *Jews*, but by the means of the *Arabians* their Neighbours. And indeed we observe a great difference between the Circumcision of the *Egyptians*, and that of the *Jews*; and on the other hand, a very close Resemblance between that of the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*. (1.) The *Jews* look'd upon this Ceremony as their indispensable Duty, as the Seal of God's Promises, and of the Privileges annex'd to his Religion, and as the distinguishing Mark of the People of God; the *Egyptians* considered it only as a thing indifferent, to which all People were not obliged, but some certain Priests only. (2.) The *Jews* circumcised none but the Males, and that on the Eighth Day always; the *Egyptians*, as well Females as Males (b), and that in the beginning of the fourteenth Year of their Age, according to St. *Ambrose* (c). Travellers are not agreed in saying all the *Egyptian* Women are thus circumcised. In some Countries of *Arabia* and *Persia*, as towards the *Persian Gulph*, and *Red-Sea*, both Sexes are obliged to be regularly circumcised, only with this difference, that the Men may be circumcised at five, six, nine, or thirteen Years old, but the Women not before they are Marriageable, because before that time, they are incapable of being serv'd so (d). (3.) Lastly, the *Jews* receive Circumcision in order to partake of the Covenant God made with *Abraham* and his Posterity. The *Egyptians* have no other End in it than Neatness and Decency, and perhaps to avoid some corporal Inconveniency peculiar to that Country, especially to the Women (e). *Origen* therefore, as I observed very justly, affirms, that the Circumcision of the *Egyptians* was of a quite different Nature from that of the *Hebrews*. But we can't from hence conclude, that they are not both derived from the same Source; for whether they owe their Original to the *Jews*, or to the *Arabians*, this still carries us back to *Abraham*, the Father of *Isaac* and *Ishmael*, and so destroys the Opinion of the Antiquity of Circumcision among the *Egyptians*.

(b) Strab. l. xvii. (c) Amb. l. ii. de Abr. c. 11. — quod ab eo videlicet anno incipiat flagrare passio virilis & feminarum menstrua sumant initia. (d) Chardin, Voyage de Perse, t. 3. p. 207. (e) Huetius in Orig. — Circumcisio feminarum fit resectione *κλиторιδος*, (i. e. Clitoridis) quæ pars in Australium mulieribus ita excrevit, ut ferro sit coercenda. Quapropter (ut tradit Medicus insignis) Egyptiis visum elocandæ. — Morem hanc servare feminas in Persia & Coptis in Ethiopia Christi licet nomen professas.

In the time of *Ezekiel* and *Jeremiah*, the *Egyptians* were ranked with the *Babylonians* and *Tyrrians*, among the Uncircumcised. *Ezekiel* tells the King of *Assyria* from God, that *he shall be laid in the midst of the Uncircumcised, with them that are slain with the Sword; even Pharaoh, and all his Multitude*. The same Prophet speaking to *Pharaoh* himself and his People, threatens them with making them go down into *Hell* with the Uncircumcised, as *Assur, Elam, Meshech, and Tubal* (f). *Jeremiah* (g) expressly distinguishes the *Egyptians* from the *Jews*, by the one being circumcised, and the other not. *I will punish* (saith the Lord) *all the Circumcised with the Uncircumcised. Egypt and Judah, and Edom, and the Children of Moab, and Ammon,— for all these Nations are uncircumcised, and all the House of Israel are uncircumcised in the Heart*. I would not however be thought to assert, that none among the *Egyptians* were circumcised at that time. It is confess'd, that this Practice is of a long standing among their Priests: But it is evident from this Passage of *Jeremiah*, that the People were then reckoned among the Uncircumcised.

To make an end of confuting the Notion of those who will have the *Egyptians* to have been the Authors of Circumcision, and to have practised it from the Beginning, I shall close all with these two Reflections. First, It cannot be conceiv'd, that naturally, and without some extraordinary Reason, it should ever enter into the Heads of a whole Nation to admit of *Circumcision*. The Operation of this Ceremony is too mortifying, and too painful, and, besides, too much out of the way ever to come into the Mind of any single Person, much less of a whole Kingdom. It is easy to conceive, that the first Person that was circumcised, might be induced to it by other-guess Motives than those alledged by the *Egyptians*; as out of a pretended Niceness, or still more ridiculous Superstition, the Imitation of the *Cynocephalis*, a certain deified Animal, that comes, say they, into the World, *ready Circumcised*: These are *Whimsies* that deserve not the least Notice. Now the *Egyptians* bring no better Reasons for their first practising this Ceremony; and therefore we may safely conclude they were not the Inventors of it.

(f) Ezek. xxxii. 19, 21, 22, &c.

(g) Jerem. ix. 25.

Se.

Secondly, if Circumcision had all along been practised among the *Egyptians*, and had been look'd upon by them as a thing necessary, or as a part of their Religion, we should find some Traces of it among the People who came out of *Egypt*, and in those Places where the Religion and Worship of the *Egyptians* were established: but nothing of this is to be seen. The *Canaanites, Phœnicians, Philistines*, and several Nations of *Africa*, are originally of *Egyptian* Extraction; and yet none of these People were circumcised, except the *Phœnicians*, who are said to receive this Custom from *Saturn*, as we shall see immediately. And altho' the *Egyptian* Superstitions were spread over *Syria, Phœnicia, Africa*, the Island of *Cyprus*, and *Greece*, yet not the least Footsteps of Circumcision are to be met with in all these Places. I shall examine presently the Pretensions of the *Colchians*, who are said to be the same with the *Cassim*, descended from the *Mizraims*, or *Egyptians*.

It must then be own'd, that the *Egyptians* had not Circumcision from the Beginning, that they were not the Authors of it; that it was pretty late before they receiv'd it, and that *Abraham* could not take it from them. I shall now consider the Arguments the *Phœnicians* bring, to prove themselves the first Practisers of this Ceremony.

Sanctoniathon, as quoted by *Eusebius* (h), says, that *Saturn*, stiled *Israel* by the *Phœnicians*, having but one Son, call'd *Febud*, by the Nymph *Anobret*, sacrificed him on an Altar erected to his Father *Celum*, or *Heaven*; and after having first receiv'd Circumcision himself, compell'd all his Soldiers to undergo the same. Hence that Custom among the *Phœnicians*, of their Princes sacrificing their Sons when the State was in any imminent Danger; hence also the Practice of Circumcision among the People. But as I place *Sanctoniathon* in the Number of *Fabulous*, or *Forged* Writers, it is lost time to confute this Account of his.

If therefore Circumcision was in use in *Phœnicia*, it must come from *Abraham* and the *Israelites*; but it does not appear, that the Practice of it was ever very common in that Country. The *Phœnicians* never look'd upon it as their Duty; neither did they practise it in the time of *Joshua*, nor, as I

(h) Euseb. Prep. l. 1.

think,

think, in the Reigns of the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*. *Ezekiel* threatens the King of *Tyre* that *he shall die the Death of the Uncircumcised* (i); that is, he shall go down into *Hell* with the other uncircumcised Kings, without any hopes of a better Life. *Herodotus* (k) owns, that the *Phœnicians* dropt the Use of Circumcision upon their trading with the *Greeks*; and we don't find they practised it in any of the Colonies they planted along the Coast of the *Mediterranean*. *Josephus* (l) assures us, that in his Time none but the *Jews* in all *Syria* were circumcised. So that in case the *Phœnicians* ever had this Custom, they did not keep to it long, and receiv'd it without dispute from other hands.

I have elsewhere largely treated of the Original of the *Colchians*; and endeavoured to show, that what *Herodotus* says of their being derived from the *Egyptians*, is very uncertain (m): what he advances concerning their Circumcision, whether he will have it that they had it from the Beginning, or whether they brought it with them from *Egypt*, is built upon no better Foundation: we must therefore search for another Origin of Circumcision among these People, and the *Syrians* beyond the Rivers of *Thermodoon* and *Parthenius*. If I may have leave to propose my Conjectures in so obscure and intricate a Matter, I am apt to think, that the circumcised *Colchians* and *Syrians*, mentioned by *Herodotus*, received this Custom from the *Israelites* banished into these parts; or rather, that they themselves were the very *Israelites* transplanted thither by *Tiglath-Pileser*, or *Salmanezzer*. As they continued the Use of Circumcision, and were come from the Neighbourhood of *Egypt*, having moreover something of the Air and Manners of the *Egyptians*, as a swarthy Complexion, curl'd Hair, a Language unknown to *Colchis*, and worshipping besides a Golden Calf, much like the *Egyptian Apis*; it was very easy to mistake them for People descended immediately from the *Egyptians*. The ancient *Greek* Historians very often fell into the Error of taking the *Jewish* Nation to be originally from *Egypt*; the long sojourning of the *Hebrews* in that Country, rendered this Notion of theirs the more probable.

(i) Ezek. xxviii. 10. See xxxii. 19, 21, &c. (k) Lib. 2. (l) Lib. 1. cont. App.
(m) Gen. x. 14.

After

DIC. I. the Antiquity of Circumcision.

After having traced the Antiquity of Circumcision among the *Gentiles*, it remains now that we examine the Scripture Account of that of the *Hebrews*: and here we find the Original of it clearly reveal'd, and the Possession and Practice of it put out of all Doubt. *Moses* plainly points out the first Institution of it, and we see it was continued without Interruption by the Descendants of *Abraham* from his time to this day. *Moses* (n) informs us, that God, after repeated Tryals of the Faith and Obedience of *Abraham*, declares he will establish a Covenant with him and his Posterity; and then assuring him of all his Promises and Blessings, says to him, *This is my Covenant which ye shall keep between me and you, and thy Seed after thee: every Man-Child among you shall be circumcised. And ye shall circumcise the Flesh of your Foreskin, and it shall be a Token of the Covenant betwixt me and you.*

The *Fathers*, *Commentators*, and the *Holy Scriptures* themselves all agree, that the chief End proposed by God in this Institution, was, that it should be a Mark to distinguish the Race of *Abraham* from the rest of Mankind. Now can it be imagined, that God, in order to separate the Descendants of his Servant from all other People, should make use of a doubtful and common Mark already in use among a neighbouring Nation, with whom the *Hebrews* were, in process of time, so long to sojourn? Was not this the ready way to confound the *Holy* with the *Profane*, the *chosen People* with those that were not so, the Race of *Abraham* with the Subjects of *Pharaoh*? Was not this for God to act directly in opposition to his own Design?

Moses therefore must be thought, in his Account of the Instituting Circumcision, to give us to understand, that he speaks of a thing entirely *New*, never before heard of, or practised by any Person: Accordingly, *Origen* (o) maintains, that *Moses* says *Abraham* was the first that was circumcised in the World; and nothing is more natural, than to understand his Words in that Sense.

After this, can it be questioned that *Abraham* was the undoubted Author of Circumcision? He has an *authentick* Title to it in the Writings of *Moses*, the most antient now ex-

(n) Gen. xvii. 10, 11. (o) Origen. l. 1. c. 10. c. 11.

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A DISSERTATION, &c. Book III.

tant in the World : he has had undeniable Possession of this Privilege for 3,600 Years ; we see solid Reasons for its Institution, both on God's Part who establish'd it, and on *Abraham's* who submitted to it : The *Beginning* and *Continuance* of this Ceremony are equally certain and evident among the *Hebrews* ; no rational Motive can be assigned, that could induce *Abraham* to imitate in this Respect either the *Egyptians* or *Phanicians*, supposing they had known this Practice before him. He always kept at a distance from their Superstitions and Worship, had never any Dealings with them, but what indispensable Necessity compell'd him to ; is it then probable, that he should have from them a Practice like that of Circumcision, which in the Judgment of these People themselves was not necessary, but used only for the greater Neatness and Decency ?

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A Dissertation concerning the Effects of CIRCUMCISION.



HAVING shown in the foregoing Dissertation, that *Abraham* was the undoubted Author of Circumcision, I proceed now to enquire into the End and Design of this Institution; and particularly, whether it blotted out *Original Sin*.

Circumcision was not establish'd by *Moses*. It was practis'd by the command of God, long before the *Law*, by the Patriarch *Abraham* and his Descendants. *This is my Covenant*, (says God to (a) *Abraham*) *which you shall keep between me and you, and thy Seed after thee. Every Man-Child shall be circumcised and it shall be a Token of the Covenant betwixt me, and you. He that is eight days old, shall be Circumcis'd and my Covenant shall be in your Flesh for an everlasting Covenant The uncircumcised Man-Child shall be cut off from his People; he hath broken my Covenant.* The End of Circumcision is express'd here in plain Terms, it was to be the *Sign* of God's Covenant with *Abraham*.

Covenants or Alliances were usually engraven on *Tables* of Marble or Stone: sometimes publick Monuments were erected in Memory of them, or they were transacted before Witnesses, who were to transmit *them* down to Posterity. But here God is pleas'd that the Mark of his *Covenant* should remain for ever, not on Brass or Stone, but on the Body of him with whom the Alliance is made, and on *Those* of his *Descendants*, and even of his very *Bond Servants*, and that no one might be dispens'd with in this Point; he threatens to cut off the uncircumcised Person, as a Violator of his Covenant.

(a) Gen. xvii. 10, 11, 12, 13.

It was Customary among the *Eastern Nations* to *stigmatize* themselves as a Token of their being devoted to some particular Deity. This Usage perhaps was in Practice before the time of *Abraham*; or, it may be, was done only in Imitation of him: most certain it is, their Design and Intent in so doing, was the same with his; namely, as a sure and indelible Mark of their being dedicated to the Service of some particular God. Hence they who were consecrated to *Bacchus*, were distinguish'd by an *Ivy-Leaf* (b); and hence the *Votaries* of the *Syrian Goddesses* were all burnt, some on the Wrists, others in the Neck (c). There are some People, says *Philo* (d), so mad as to prevent their ever returning to God by Repentance, who give themselves up to the worship of *Idols* with such Greediness, as to imprint the Marks of their Servitude and Devotion, not on Paper, as Slaves do to their Masters, but on their own Bodies; and that with hot Irons, that the Impressions may endure for ever, it being beyond the Power of Time to efface such Marks.

Circumcision then was a permanent Sign of the Adherence the Race of *Abraham* was to have to the Worship of the Lord: It was the *Badge* of the *peculiar* and *chosen* People of God, the *Mark* to distinguish them from the rest of the World (e). God had promis'd to multiply the Seed of *Abraham* as the Stars of Heaven and as the Sand of the Sea; and to make it a Blessing to all Nations. It was necessary therefore that this *Seed* should be distinguished by some visible Mark, to the end the Completion of God's Promise might be evident to all. The *Messiah* was to spring from his Race, and therefore they were not to be confounded with other People, lest the Origin of the common Saviour of Mankind should by that means be rendered doubtful and uncertain (f).

Upon these Accounts, the *Hebrews* gloried chiefly in their Circumcision. The name of *Uncircumcised* was the most opprobrious Term could be used to them. Not to bear about them this Mark of their *Covenant* with God, was the greatest Reproach imaginable. They mentioned uncircumcis'd Na-

(b) 3 Macc. iii. & 2 Macc. vi. 7.

(c) Lucian de Dea Syrâ.
(d) Philo de Monar. p. 819.
(e) Genitalia circumcidere instituere, ut diversitate nescantur. Tacit. l. 5. sub init.
(f) Ne soboles dilecti Abrahami ceteris nationibus misceretur, & paulatim familia ejus fieret incerta, gregem Israeliticum quodam Circumcisionis Cauterio annotavit. Hieron. in Galat. iii.

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tions with Horror; and if the *Heathens* upbraided the *Jews* with their Circumcision, the *Jews* knew how to be even with them, by keeping at a distance from, and heartily despising the *Heathens*. They refused to have any Dealings with them, would not intermarry with them, or so much as eat and drink with them; hardly would they vouchsafe to salute them, or use those Civilities towards them, common Humanity requires at the hands of every Person (g). The *Heathens* perhaps have carried this Point a little too far. They imputed to Hatred and Pride what was owing to their strict Observance of an external Purity, and their fear of polluting themselves by conversing with *Strangers*. It is false, for instance, that they would not direct to a Fountain, or show the way to any but their own Countrymen (h).

*Non monstrare vias, eadem nisi sacra colenti:
Quæstum ad fontem solos deducere vestros.*

Besides this Use of Circumcision, viz. to distinguish the *Jews* from other People; there are other Moral Effects attributed to it: for Example, it served to put them in mind that they were the Children of a Father, who by the Excellency of his Faith, had merited the Honour of becoming the Head and Fountain of the *chosen Seed*, the Father of the *Messiah*, and a Pattern to all Believers; it served to excite them to imitate the Faith of that great Man, and to believe in the Promised *Messiah* (i). *Moses* himself had intimated to them, that the external Circumcision of the *Flesh* was a Symbol of that of the *Heart* (k). The Lord thy God will circumcise thy Heart, and the Heart of thy Seed to love the Lord thy God. The Prophets speak the same Language, *All these Nations are uncircumcised, and all the House of Israel are uncircumcised in the Heart*, says *Jeremiah* (l). Circumcision, according to *Philo* (m), argued the Retrenching all sensual Enjoyments which corrupt the Mind, especially all impure and carnal Pleasures, and all vain and impious Opinions which pollute the Soul.

(g) Apud ipsos fides obsequata, Misericordia in promptu, sed adversus omnes alias hostile odium; separati epulis, discreti cubilibus. Tacit. l. 5.
(h) Juvenal Sat. xiv. v. 104.
(i) Ambrosiast. in Rom 4. Ut æmuli essent paternæ fidei & crederent in Jesum, qui promissus est Abrahamo.
(k) Deut. xxx. 6. Levit. xxvi. 41.
(l) Jerem. ix. 26.
(m) Philo, de Circumcis. Et de Migrat. Abraham.

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As the *Baptism* of *Jesus Christ* imprints upon us an indelible *Character*, whereby we become the *Children* of God, purifies us from our sinful Pollutions, and makes us *New Creatures* by admitting us into the *Gospel Covenant*; so likewise Circumcision imprinted on the Body a lasting Mark of the Person's Attachment to the Service of God. It distinguished him from the *Profane*, and consecrated him in a particular manner to the Lord. Circumcision was the *Type*, or *Shadow*, and Baptism the *Substance*. The former initiated the *Jew* into the Religion of the Lord, and gave him a Right to the Privileges of the *Chosen People*. The circumcised Person was under an Obligation of observing the whole Law (*n*). Foreigners could have no share in the Promises of the Lord, nor openly profess his Religion before they had renounced their Idolatrous Superstitions, and taken upon them the *Seal* of Circumcision (*o*). Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved, was the saying of the *Jews* to the *First Christians*.

It has been a Custom of some Standing among the *Jews* upon their admitting a *Stranger* as a *Proselyte of Righteousness* to join to Circumcision, Baptism, or the dipping the Body quite under Water. There are, say they (*p*), three things absolutely necessary in order to be partaker of the Covenant of *Israel*, Circumcision, Baptism, and Sacrificing to the Lord. However we find nothing of this expressly commanded in the Law. It is built only upon a Tradition, tho' a very antient one among them. In this case it is not sufficient to be sprinkled with Water, or for some Part of the Body to be dipt; if the least Part be out of the Water, the Baptism is reckoned void (*q*). It was never repeated, not even by the Descendants of those who had once been admitted, much less by him who having apostatiz'd, returned again to *Judaism*.

The Effects that followed Circumcision and Baptism, according to the *Rabbins*, were, (1.) That these *Proselytes*, of what Nation or Quality soever before, were reckoned as true *Jews*. Hence that Distinction between *Hebrews* born of *Hebrew* Parents, and simply *Hebrews*. Accordingly, St. Paul styles himself an *Hebrew of the Hebrews* (*r*) of the Tribe of

(*n*) Gal. v. 1.
c. 4. Maim. Halac. Ifuri-Bia. c. 13, &c.
(*o*) Phil. iii. 5.

(*o*) Acts xv. 1.

(*p*) Gemar. Babil. ad Tit. Jabimoth.
(*q*) Maim. Halac. Ifuri-Bia. c. 13.

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Benjamin, to distinguish himself from the *Proselytes*, who were so only by a sort of Adoption, and who indeed might call themselves *Jews*, but not of *Jewish* Extraction. (2.) By these Ceremonies they had, as it were, a *New Birth*, were look'd upon as quite other Men, and as new-born Infants, and, as if their very Nature had been changed, they who were related to the *Proselyte* before his Conversion, were no longer so afterwards. All Ties of Blood vanish'd; and altho' his Father, Mother, Brothers, and Children embraced *Judaism* at the same time with him, they were no longer to be considered by him as such (*s*). He was like a Man just fallen from the Clouds. His very Heirs had no Right or Title to his Possessions; nay, there are some who carry this Point so far, as to assert that the *Proselyte* had a *New Soul* given him, the *Old* one quitting him upon this occasion (*t*).

These *Rabbinical* Notions would not deserve the least Notice, were it not that the Scriptures in speaking of the *Christian* Baptism, and of our *Spiritual* and *New-Birth* at our admission into the *Gospel-Covenant*, plainly allude to them; and it may be, the *Hebrews* borrowed in some part what they say from the Expressions in the *New Testament*. We have a remarkable Instance of this in our Saviour's Discourse with *Nicodemus* (*u*): Except a Man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God. Nicodemus saith unto him, how can a Man be BORN when he is old? Jesus answered, Except a Man be BORN of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.—Art thou a Master in *Israel*, and knowest not these things? So St. Paul to the *Corinthians* (*w*): If any Man be in *Christ*, he is a new Creature. Again (*x*), Put on the NEW-MAN, which after God is created in Righteousness and true Holiness. (*y*) For as many of you as have been baptized into *Christ*, have put on *Christ*. (*z*) *Christ* died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them, and rose again. Wherefore henceforth we know no Man after the Flesh.

All these Expressions so very like those the *Jews* make use of to denote the pretended Effects of their Circumcision and Bap-

(*s*) Gemar. Babil. ad Tit. Jabim. c. 2.

(*t*) See Seiden de Jure Nat. & Gent. p. 161. (*u*) Joh. iii. 3, 4. (*w*) 2 Cor. v. 17.

(*v*) Eph. iv. 24.

(*y*) Gal. iii. 27.

(*z*) 2 Cor. v. 15, 16.

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tism of *Proselytes*, are actually verified only in *newly-baptiz'd* Christians, who are really *born again*, and become *New Creatures*, who put off the *Old Man*, and put on *Christ*. The *Jewish* Circumcision and Baptism, were *Types* of the Christian Baptism, they were *initiating Sacraments*, the former of the *Old*, and the latter of the *New Covenant*; by Circumcision a Person was incorporated into the *People* of the Lord, by Baptism we are made the *Children* of God. Circumcision, according to the *Antients* (a), set the *Hebrews* above the Power of Evil Spirits; Baptism, according to St. *Basil*, has the same Effect with regard to *Christians* (b). The Angel who sought to slay *Moses*, or *Eliezer*, at his return from *Midian*, was diverted from his Purpose upon *Ziporah's* circumcising her Son (c). The Devil dares not attack those that are baptiz'd, unless encouraged thereto by their careless and wicked Lives. Baptism duly administered is not to be repeated, neither is Circumcision among the *Jews*, unless the Person has been circumcised elsewhere, as among the *Samaritans*, *Arabians*, *Egyptians*, or *Ethiopians*. In this Case, the *Hebrews* allowing no Circumcision but their own to be *valid*, cut off what remains of the *Foreskin*, or are satisfied with drawing a drop of Blood from that Part (d). Thus the *Church* rebaptizes those who were not baptized in the Name of the Holy Trinity, or upon default of some *essential* Ceremony.

The *Jews* are generally very extravagant in their Praises of Circumcision; at the time of circumcising a *Proselyte*, they pray in this manner (e): *Blessed be thou, O Lord, King of the Universe, who has sanctified us by thy Precepts, and has commanded us to circumcise Proselytes, and draw from them the Blood of the Covenant; for without the Blood of the Covenant, Heaven and Earth would not have been established, according to these Words* (f): *Without my Covenant I would not have appointed the Laws of Heaven and Earth, of Day and Night*. Here you see they attribute the Creation and Preservation of the World to the Observance of this Ceremony. Others assert, that their Forefathers in *Egypt* were preserved from the Sword of

(a) Orig. l. 5. con. Cels. & Chald. Par. in Cant. iii. 8, 9. (b) Basil. Exh. ad. Bapt. (c) Ex. iv. 24. (d) Gemar. Babyl. ad Tit. Jabim. c. 4. Maimon. &c. (e) See Maimon. Halac. Milla. (f) Alluding to Jerem. xxxiii. 25.

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the *Destroying Angel*, not only by virtue of the Blood of the *Pascal Lamb*, offered up the Evening before, but also by the Blood of the Circumcision of all the *Hebrew Children*, who were, say they, circumcised the same Evening, and whose Blood was mingled with *that* of the Lamb. But had the *Israelites* been circumcised that Evening, how was it possible for them to set out the same Night?

They believe Circumcision was enjoined on pain of Death, and indeed God says expressly, that *the uncircumcised Man-Child shall be cut off from his People* (g). They look'd upon it also as the Source or Fountain of Life, which is the reason of their saying whilst it is administering, *Good, good, good, live in thy Blood* (h): And *Maimonides* is of Opinion, that at the Hour of Death God annihilates the Souls of the *uncircumcised*, and that they die like the Beasts. There are some *Jews* (i), who fancy they behold in the Blood that flows from Circumcision, the Necessity of the *Satisfaction*, and int he cutting off the *Foreskin*, the entire Abolition of Sin by *Death*. Others inform us, that *Abraham* stands at the Gate of *Hell*, and lets all the *uncircumcised* enter, but sends those of his own Nation to Heaven, because Circumcision opens the Gate of *Paradise*, and renders Souls well-pleasing to God.

Before St. *Austin*, the *Fathers* considered Circumcision only as a Mark to distinguish the *Jews* from those who were not in *Covenant* with the Lord; but St. *Austin*, with the greatest part of the *Latin Fathers* and the *Divines* who have embraced his Notions, have very much magnified the Effects of this Ceremony: they affirm that it took away *Original Sin*, and confer'd *Justifying* or *Saving Grace*. The Reasons they give for their Opinion, are these:

St. *Paul* speaking of *Abraham*, says (k), that the Father of the *Faithful* receiv'd the Sign of Circumcision as a Seal of the *Righteousness of the Faith*, which he had yet being *uncircumcised*. He received then Circumcision as a Sign of God's *Covenant* with him, and as the Seal of his *Righteousness*: not that he received *Righteousness* by this Ceremony, That he had before by means of his Faith; but his Circumcision was the

(g) Gen. xvii. 14. (h) Ezek. xvi. 6. (i) See Mayum Synag. Jud. l. 16. Leon. de Mod. Theol. Jud. c. 16. (k) Rom. iv. 11.

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outward Sign of that inward Righteousness they received who were uncircumcised; and that by virtue of their Faith in a Mediator, which they made Profession of at the time of their being circumcised (l). St. Austin discovers moreover in the Words of the Institution of Circumcision, a Proof of its taking away Original Sin (m). *The uncircumcised Man-Child whose Flesh of his Foreskin is not circumcised the Eighth Day, that Soul shall be cut off from his People, he hath broken my Covenant.* These Words *the eighth Day*, are not read in the Hebrew, but are found in the Samaritan and Septuagint Copies. It is well known the Jews were circumcised the eighth Day in pursuance to the express Command of God (n).

Now how can an uncircumcised Infant of eight Days old, who was incapable of circumcising himself, or of knowing the Will of God in that Matter, deserve to be cut off, unless it were because of his breaking the Covenant God made with Adam, whose Sin and Punishment descend to all his Posterity, of what Age soever (o)? Isaac, says he elsewhere (p), received Circumcision on the eighth Day, as a Seal of the Righteousness of the Faith that was then communicated to him; and as he afterwards in the Course of his Life imitated the Faith of his Father Abraham, his Righteousness increas'd more and more. Circumcision, says he in another Place (q), was given to the Hebrews, as Baptism was to the Christians, for the blotting out Original Sin (r): and as Children received Circumcision, who could be guilty of none but Original Sin, it follows that that Sin alone in them was taken away by it. He inculcates this Doctrine in twenty Places in his Writings.

St. Gregory the Great

St. Gregory the Great (s), is no less express in this Matter. He admits of three ways, before the coming of Christ, of obtaining justifying Grace, which Christians received at their Baptism. (1.) By the Faith of the Parents, which was sufficient to procure Pardon for Original Sin. (2.) By the Sacrifices they offered for themselves. (3.) By the Mystery of Circumcision in the Descendants of Abraham. Venerable Bede (t), St. Bernard, St. Fulgentius, and St. Prosper, all agree in the same

(l) Aug. l. 2. de Nuptijs & Concup. c. 11.

(m) Gen. xvii. 12.

con. Don. c. 24.

Pelag. l. 6. c. 7.

(o) Aug. l. 16. de Civit. c. 17.

(p) Aug. l. 2. con. Ep. Petil. c. 72.

(q) Gre. l. 4. Moral. in Job, c. 3.

(r) Gen. xvii. 14.

(s) Aug. l. 4. de Bap.

(t) Aug. con. Jul.

(u) Bede in Luc. II.

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Doctrine, which is espoused by a very great Number of Divines (u).

However they observe a great Difference between the Effects of Circumcision, and those of Baptism. (1.) Baptism confers Justifying Grace by its own Virtue, which is deriv'd to it from the Merit of our Saviour's Passion: Circumcision confer'd Grace, not by its own Worth, but thro' Faith in Christ's Death (w), of which it was the Sign or Symbol; for the uncircumcised Person testified by that Ceremony, as far as lay in his Power, his Faith in a Messiah to come; and he that perform'd the Operation, or that presented the Person on whom it was to be perform'd, made likewise both for himself and the Child a Profession of his Faith, at least implicitly, in the expected Redeemer. (2.) Baptism imprints on the Soul a spiritual, lasting, and indelible Character: Circumcision imprints only on the Body a Mark of that Covenant, wherein the circumcised Person is admitted, and by which he partakes of the Rights of the Children of Abraham. (3.) The Grace we receive by Baptism, is doubtless more abundant than that confer'd by Circumcision; for it is the great Privilege of the Sacraments of the New Testament, to produce their Effects more effectually and more plentifully than Those of the Old (x). So that when St. Austin says, as he does in many Places, that Circumcision was to the Hebrews in lieu of Baptism; he is to be understood only with regard to the chief and principal Effect of Baptism, viz. the blotting out Original Sin, and not with respect to the Manner in which this was done.

But this Notion of Circumcision's taking away Original Sin, St. Austin's labours under great Difficulties. The Texts alledged by St. Austin in defence of his Opinion, are understood otherwise by the Antient Fathers, and it must be confess'd that they are expressed in ambiguous Terms. St. Austin maintains that *to be cut off from his People*, means *to be condemn'd to Hell*, and that by the Covenant in these Words, *He hath broken my Covenant*, must be meant the Covenant which God made with our first Parents, and which we have All violated in the Person of Adam. But many learned Commentators assert, that *to be cut*

(u) See Perer. in Gen. xvii. Hugo de S. Vi&. Pet. Lomb. & Scholasticos passim.

(w) D. Thom. 3 parte qu. 70. art. 4.

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off from his People, means no more than to be punish'd with Death, or to be taken off suddenly (y), or to be separated from the Body of the *Israelites* and deprived of the Privileges annexed to God's Covenant with *Abraham*.

The Learned are divided also about the Person who was thus to be cut off; some affirm, that it was not the Child, since he could know nothing of this Law, nor was he in a Capacity of circumcising himself; and that in case the Law did relate to him, it could not take place till he was come to the use of his Reason, and had neglected or refused to be circumcised (z). Others maintain, that the Penalty of *being cut off* (a), was to be inflicted on those who were obliged by Law or Custom to see that Infants were circumcised, as Fathers and Mothers; or where these were wanting, the next of Kin. *St. Austin* was the first that understood this *Cutting off* of the Punishment of *Hell*, or that imagin'd Children who were not circumcised the eighth Day, were sent thither. The *Hebrews* had all along the Liberty of protracting this Ceremony beyond the eighth Day, upon account of Health, Necessity, or Conveniency. There is no Proof of the *antient Hebrews*, or even of the *modern ones*, attributing to Circumcision the Power of remitting *Original Sin*. The Words *on the eighth Day*, on which *St. Austin* builds so much, are neither in the *Hebrew*, nor in the *Vulgate*; and therefore all his Reasonings and Conclusions from thence fall of course to the ground.

Add to this, that the Words, *He has broken my Covenant*, which *St. Austins* applies to the Covenant the Lord made with *Adam* at the Creation, refer much more naturally to the Covenant God actually made with *Abraham*, of which Circumcision was the Sign and Seal, than to *that* with *Adam*, which had nothing at all to do in this Place. It is as if the Lord had said to *Abraham*, This Day I make a Covenant with thee, and do promise to be thy God and Protector, and to give thee the Land of *Canaan* for thy Inheritance, upon Condition thou observe on thy Part what I am now going to enjoin thee, and that is the Circumcising all thy Male-Children. This Circumcision shall

(y) Ita Jarchi & Abenez. & Rab. alij. (z) See Lyr. & Carth. ad Gen. xvii. & alios plures. (a) Perer. in Gen. xvii. qu. 6. Lyran. Carthus. alij ut Diad. Tarisent. Procop. in Gen.

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be the Pledge, Seal, and Sign of my Covenant with thee; and whosoever shall not submit to this Ceremony, shall be cut off from thy Race, shall be separated from thy Family, shall have no share in my Promises, but shall be look'd upon by me as the Breaker of my Covenant. You need only read the whole Passage in *Genesis* (b), to see that this is the true Sense of the Words.

In fine, it is evident, that the Punishment as express'd in the *Hebrew* and *Vulgate*, *The Soul that is not circumcised shall be cut off from his People, he hath broken my Covenant*; cannot relate to Infants, but to grown Persons, who shall have refused to receive Circumcision themselves, or to give it them that are under their Care. We can by no means impute to a Child of eight Days old, the Guilt of having deserv'd to be cut off for not being Circumcised, or of having broken a Covenant which it was not possible for him to have any Knowledge of. This is Cardinal *Bellarmin's* Reasoning on this Passage, which seems to me to be very judicious and conclusive (c).

As for the other Passage of *St. Paul* (d), *Abraham receiv'd the Sign of Circumcision, a Seal of the Righteousness of the Faith, which he had, as yet being uncircumcised*. This is a Proof of any thing sooner than the Efficacy of Circumcision to the Remission of Sin. (1.) The Apostle is here speaking only of the Circumcision of *Abraham* in particular, to which that Virtue and Efficacy can't be attributed without contradicting *St. Paul* himself; who expressly tells us, that *Abraham* was justified before he was circumcis'd, and that Circumcision was to him not the Cause of his Justification, but the Seal or Sign of his Righteousness. (2.) But supposing these Words could be applied to the *Jews* in general, it would not at all follow, that Circumcision produc'd in them *justifying Grace*, or that it blotted out *Original Sin*. *St. Paul's* Expressions infer no such thing, and the ablest Commentators do not understand them in that Sense. *Origen* believes that Circumcision was as a Seal that kept close or seal'd up the *Righteousness of Faith*, which was to open or manifest itself at the coming of the *Messiah*. *Theophylact* says, that as a Seal gives to *Deeds* and *Contracts* their Authority, so the Circumcision of *Abraham* was as

(b) Gen. xvii. (c) Bellar. l. 2. de Sac. in Gen. c. 17.

(d) Rom. iv. 11.

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a Seal made use of by God to authorize the Righteousness of the Patriarch, and to show the World the value he put upon it. St. Chrysostom, Theodore, Theophylact, Oecumenius, commenting upon this Place, expressly observe that Abraham's Circumcision was only a Sign of the Righteousness he had before by Faith. They don't say the least Word that intimates its conferring Grace or Righteousness. The Latin Fathers before St. Austin, speak the same thing, and both Greeks and Latins, when they mention Circumcision, affirm it to be nothing more than a Mark to distinguish the Jews from other People, and a Type of the Sacrament of Baptism; without attributing to it any Supernatural Virtue of infusing Sanctification or Purification. And this I shall make appear from their own Words.

Justin Martyr.

St. Justin Martyr (e), says, that Abraham was justified by Faith in God, before he was Circumcis'd, and that Circumcision did not make him Righteous, but was a Sign of his being so already. He adds, if Circumcision confer'd Righteousness, Women being incapable of practising this Ceremony, would be excluded from the Benefit of it: but it is certain, our Creator has placed Righteousness and Virtue in the Reach of Women as well as of Men. It follows therefore, that Circumcision was only the Sign, and not the Cause of Righteousness in them that receiv'd it, and that nothing but Holiness and Virtue can render us agreeable to God.

Irenaeus.

St. Irenaeus tells us (f), Circumcision was given to the Seed of Abraham, not as a means to produce Righteousness, but as a Sign to distinguish the Israelites from other People. This the Scriptures assure us of (g), Circumcision shall be a Token of the Covenant between me and you. Ezekiel says the same of the Sabbath (h); I gave them my Sabbaths, to be a Sign between me and them. Circumcision and the Sabbath then were Signs only, but vain and useless Signs: they had each some farther and hidden Meaning however not intended by God. The Circumcision of the Flesh denoted That of the Heart, according to St. Paul (i): You are circumcised with the Circumcision made without Hands. And Moses (k): Circumcise therefore the Foreskin of your Heart. In a word, what proves that

(e) Justin. Dialog. cum Tryph. p. 241 & 366.

(f) Iren. l. 4. c. 3.

(g) Gen. xvii. 11.

(h) Ezek. xx. 12.

(i) Col. ii. 11.

(k) Deut. x. 16.

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this Ceremony was given to the Jews purely as a Sign, is This, that Abraham, before he was circumcised, was well-pleasing to God, his Faith was imputed to him for Righteousness, and he was call'd the Friend of God. Thus reasons Irenaeus, and he advances nothing but what he proves from Scriptures *.

St. Johannes Damascenus (l), who is look'd upon as the Mouth of the Greek Church, and as the faithful Follower of the Fathers before him, says, that Abraham receiv'd the Promises and Blessings of God before Circumcision, which was only a Mark to distinguish him, his Children, and his Family, from the Idolatrous Nations around him; and this is plain from the Hebrew Infants not being circumcised during the 40 Years sojourning in the Wilderness, because they were then separated from all Mankind. But as soon as ever they passed over Jordan, Joshua was commanded to circumcise them; and this is what is call'd Circumcising a second time (m). He adds, that Circumcision was a Type of Baptism, as it cut off from the Flesh what was superfluous, and separated the Jew from the Gentile, just as Baptism cleanses us from Sin, and distinguishes us from Unbelievers.

St. Jerom, among the Latin Fathers, reasons exactly in the same manner with Damascenus (n). And in fine, Pererius (o) and Estius (p) agree, that before St. Austin, hardly can any one Writer be met with that attributes to Circumcision the blotting out Original Sin. It is true indeed, St. Gregory Nazianzen (q) says, as the Hebrew Infants were circumcised on the eighth Day, so the Children of Christians may be baptiz'd when in Danger; where he seems to draw a Parallel between the Effects of Baptism and Circumcision. But this Inference is too far fetch'd, and the Place too obscure to be oppos'd to those express Passages from the Antients above-mentioned.

If we had only the bare Authority of the Greek Fathers, that of St. Austin and his numerous Followers in the Latin Church might be put in the Scale against them: but they back what

* I omit what our Author says of Tertullian, con. Jud. Of St. Chrysostom, in Gen. Hom. 39. Of St. Epiphanius, Hæres. 30. and Hilary the Deacon, who all reason in the same manner as Justin and Irenaeus. St. Chrysostom observes, that Children were circumcised on the eighth day, because they are not (as he thought) so sensible of Pain at that Age.

(l) Damasc. de Fide Orthod. l. 4. c. 25.

(m) Josh. v. 1, 2, 3, &c.

(n) Hieron. l. 2. in Epist. ad Gal.

(o) Perer. in Rom. iv.

(p) Est. in Rom. xiv. 11.

(q) Orat. in Sanct. Baptif.

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they say with Reasons which to me seem unanswerable. If, say they, Circumcision blotted out *Original Sin*, God would not have sufficiently provided for the Salvation of Women, who could not receive this *Sacrament*. God in his Wisdom would certainly have made the *Remedy* he design'd for the Cure of an *Evil*, common to all both Men and Women, practicable by both Sexes. In the Place where Circumcision is enjoin'd, there is nothing so much as intimated of this important Effect; the *Jews* knew nothing of the matter; if this Ceremony had been instituted to this End, would *Moses* have suffered the *Hebrews* to let their Children go uncircumcised for 40 Years together? How many Souls, in the very Sight of the Law-giver, must have perished during that time for want of this *Sacrament*, if it be true that *Original Sin* could not be pardoned without it?

Jewish Writers never attributed this Effect to Circumcision; neither *Josephus*, nor *Philo* mention it. *Philo*, who so often speaks of Circumcision, and so much magnifies its Effects, says not one word of this. The *Rabbins* (r) place dead Infants in a State of Happiness, without distinguishing those who were, from those who were not circumcised; nay, they suppose even the Infants that die in the Womb to be in the same happy Condition. Now from whom can we better learn the Effects of Circumcision, than from the *Jews*, who have all along to this very day practis'd this Ceremony with the utmost exactness? Can we imagine that they did this without knowing its Effects, or that their Forefathers should never discover to them this material one, which alone had Relation to their eternal State?

At the time of instituting Circumcision, God says nothing more than that it was to be the *Token* or *Sign* of his Covenant with *Abraham*; to which *St. Paul* alluding, calls it the *Seal* of the Righteousness *Abraham* had before he was circumcised (s). Elsewhere he says (t), that *Circumcision profiteth if thou keep the Law*, but otherwise, *thy Circumcision is made Uncircumcision*. Now if it blotted out *Original Sin*, it was certainly of great Use tho' one broke the Law. Moreover if Circumcision rendered Men *Righteous* and *Innocent*, it stood

(r) Menas. Ben-Israel, l. 2. de Refur. c. 12. & Talmud. tract. Sanh. c. 11. & Gemar. Keruboth, c. 13. (s) Rom. iv. 11. (t) Rom. ii. 25.

Circum-

upon the same Foot with the *Gospel-Sacraments*, and was not inferior to Baptism. Now the *Council of Florence* and *Trent* teach us, that the *Sacraments* of the *Gospel* excel those of the *Law*, inasmuch as these last were only *Types* of that *Grace* which the first by their own Virtue actually confer (y) not *ex opere operantis*, but *ex opere operato*, as the Schoolmen express it.

To conclude, tho' the Schoolmen and Commentators, for the most part, have embraced the Notion of *St. Austin* and *St. Gregory the Great*, who hold that Circumcision did remit *Original Sin*; however there are several who have chosen to follow the antient *Greek* and *Latin Fathers*, in believing it to be a mere *Sign* only, without any Efficacy at all towards the Pardon of this Sin. *Cardinal Bellarmin* has with great Strength of Reason prov'd this Opinion in his Second Book concerning the *Sacraments in General* (z): *Sasbout* on *Romans* iv. *Stapleton* (r), *Sylvius* (b), *St. Thomas* (c), and several of his Commentators, assert that Circumcision availed not to the Remission of *Original Sin*, unless by Accident, and by the means of the Faith and good Dispositions of the Person circumcised; and this seems to be the most rational Opinion in this Matter.

(y) Con. Flor. in Decr. Eugen. ad Armenos, & Trid. Sess. 7. Can. 2. 6.

(z) Bellarm. l. 2. de Sacr. in gen. c. 15, 16, 37. (a) Stapl. Antidor. Apost. con. Hæret. in Ep. ad Rom. iv. (b) Sylvius in D. Thom. (c) D. Thom. in Rom. iv.



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A



A DISSERTATION concerning the Civil Government of the JEWS, wherein the Antiquity and Origin of the Jewish Sanhedrim are fully examined.



THE Hebrews had properly no settled Form of Government, before the Promulgation of the Law at Mount Sinai. In vain do we look for a regular *Polity*, or *Jewish* Magistrates with full Authority in Egypt; the *Elders* mentioned in *Exodus* (a), and the *Officers* set over their Brethren (b), had only a *free* and *voluntary* Jurisdiction, without any *coercive* Power. *Moses* was the first *absolute* and *supreme* Judge over the whole *Jewish* Nation. He alone sustained the whole Weight of the publick Affairs, till the arrival of his Father-in-law *Jethro*, at the Camp at Mount Sinai. This wise old Man seeing *Moses* busied all the day in deciding the Differences among the People, took the freedom to tell him, he was in the wrong, and must at length sink under so great a Burthen; and therefore his best way would be to divide it, by chusing *able* Men to assist him in the Administration of Affairs. Accordingly *Moses* set over the People, Rulers of *Thousands*, Rulers of *Hundreds*, Rulers of *Fifties*, and Rulers

(a) III. 16.

(b) Exod. 5. 14.

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of *Tens*, who were to judge all *small* Matters; but *difficult* and *important* Causes were to be brought to him as the Judge inspir'd by God, and invested with the supreme Authority (c).

This Regulation was of no long Continuance; for *Jethro* coming to the Camp a little before the Departure of the *Israelites* for *Kadesh-Barnea*, soon after (i. e. at *Kibroth Hattaavah* where they arrived in three Days from *Sinai*) God establish'd a Body of 72 Men to assist *Moses* in the Government of the People (d). Hence (say some) the Original of the famous *Sanhedrim*, of which I shall largely treat hereafter. Thus we have a *Senate* of 72 *Elders*, with *Moses* at their Head, all endowed with the *Spirit of Prophecy*, to judge the *Israelites*. This Institution was not at all prejudicial to what had before been done by the Advice of *Jethro*; but perhaps the Jurisdiction of the first was limited then to *Civil* and *Military* Affairs, and all common Cases were heard before the 72 Judges, and those of greater Moment before *Moses*; unless we suppose with the *Rabbins*, that the 72 *Elders* were themselves in the number of those that were already establish'd by *Jethro's* Advice: in which Opinion I see no manner of Inconvenience.

This Institution lasted all the while they journey'd in the *Wilderness*, (i. e.) about 39 Years. The Exercise of this Jurisdiction was not only easy, but in some sort necessary, at a time when the People living all together, made, properly speaking, but one *moving* City. They assembled themselves frequently, and without any Trouble; and their several Interests not often clashing, as it happens where there are large Possessions of Goods and Lands, Law-Suits were not very common, and consequently that number of *Judges* was sufficient for the whole Nation.

But *Moses* foreseeing, that in the *Land of Promise*, this Method of Administring Justice could not take place, ordered that there should be Magistrates in every City (e), to decide the Differences among the People: and that in a matter of great Consequence, or hard to be determined, they should go to the Place the Lord should chuse, and lay it before the Priests, and before the Judge that should be in those Days, to whose Determination they were to submit, on pain of Death (f). He else-

(c) Exod. xviii. 25, 26.

(f) Deut. xvii. 8, 9.

(d) Numb. xi. 16.

(e) Deut. xvi. 18.

where orders (g), that if a Murder be committed in the Land, and it is unknown by whom it was done, the Priests are to come, by whose Word every Controversy and every Stroke are to be tried, and together with the Elders of the next City, shall expiate the Crime, and turn away the Anger of the Lord from his People. The Authority of the Priests in deciding Controversies is confirm'd also in another Place (h). If a false Witness testify against any Man that which is wrong, then both the Men—shall stand before the Priests and the Judges.—Onkelos the Paraphrast, whose Opinion is of great weight against the Notions of the Rabbins, explains these Words in Deuteronomy (i), who said unto his Father and to his Mother, I know you not, of the Priests, who in administering Justice, make Truth and Equity their only Rule, without any Regard to Blood. Moses himself confirms this Interpretation in the following Verse, where he says, They (the Priests) shall teach Jacob thy Judgments, and Israel thy Law. The Prophet Ezekiel speaks after the same manner (k): In Controversy they shall stand in Judgment and shall judge it according to my Judgments; and shall keep my Laws and my Statutes in all mine Assemblies. The Samaritans in their Letter to Scaliger, own the supreme Authority of their High-Priest. All Causes from all Parts are brought before his Tribunal; he judges the People, and passes Sentence upon even their very Thoughts. Every thing is decided as he directs. Happy the Man who obeys his Voice, and woe be to him who rises up against him. This is a true Representation of the State of the Hebrews, whilst they were in Peace, and remained obedient to the Laws of the Lord.

Josephus understood Moses's Words in the same Sense: he says (l), that Law-Giver ordered there should be in every City seven Judges accompanied with two Levites, to administer Justice to the People. If any difficult Case should arise, they were to bring it to the Place the Lord should chuse, to be decided by the High-Priest, by the Prophet, or by the Senate. The King himself was to do nothing without the Advice of the High-Priest and Senate. And in his Book against Apion, speaking of the Hebrew Polity, he has these Words (m): "Can

(g) Deut. xxi. 5.

(h) Deut. xix. 16, 17.

(i) xxxiii. 9, 10. Vulg.

(k) xlii. 24.

(l) Lib. x. Antiq. cult.

(m) Lib. 2. con. Ap. c. 6.

"any

"any Government be more Excellent, Holy, and Just, than that whereof the supreme Monarch of the Universe is the Author? As to the Priests, they are qualified in common by God for several special Services, and the High-Priest in an Order of Superiority over all the rest. To them is committed the Care of Religion and God's Holy Worship. They serve also as Judges in Controversies between Man and Man, with a Power to punish the Guilty. Now what Form of Government can be more perfect than this? The Hebrew Republick, in the Opinion of the same Author (n), was not model'd according to the Rules either of Monarchical or Popular Governments, but had God himself for its Head, and so might be stiled a Theocracy, or Divine Government. The truth is, the Priests and Judges acted as the Delegates of the Lord; they exercised his Authority, and were seated, as it were, on his Tribunal, in the Presence of his Ark, and in the Place he had chosen. All Controversies were decided by his Laws, generally the Persons in Authority were inspir'd with his Spirit, and had always the Urim and Thummim, by Means of which the High-Priest plainly discover'd the Will of the Lord in all important Affairs. It was, says Josephus (o), more particularly the Business of the High-Priest to see that the Laws were observ'd, to decide Controversies, to punish the Condemn'd, and whoever submitted not to his Authority, was to be put to death as a Rebel against God himself.

Such was the Government of the Hebrews, when regulated by the Laws of Moses. If we don't find it was carried on in this manner throughout the Jewish History, it was because they had not a Succession of just Judges and pious Princes; or because the People were never for any time together stedfast to their Religion, nor ever enjoy'd a lasting and settled Peace in the Land. How was it possible, for Instance, to keep the Statutes and Ordinances prescribed by their Law-Giver, in the midst of the Persecutions and Servitudes that succeeded one another under their Judges? Can we expect a punctual Obedience to the Laws, while the whole Nation is given up to Wickedness and Idolatry; it would be therefore a difficult matter to make appear that the Jews were perfectly uniform as to the Point of

(n) Id. eodem lib.

(o) Idem. ibid.

A DISSERTATION on the Book III.

Government, and we must be contented to find they were more or less so, according as the People had a greater or less Regard to their Duty.

After the Death of *Moses*, *Joshua* his Successor could not immediately put in execution the Plan of Government laid down by that Law-Giver. He had first to go through with the Conquest, and afterwards with the Division of the *Land of Promise*, the which he did not out-live many Years. Then it was that *Israel*, under so wise and zealous a Prince, lived in perfect Obedience to the Laws. He had before, with the High-Priest and Elders, govern'd with absolute Power. All the People promise him the same Obedience they had paid to *Moses*, and threaten with Death those who should not obey his Commands (p). The Elders of the People, with *Joshua*, make a League with the *Gibconites* (q). *Joshua*, with *Eleazer* the High-Priest, preside at the Distribution; the Heads of the Tribes make of the Land of *Canaan* (r). Lastly, *Joshua* now stricken in Age, gathers all *Israel* to *Shechem*, and calls for their Elders, their Heads and their Judges; with whom he renews the Covenant of the Lord their God (s).

Things continued on the Foot *Joshua* had put them, till the *Israelites* fell into an independent State, which prov'd the means of their forgetting God, and was the fatal Source of the several *Servitudes* they underwent. The Land was at rest, or in subjection to other Nations, according as they behav'd themselves towards God. It is therefore no wonder if in so many Ups and Downs, we are at a loss to know how Justice was administered among them. What passed upon the Murder of the *Levite's* Concubine, and the War that follow'd against the Tribe of *Benjamin*, are Proofs of all Authority being then lodg'd in the People. And the Affair of *Micah*, with the Transmigration of the *Danites*, plainly make appear there was then no King in *Israel*, but that every one, as the Scriptures express'd it, did that which was right in his own Eyes.

The Judges God made to arise from time to time for the Deliverance of his People, had not an universal Power over all *Israel*: They govern'd only that Part of the Country they

(p) Josh. i. 10, 16, 17.
(i) Josh. xxiii. 2. xxv.

(q) Josh. ix. 15.

(r) Josh. xiv. 1, 2.

had

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had set at Liberty: whilst other Places were in a State of Independence or of Servitude. And it must be own'd, we have no distinct Knowledge of the Nature of their Government, and their way of administering Justice. But under *Samuel*, who judged *Israel* twenty Years, we meet with more Order and Regularity. He went from Year to Year to *Beth-el*, and *Gilgal*, and *Mispeth*, judging the People in all those Places (t). But at length growing old, he made his Sons Judges in *Beersheba*, whose perverting of Judgment was the Cause of the Elders applying to *Samuel*, and demanding, in the Name of all the People, a King to be set over them (u). And it is well known how that Affair was transacted.

The Establishment of a King made great Alterations in *Moses's* Plan of Government. He plainly fore-saw the *Jews* would one day have a King, and accordingly laid down some few Rules he was to follow: but whether he judg'd it needless to say much on this Head, since it would be in the power of the King to enact or annul what he pleas'd; or whether God reserv'd to himself the Prerogative of making his Will known in this Matter, as we find he did by *Samuel* in the Election of *Saul*; or lastly, whether *Moses* thought the Laws he had establish'd were not inconsistent with Kingly Government; he enjoins nothing in particular in this Affair: and *Saul* seems to have concern'd himself only with Military Matters, leaving to the Judges and Priests the same Jurisdiction they enjoy'd before. *Samuel* all the while he liv'd, retain'd a great Power over the People, and even over the King himself, who look'd upon him as the Prophet of the Lord, and the Interpreter of his Will, till his appointing *David*.

As soon as *David* was in peaceable Possession of the Kingdom, he very justly thought one of the prime Duties of a King was to see Justice done to his Subjects. The Scriptures inform us, that his Son *Absalom* aspiring to the Crown (w), stood every Morning in the Gate of the Palace, and when any Man that had a Controversy, came to the King for Judgment, he would say to him, See, thy Matters are good and right, but there is no Man deputed of the King to hear thee. Oh that I were made Judge in the Land that every Man which hath any Suit, might come to me,

(t) 1 Sam. viii. 16.

(u) Ibid. viii. 5.

(w) 2 Sam. xv. 2, 3, 4.

and

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and I would do him Justice. *Had* having suborn'd a Woman of *Tekoa* to come and procure of *David* his Pardon for *Amnon's* Murder of *Amnon*; the Woman pretended to do it for one of her own Sons, who she said had slain his Brother in a Quarrel.

Solomon, after *David's* Example, sat in the Gate of his Palace to render Justice to the People: we read in the Scriptures the Description of his Throne (x), and of his great Wisdom in deciding the Case of the two Harlots (y). We read likewise (z), how *Solomon* went to *Gibeon* with the Captains of *Thousands* and of *Hundreds*, and the other Judges and Princes of the People; and consequently all these Officers were establish'd according to the Institution of *Moses*, in every City to judge the People. *Solomon* had about him a certain Number of *Elders* and *Counsellors*, who, after his Death, gave so good Advice to *Rehoboam*, which that young Prince neglected to follow (w).

The Civil Polity of the *Israelites* was strangely alter'd upon the Revolt of the Ten Tribes to *Jeroboam*. This Prince thought there was no way to be safe, but by changing his Religion, and over-turning, as much as lay in his power, the Ordinances of *Moses*; so that we are only to look in the Kingdom of *Judah* for the Tradition and Succession of the ancient Form of the Jewish Government.

When *Jehoshaphat* entered upon his Design of reforming the Nation, he followed the Rules laid down by *Moses*. He set Judges in every City of *Judah* (b), recommending to them Diligence and the Love of Justice, as exercising the Authority of God himself. He erected also two Courts of Justice at *Jerusalem*, one of Priests and Levites, and the other of the chief of the Fathers of *Israel*. The first was to take Cognizance of Religious Matters, over whom was placed *Amariah* the High Priest. The second was for Affairs of State and other Civil Concerns, whose President was *Zedekiah*, Ruler of the House of *Judah*.

That these Courts of Justice were in being in the Reign of *Jehoiakim* King of *Judah*, is plain from *Jeremiah* (c). This Prophet having been condemned to die by the Priests and the Prophets for having prophesied against the City; the

(x) 1 King. x. 18, 19, 20.
(a) 1 King. xii. 6, 7, 8.

(y) 1 King. iii. 16, &c.
(b) 2 Chron. xix. 5, — 11.

(z) 2 Chron. 1, 2, 3.
(c) Jer. xxvi.

Princes

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Princes of *Judah* being informed of the Matter, came up from the King's Palace to the Temple, where the Priests, the Scribes, and the People were actually assembled, to know the Reason of the Condemnation of *Jeremiah*. The Priests and the Prophets maintained before the Princes, that *Jeremiah* was worthy of Death, but the Princes annull'd their Sentence; and the Elders made appear the Injustice of it to the Assembly, by telling them that several Prophets had formerly, as well as *Jeremiah*, prophesied against the City and Temple, without having any Punishment inflicted on them, either by the King or People. Hence appears the great Power of these Princes, the which is a Demonstration how little Ground there is for what is said concerning the pretended Authority of the *Sanhedrim*. This Power of the Princes of *Judah*, was such, that the Kings themselves, especially at a time when the Government was out of Order, durst not oppose them. *Jeremiah* (d) having foretold the taking of *Jerusalem*, by the *Chaldeans*, the Princes desired the King to treat him as an Enemy to the State, for Discouraging the People by his Predictions. *Zedekiah* made answer, Behold, he is in your Hand: for the King is not he that can do any thing against you.

We may observe by the by, in the time of the same Prophet, what was the Authority of the High Priest. *Shemaiah* writ from *Babylon* to *Zephaniah* the Priest in this manner (e): The Lord hath made thee Priest in the stead of *Jehoiada*, that ye should be Officers in the House of the Lord, for every Man that is mad, and maketh himself a Prophet, that thou shouldst put him in Prison and in the Stocks: now therefore why hast thou not reproved *Jeremiah*, which maketh himself a Prophet to you? And *Pashur* the Priest and chief Governor in the House of the Lord smote *Jeremiah*, and put him in the Stocks, because he prophesied against *Jerusalem* (f).

It is very probable, that the seventy Men of the Antients of the House of *Israel*, whom *Ezekiel* saw in a Vision offering Incense to Idols (g); and the five and twenty Men whom he saw between the Poreh and the Altar, with their Backs towards the Temple, and their Faces towards the East worshipping the

(d) Jer. xxxviii. 5.
(g) Ezek. viii. 11, & 16, 17.

(e) Jer. xxix. 26, 27.

(f) Jer. xx. 2.

D

rising

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rising Sun; it is very probable, I say, that these Persons of Distinction were no other than the Judges of the Temple and of the King's Palace before described. As they were Persons of the greatest Power in the Land, the Scriptures observe they were carried away Captive to *Babylon* with *Jehoiachin* (b).

The History of the Accusation and Tryal of *Susanna*, is a Proof that the *Jews* had their Judges and Methods of administering Justice during the Captivity. But how is it possible to know the Number, Authority, or Order of these Judges? *Ezra* returned to *Palestine* (i), with full Power from *Artaxerxes* to appoint Judges in the Land, and to make all submit to their Sentence, even upon pain of Death, if it was necessary. *Josephus* (k) speaking of the *Jewish* State after their Return from the Captivity, says, they instituted an *Aristocratical* Form of Government, with a Mixture of *Oligarchy*, wherein the High-Priests had the principal Authority, till the time of the *Asmoneans*, when they return'd again to Monarchy. This is confirm'd by what History informs us of the High-Priest *Jaddus*, who as Prince of the *Jews*, receiv'd *Alexander the Great* at *Jerusalem* (l), and by the Letter of *Areus* King of the *Lacedemonians* to *Onias* the High-Priest and Chief of the *Jewish* Nation (m). We find, from time to time, Privileges granted to the *Jews* by the Kings of *Egypt* and *Syria*, to whom they were successively in Subjection; who suffered them to live according to their own Laws (n), paying only the Tribute due to them as Sovereigns. But in a State so tottering and weak as that of the *Jews* in those Days, it would be unreasonable to expect a regular Form of Government.

The Persecution of *Antiochus Epiphanes* against the *Jews*, quite unhing'd their Government. But *Matathias* and his Sons, putting themselves at the Head of the People, brought Things into good Order again. *Judas Maccabeus* (a), in a general Assembly held at *Maspba*, appointed Captains over *Thousands*, over *Hundreds*, over *Fifties*, and over *Tens*. *Jonathan*, Brother and Successor to *Judas*, having united in his own Person the Priesthood and supreme Authority, governed the Peo-

(b) 2 King. xxiv. 15.

(i) Ezra. vii. 20.

(k) Antiq. l. 11. c. 4.

(l) Jos. Antiq. l. 11. c. 1.

(m) 1 Mac. xii. 20.

(n) Jos. Antiq. l. 11. c. 2. l. 12. c. 13.

(a) 1 Mac. iii. 55.

ple

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ple in concert with the *Senate*; the People themselves having a Share in all Councils. This appears from the Letters the *Jews* sent in those days to the *Romans* and *Lacedemonians*. Their Government was partly *Aristocratical*, partly *Democratical*. From this time is dated the Beginning of the famous *Sanhedrim*.

Aristobulus, the Son of *Johannes Hircanus*, having assum'd the Crown and Title of King, did however make but few Alterations in the establish'd Government. The *Senate* continued in great Power, but the People were excluded from all Councils. The Princes, by endeavouring to strengthen their own Power, encroached upon that of the *Senate*. At length *Pompey* quite overturned the *Jewish* Government, by reducing *Judea* to a *Roman* Province. *Gabinus* coming thither some time after (b), erected five Courts of Judicature, in five of the principal Cities in the Province, *Jerusalem*, *Gadara*, *Amathus*, *Jericho*, and *Sepphoris*. Each of these Places had its Precinct, the Inhabitants whereof were obliged to come and try their Causes at the Town they belong'd to.

Julius Caesar (c), having restor'd *Hircanus* to the High-Priesthood, gave him full Power to judge all Matters relating to the Laws of the *Jewish* Nation. *Herod*, when as yet a private Person, being forced to appear before the *Senate* at *Jerusalem*, was severely revenged of them when he came to the Kingdom. He put to death all the Senators, except the celebrated *Sammeas*. The *Rabbins* own, that 40 Years before the Destruction of the Temple, the Power of hearing Criminal Causes was taken away; and the *Gemara* says also, that 150 Years before, the *Jews* could not take Cognizance of pecuniary Matters (d). After the Death of *Herod*, *Archelaus* was depos'd and banish'd to *Vienna*; and the Power of Life and Death taken away from the *Jews* by the *Romans*. It is observ'd that *Albinus*, Governor of *Judea*, highly threaten'd the High-Priest *Ananus* for assembling the *Senate* without his Leave; upon which the *Jews* sent privately to *Agrippa*, to intreat him to order *Ananus* never to do the like again.

(b) Joseph. Antiq. xiv. c. 10. & Gr. de bello, l. 1. c. 6.

(c) Jos. l. xiv. c. 17.

(d) Seld. l. 2. de Syned. c. 15.

D 2

In

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In the New-Testament, the High-Priests are always as the Head of the Senate. *Caiphas* presides at the Debate concerning the putting *Christ* to Death, and declares it is expedient that one Man should die for the People (e). The High-Priest imposes silence on the Apostles, who were cited to appear before him and the Senate (f). From the High-Priest *Saul* had his Letters to the Chiefs of the Synagogues, to persecute the Christians (g). The same *Saul* (h) from a Persecutor being become an *Elect Vessel*, appeared before the High-Priest *Ananias*, who commanded him to be smitten on the Face. *Josephus* represents the High-Priest *Ananias* as superintending the War during the last Siege of *Jerusalem* (i).

These are the Facts from whence may be gathered the Nature of the Hebrew Polity, in the several Revolutions of their Government, from *Moses* to the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. After which the Jews had no Form of Government at all. It is not to be conceiv'd with what Face the Rabbins dare assert that the Sanhedrim continued in *Judea*, till the fourth Century after *Christ*; for tho' it might be made out, that there was somewhat like it from *Vespasian* to *Adrian*, yet from the time of this last, they ought to confess that it was not so much as lawful for the Senate to meet. *Selden*, as great a Stickler as he is for the Sanhedrim (k), proves this beyond all Dispute, not only from the Testimony of other Writers, but even of the Jewish ones themselves.

This is what Scripture and *Josephus* furnish us with about the Civil Polity of the Jews from *Moses* to their entire Dispersion. It will doubtless be a hard Task to reconcile what has been said with what we find in the Rabbins, and this great Difference cannot but prejudice us very much against their Opinions, since the only Channel that can with any certainty convey down to them what they put off upon us, are the Holy Scriptures, and they, as it plainly appears, don't at all favour their Notions. If we take a View of the Hebrew Republick at different times, it is easy to see that the Government was not all along uniform; that it was quite another thing under the Judges and Kings, from what it was in the time of *Moses*.

(e) Joh. xviii. 13, 14.
(h) Acts xxiii. 2.

(f) Acts iv. 6, 18.
(i) Jos. de bel. Jud. l. 2.

(g) Acts ix. 12.
(k) Seld. de Syn. l. 2. c. 7.
Moses

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Moses ruled in almost an absolute manner, with a Senate of 72 Elders under him. In the time of the Judges, the Government was various: one while without Judges, and without Kings, the People were in an entire independent State; another while with Judges over them, and then again in Subjection to their Enemies. The ancient Kings of *Judah* administered Justice to their Subjects themselves, as appears from the Examples of *David*, *Solomon*, and *Jotham*, the Son of *Azariah* (l). But upon the declining of the Kingdom of *Judah*, the Princes of the People bore a great Sway in all Affairs. From the Captivity to the *Assyrians*, under the High-Priests, the Government was both Aristocratical and Popular; the *Assyrian* Kings introduced Monarchy again, which the Romans at last put an end to.

When we consider all these Things in the Lump, the main Intention of *Moses* seems to be, to establish a Form of Government, the Administration whereof was to lie in the Priests, in conjunction with the Prince or Judge, and the other inferior Magistrates appointed in every City; but however, that the Priests, as having more Learning and Leisure than the King, or Judge, should be the ordinary Judges of all Difficulties relating to the Law. The Law shall not perish from the Priests, say the Jews in *Jeremiah* (m); that the High-Priest should be over all the other Judges and President of all the Courts; that all knotty Points should be brought before him; that the Prince should be chiefly employ'd in War and the Defence of his Country, in keeping Peace and good Order in the State; in seeing that the Laws were observ'd, and in being a Terror to the Violators of the Ordinances of God. So that this Form of Government was in some sort a Priestly Government, or a Government where the Power was divided between the King and Priests. The *Israelites* lately come from *Egypt*, were accustomed to behold the Priests in great Power: they ruled the King himself, whom they chose, and sometimes impeach'd. The Priests were Hereditary, but the Kings Elective. The Prime Minister of Justice in *Egypt* was a Priest, and very often the King himself was one of that Number; and in case he was not so, he was immediately upon

(l) 2 Kings xv. 5.

(m) xviii. 18.

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his Election put into the Hands of the Priests, to be initiated into their Mysteries. *Moses* establish'd something like this Plan in *Israel*; but it is but too true that his Design was but ill executed, as is plain from all that has hitherto been said.

If our Inquiries into the Nature of the antient *Jewish Polity* were to be confined to the Accounts of Scripture, our Dissertation would end here: but since the *Rabbins* have taken it in their heads to paint out a *Chimerical* Description of their antient Government, and several Learned Commentators have given in to their Notions, I think myself obliged to undeceive those who may have been carried away by their great Name and Reputation. I only desire the Reader to weigh the Reasons impartially without any Regard to the Person that alledges them; for in a thing of this Nature, the Name and Person can signify nothing. The *Rabbins*, and after them several learned Writers, affirm that the 72 *Elders* of *Israel* appointed by God to assist *Moses* in the Government, were the first Members of the *Sanhedrim*.

This *Senate* continued all along in the Nation till the entire Dispersion of the *Jews* by *Vespasian*; and even till the Reign of *Adrian*, and a long time after, if we may believe them. They place in the *Sanhedrim* an absolute Power over all the Nation, over the *Tribes*, King, Prophet, and High-Priest; in a word, they were the sole Judges of all important Matters, whether *Civil* or *Religious*. This Assembly was to consist of 71 Senators, including *Moses* the President. Some *Christian* Writers are of Opinion, there were 72, six out of each *Tribes*: but the *Hebrew* Doctors will have but 70, or, including the President, 71 (n). The Term *Sanhedrim*, is a Corruption of the *Greek* *Συνεδριον*, *Synedrion*, which signifies an Assembly of People sitting. The *Macedonians* call'd their Senators, *Synedrion*, as appears from *Livy* (o).

The Head of the *Sanhedrim* was stiled *Nasi*, (i. e.) Prince or President; next to him was the *Ab*, or *Father*, who sat at his Right Hand. The other Senators were placed in a Semi-circle on the left Hand, according to *Maimonides*, or rather on both sides of the President. The usual Place where they held their Assembly, was a large Room or *Hall* of the Temple, call'd the *Hall with the*

(n) Seld. de Syned. l. 2. c. 4.

(o) Lib. 45. c. 42.

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Stone Pavement: but when they met on the Sabbath, or Festival Days, it was in a Room in the outward Wall of the Temple, at the Entrance of the Mount on which the Temple was built. They meddled not with any Civil Matters on those Days, or their *Vigils*, or in the Night-time; at least they did not begin any thing then: however, they might make an end of an Affair in the Night, which they could not finish by Day. In the time of the first Temple before the *Babylonish* Captivity, the *Sanhedrim* met every day, except on Holy-days, Sabbaths, and their *Vigils*. But from the time of *Ezra*, it was ordered they should meet only on *Mondays* and *Tuesdays*. They sat from the time of the Morning Sacrifice, till that of the Evening one; that is, from Break of Day, till towards Sun-set. The other Courts broke up commonly about Noon.

The Members of the *Sanhedrim* were generally chosen out of the 23 Judges mentioned in *Deuteronomy* (p). They were admitted by the Imposition of Hands, a Ceremony to which they attributed the Gift of the Spirit; and we are assured that the *Sanhedrim*, from its first Institution, was assisted with the supernatural Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. As to the personal Qualities of the Judges or Senators, their Birth was to be without Stain. They were most commonly of the Family of the Priests or *Levites*; but there was no necessity of being of the *Tribes* of *Levi*. Every *Israelite* might be admitted, even they who were so only by the Mother's side; because, according to their *Law-Maxim*, the Child always follows the Condition of his Mother. They were to be Learned, and well-skill'd both in the *written* and *unwritten* Law. They were obliged to study *Magick*, *Divination*, and all kinds of *Sorcery*, in order to judge such Matters the better. They were to be Masters of *Physick*, *Astronomy*, *Arithmetick*, and Languages. The *Jews* have a Tradition that they understood 70, that is, according to their Opinion, all Languages. All Persons were excluded the *Sanhedrim* that were any ways deformed; Eunuchs, by reason of their Cruelty; decrepid old Men, Gamesters, Usurers, as well those that took up, as those that lent out Money upon Use; they that sold the Fruits of the Seventh Year, they that taught Pigeons to carry Letters, or that decoy'd other Peoples Pigeons to their

(p) xxiii. 18.

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own Dove-Houses; a common Practice in Egypt at this day. In fine, the King was not to be admitted, lest his Presence might hinder the freedom of debating Matters. Some affirm, but without any good Ground, that the High-Priest was also excluded. We read in *Ecclesiasticus* (g), that Tradesmen were not to sit on the Judges Seat. In a word, the Judges were to be Rich, Handsome, Well-made, and of a mature Age.

It is to no purpose to trouble the Reader with the extravagant Notions of the Rabbins, in relation to these Particulars; for Example, concerning the Study of Magick and Sorcery, concerning the Number of Languages each Senator was to understand; which besides the Impossibility of learning so many, was a Study the Jews, as *Josephus* assures us (r), never troubled their Heads about; and we find in the Writings of the Hebrews (s), a Curse against those that taught their Children the Grecian Sciences. And in the time of the War with the Romans, in *Vespasian's* Reign, they made a Decree to forbid their Children ever learning the Greek Tongue. The Evangelists inform us, that our Saviour was apprehended, try'd, and condemned by the Priests in the Night-time, on an Holy-day, and the Vigil of the Sabbath, directly contrary to the Rabbinical Law before mentioned.

In order to bring down the Succession of the Judges of the Sanhedrim, from *Moses* to our Saviour's Time, and even lower; some Learned Men have been at no small pains to collect from Scripture, all that appears to them to make for their purpose. *Grotius*, in his *Commentaries*, takes all Opportunities of pointing out the Sanhedrim, and proves the Thing itself in his first Book *de Jure Belli & Pacis* (t). *Selden's* whole design was nothing else, in his three *Volumes de Synedrion*, which he did not live to complete. From the time of the pretended Institution of the Sanhedrim, in the second Year after their coming out of Egypt, they are at no great trouble to carry on the Succession to *Joshua*. After *Joshua's* Death, *Bonfrerius* (u) imagines that the Sanhedrim supplied the Place of the Chiefs or Heads that were then wanting to the People. To the ancient Successors of *Joshua* came the Judges; the Succession of the Prophets, Presi-

(g) xxxviii. 28, &c.
c. 9. (t) Cap. 3.

(r) Antiq. l. 20. c. ult.
(u) In cap. i. Josh.

(s) Seld. l. 2. de Synedr.

dents

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dents of the Sanhedrim, begins with *Eli*, and is carried on by *Samuel* and *David* down to the Captivity. Some make *Saul* the Nephew, and *Jonathan* his Son, the Father. Others, to make the Succession the plainer, suppose the Kings of Judah were always Presidents of the Sanhedrim. The Rabbins find out the Sanhedrim in the *Cherethites* and *Pelethites* who followed *David*, and in the 200 Men who innocently join'd with *Absalom*, not knowing his ill Intentions against the King his Father (w). The *Chaldee Paraphrast* (x), meets with the Sanhedrim also in the *Song of Solomon*. After the Separation of the ten Tribes, they will have it that the Sanhedrim was fill'd up with Senators from the Tribes of Judah and Benjamin only; and remain'd so till the Captivity. *Grotius* sees the Sanhedrim in the *Antients of Israel*, mentioned in *Judith* (y), in the Judges appointed by *Jehoshaphat* (z), in the Princes put to Death by *Jehoram* (a), in the Princes of Judah that revers'd the Condemnation of *Jeremiah* (b), in the 72 *Antients* *Ezekiel* beheld in a Vision (c). The 69 Persons *Nebuzaradan* carried away Captive to *Babylon*, belong'd also to the Sanhedrim, according to the Authors that continue the Succession during the Captivity. They would not doubtless have fail'd of seeing it in the Judges who condemned *Susanna*, had they receiv'd that Story as Canonical. The *Talmudists* would fain persuade us, that the Scribes which dwelt at *Fabez* (d), mentioned in the *Chronicles*, were Members of the Sanhedrim. I omit the impertinent Assertion of those, who will have it that the 70 Persons struck dead by the Lord for looking into the Ark, were the Sanhedrim (e). Don't such Notions as these deserve our Pity? And can any Man give into an Opinion that has no better Grounds to support it?

The Dissolution of the Hebrew Government in the *Babylonish* Captivity, was not able, according to the Jews, to break off the Succession of the Sanhedrim. *Baruch* was a Member of it before the Captivity; and being carried away to *Babylon*, was succeeded by *Ezra*, who, at his Return into *Canaan*, restor'd the ancient Form of Government, by the order of King *Artax-*

(w) Ita Author tradit. Heb. in Paral. Petr. Damian. Lyr. Grot. &c.

(x) In Cant. vii. 2.
xxi. 4.

(y) xv. 8.

(z) 2 Chr. xix. 8.
(c) Ezek. viii. 11.

(a) 2 Chr.
(d) 1 Chr. ii. 54.

(b) Jer. xxvi. 10, 16.
(e) 1 Sam. vi. 19.

E

ermes

A DISSERTATION on the Book III.

erxes (f.). Some there are that assert the Number of Senators in the time of *Ezra* were increas'd to 120; and this we find in several Hebrew Writers (g). *Grotius* will have it, that the *Princes* and *Elders* of the Nation mentioned in *Maccabees* (h), expressly mark out the *Sanhedrim*. It continued till the time of *Simon the Just*, who was President, and liv'd in the time of *Alexander the Great*. *Simon* was succeeded in his Presidency by *Antigonus Socheus*, who begins a new Chain of Succession. To *Antigonus* succeeded *Jose* the Son of *Joazar*, to *Jose* succeeded *Joskuah* the Son of *Perachia*. The *Rabbins* have the face to tell us, that he was Tutor to *Jesus Christ*; and accompanied him into *Egypt*, tho' he liv'd 150 Years before our Saviour. *Juda*, the Son of *Tabai*, was Successor to *Joskuah*, and *Semeas* to *Juda*. *Hillel* succeeded *Semeas*, and *Rabban Jochanan* the Son of *Zachai* succeeded *Hillel*, or, as others say, *Simon* the Son of *Hillel* succeeded his Father; after whom came *Gamaliel* the Son of *Simon*, who, say the *Rabbins*, brought up *St. Paul*. To *Gamaliel* succeeded his Son, who was put to death at the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. To him succeeded another *Gamaliel*, the Son of *Simon*, and then another Son of *Simon* II. To this last succeeded *Juda the Holy* the Son of *Simoon*; then *Gamaliel* the Son of *Juda*, then *Juda* the Son of *Gamaliel*, then *Hillel* the second Son of *Juda*, then *Juda* the Son of *Hillel*, then *Hillel* (i) the Son of *Juda*; and lastly, *Gamaliel* the Son of *Hillel*. This *Gamaliel* is thought to be mentioned in the *Theodosian Code* (k).

Thus the *Sanhedrim* is carried down from *Moses* to the fourth Century after Christ in an uninterrupted Succession. But however the Patrons of it are not all of the same mind in this Matter. Some (l) make it end with the Murder of the Senators by *Herod* at his coming to the Crown (m), and own that the Chain of the Succession was broken in all this time, the *Sanhedrim* necessarily following the Fate of the Government, of which it was the chief Ornament. But the *Rabbins* will not yield in the least to this: they stand to it, that maugre all the Changes and Revolutions in the State, the *Sanhedrim* subsisted

(f) *Ezr.* vii. 9. (g) *Seld.* de Syned. l. 2. c. 16. (h) xii. 6, &c.

(i) *Selden* takes him to be mentioned in the 25th Letter of *Julian the Emperor*.

(k) *Cod. Theod.* tit. B. l. 16. c. 22.

(l) *Grot.* ad 1. Par. xxi. 4. *Poffel.* Galatin.

(m) *Joseph.* Antiq. l. 14. c. 18.

with.

Dis. III. Civil Government of the Jews.

without any Interruption to the time above-mentioned; but however, not in the same Place or Manner.

In the time of *Moses* they assembled (say they) at the Door of the *Tabernacle*. After the *Israelites* were in Possession of *Canaan*, the *Sanhedrim* followed the *Tabernacle* of the Lord. We find it at *Shiloh*, *Mezpah*, *Gilgal*, *Nob*, *Gibeab*, the House of *Obed-Edom*; and at last it was fix'd at *Jerusalem*, where the Assemblies were usually held in the Hall with the Stone Pavement. The *Talmudists* tell us, that out of this Hall they could not pronounce the Sentence of Death, and that the Power of Life and Death was wholly in the Senate, the inferior Courts having nothing to do in matters of that kind. Hence the *Jews* never judg'd Capital Crimes after once the *Sanhedrim* assembled no longer in the Hall, which happened about 40 Years before the Destruction of the Temple, in the 30th Year of our Saviour; accordingly we find at his Tryal the *Jews* told *Pilate*, *It was not lawful for them to put any Man to Death* (n). The *Rabbins* however affirm, that the *Sanhedrim* returned thither on purpose to condemn him (o); so uncertain are they in what they say. From this Hall the *Sanhedrim* came to *Hanoth*, certain Rooms situated on the Mount the Temple stood upon; from thence down to *Jerusalem*, then to *Jannia*, *Fericho*, *Ufa*, *Sepharvaim*, *Betsanim*, *Sephoris*, and lastly to *Tiberias*. The Reason of the *Sanhedrim's* shifting Places so often, and leaving the Temple before it was destroy'd, was not because it was obliged to do so by a superiour Power, for it own'd no such thing, but because of the great Wickedness and frequent Disorders of the *Jews*; as if a Judge or Physician should say, he left a Place because the People stood in too great a need of his Presence among them.

The Vanity and Pride of the *Rabbins* show themselves in nothing so much as in the Power they place in their *Sanhedrim*. The whole Nation, Kings, High-Priests, Prophets, were all subject to their Authority, and upon very slight Accounts, they condemned the King himself to be scourged: but luckily enough this Punishment was not, say the Defenders of the *Sanhedrim*, so ignominious among them as it is with us. If the King acted contrary to Law, the Senate had him strip'd and

(n) *Joh.* xviii. 31.

(o) *Tosiph.* ad Gemar. Babyl. tit. Sanhed. c. 4.

scourged in their Presence. He was serv'd in the same manner, if he had above 18 Wives, if he kept more Horses than he used in his Chariots, or heap'd up more Money than was necessary to defray his necessary Expences. The Princes submitted to this Punishment by way of Penance, and made choice themselves of the Person that was to scourge them. The King assumed his State again immediately after his Penance was over.

The Manner in which this venerable Court was plac'd, is highly worth our Notice. They met in a Room, built so as that one Part of it was without, and the other within the Porch of the Temple; and as it was unlawful to sit down in that Place, that part of the Room within the Porch was allotted to the *Pleaders*, who always stood; and the other Part without the Temple for the *Judges*, who by that means were not prevented from sitting down.

But the *Jurisprudence* of this redoubted Tribunal is still to be considered, a famous Instance of which I shall bring in relation to the Law against disobedient Children (p). This is a Matter of great Importance towards the Peace and good Order of the Society; and yet they so clogg'd this, as well as all other the like Ordinances, with so many Limitations and Exceptions, that it was almost impossible to incur the Penalty of the Law. For, say the *Rabbins*, the Son who is to be punished for his Disobedience to his Father or Mother, must be above 13 Years old, otherwise he is excepted out of the Law, and he is to remain subject to this Law but a few Months, that is, till the Hair begins to grow upon his Chin and other Parts. I forbear to mention their obscene Expressions upon this Occasion; one must have lost all sense of Modesty, to repeat what they say in their own Terms. A Daughter, say they, is not included in the Law, because *Moses* says, *If a Man have — a Son*. This Son must have stolen from his Father, and not from any other, wherewithal to eat and drink well, which he was to do with that extraordinary Greediness, as to swallow at once five *Deniers* worth of Victuals, and half a *Log* of Wine (q). If he had stolen from another, or if the Meat he eat was Fowl, and the Liquor he drank any thing but Wine, he was not liable to the

(p) Deut. xxi. 18, 19.

(q) Above $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Pint.

Penalty

Penalty express'd in the Law. If the disobedient Son absconded before his Sentence was pass'd, and the Hair began to appear on his Chin or elsewhere, during his absence, he was out of the reach of Justice; if his Father or Mother pardon'd him, no other Person could prosecute him; because it is written, *his Father or his Mother shall lay hold of him*. They were not to be without Hands, because they would not be able to lay hold on him; nor Blind, because they were to say, *This is our Son*; nor Deaf, because they accused him of not hearkning to their Voice. I pass over abundance of such Fooleries. Now can any Thing be more Absurd or more Unbecoming the Majesty of God? And what can one think of a Tribunal that goes by such Rules as These? or rather, can it be imagin'd that Men, I don't say enlighten'd by the Laws of *Moses*, but mere rational Men, should ever proceed in this manner? and what dependence can we have on the Authors of such Corruptions of the Laws of God?

After all this, it may easily be judg'd what one ought to think of this Matter. The *Sanhedrim*, as dress'd up by the *Rabbins*, is a mere *Chimera* that had never any real Existence. The Scriptures no where mention it expressly. Neither *Josephus*, nor *Philo*, nor *Origen*, nor *Eusebius*, nor St. *Jerom*, who were all so well vers'd in the antient Forms of the *Jewish* Government, never speak of it in this manner. Nay, its Institution and Jurisdiction is so far from being found in the Scriptures and History of the *Jews*, that the direct contrary appears there. Neither *Saul*, nor *David*, nor *Solomon*, nor any other King of *Judab*, were ever cited to appear before this Tribunal. Not so much as one single Act or authentick Instance of its judicial Proceedings can be produced. The Kings of *Judab* depose the High-Priests without any Opposition; They declare War without the Advice of any Person; They make and unmake the Judges, and act, in a word, as other Princes do, without the *Sanhedrim's* having any hand in the Matter, or interposing its Authority to stop the Course of Proceedings, or repress the overgrowing Power of the Kings. In fine, the *Sanhedrim* remain'd Idle and Unactive, till it pleas'd the *Rabbins* to set it at work, and give it an Authority it never exercised, nor ever was in possession of.

But

But what proves still more evidently the *Novelty* of the *Sanhedrim*, is the Variety of Opinions among its Abettors. *Petavius* (r) and some others, place its Beginning no farther back than the time of *Gabinus* Governor of *Judea*, who establish'd, as I have already observ'd, Courts of Justice in five Cities of *Judea*. *Grotius* (s) and others, put an End to it in the beginning of *Herod's* Reign. *Sigonius* (t), in order to reconcile the *Rabbins* with the Scriptures, is forced to represent the *Sanhedrim* in quite a different manner from the *Jews*. *Tostatus* (u) agrees neither with the *Jewish* nor *Christian* Writers on this head. He maintains, that the 70 Judges were not at all subordinate to *Moses*, and that there lay no Appeal from them; that the supreme Authority was lodg'd in the High-Priests, who were always Presidents of the *Senate*; that the other Judges had no Power to Condemn or Pardon, but only to inflict the Sentence of the High-Priests on the Guilty: This Scheme is follow'd by several Commentators, who have not so much read the *Rabbins*, as some *Moderns*, whose Heads are quite full of their Notions.

M. Basnage (w), in his History of the *Jews* lately publish'd, hesitates about the Original of the *Sanhedrim*: He thought at first, with *Petavius*, that it begun in the time of *Gabinus*; but afterwards, changing his Opinion (x), he carries it back to the time of *Judas Maccabeus*, or, which he thinks most likely, of *Jonathan* his Brother. Indeed we find a *Senate* then writing in conjunction with the High-Priest to the *Lacedemonians* (y). The *Chaldee Paraphrast*, an antient Author, speaking in the Language of his time, says, that *Boaz* presented himself at the Door of the *Sanhedrim*. The *Rabbins* tells us, that *Alexander Jannæus*, one of the *Asmonean* Princes, appear'd before the *Senate*, and would sit down, notwithstanding he was forbid to do it by *Simon* the Son of *Sherab*, one of the Senators. It is well known, *Herod*, when as yet he was Governor only of *Galilee*, was cited and made his appearance before the *Sanhedrim*. *Josephus* (z) says, that the King could do nothing without the Advice of the Senators. The Term *Synedrion*, which means the same thing as *Sanhedrim*, occurs more than

(r) Petav. de Doct. temp. l. 2. c. 26. (s) Grot. 1 Chr. xxi. 4. (t) Sigon. de
Repub. Heb. l. 6. c. 7. (u) Tost. in Num. xi. qu. 31, 32. (w) Hist. des Juif.
l. 1. c. 4. (x) Lib. 5. c. 1. (y) 1 Mac. xii. 6. (z) Lib. 1. de bello, c. 6.

once

once in the Gospel. Our Saviour, for Instance, says in St. *Matthew* (a): *Whoever shall say to his Brother, Raca, shall be in danger* [to be judg'd] *by the Council, or, Synedrion*. St. *Mark* (b) mentions the same, and St. *Luke* expresses it by the *Elders of the People* (c). And in the *Acts* (d), expressly names the *Council* or *Synedrion*; as does also St. *John* in his Gospel (e). In fine, St. *Hilary* (f) speaks of 70 *Elders* who translated the *Hebrew Bible* into *Greek*, whom he calls the *Depositories* of the *Sentiments, Spirit, and Doctrine* of *Moses*. These are the Grounds to induce us to believe there was a *Sanhedrim* towards the latter end of the *Jewish* State; the Silence of the preceding Times, is the strongest Argument against the admitting of any such Thing before the *Babylonish* Captivity.

From what has hitherto been said, it may be concluded, that the Antiquity of the *Rabbinical Sanhedrim* is all a Fable; that the *Prerogatives* attributed to it, and the Rules, for the most part, they said it follow'd in the Administration of Justice, are very uncertain and groundless; that the *Civil Polity* of the *Jews* varied often according to the several Revolutions that happen'd in the State, which was the most unsettled and subject to change of any that ever was known; that the true *Sanhedrim* or *Senate* of the Nation began with the *Maccabees*, flourish'd under the *Asmonean* Princes, and, as inconsiderable as it was at first, grew up to that height of Power, as to be dreaded even by the Kings themselves. This Power was the Cause of its downfall; the Princes omitted nothing to humble it; the *Romans*, jealous of its Authority, divided it into five Courts or *Tribunals*. And as in spite of their Endeavours, the *Senate* at *Jerusalem* got or maintain'd its Ground, the *Romans* took away its main Privileges. It was deprived of the Power of Life and Death a good while before its final Dissolution: so that its Authority thus cut short, was limited to Causes relating to the Law, and to the inflicting on the Guilty, Punishments that were not Capital. At length the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the Dispersion or Captivity of all the *Jews* in *Palestine*, entirely put an end to the *Sanhedrim*. After this terrible Blow, the *Jews* had never any *Senate* or Court of Justice with a Jurisdiction over the whole Nation; and it is in

(a) v. 22. (b) xiii. 9. xiv. 55. xv. 1. (c) xxii. 66, &c. (d) iv. 15.
v. 21. (e) xi. 47. (f) Hil. in Psal. 11. n. 2.

vain.

vain to search for the *Relicks* of the *Sanhedrim* in some wretched Assemblies of *Jews*, that exercised over the rest of the Nation the Shadow of a borrow'd Authority. This seems to me to be the most probable Account of the celebrated *Sanhedrim* of the *Jews*.

It is thought that in our Saviour's time the *Jews* had three Courts of Justice (g). 1. That of *three Judges*, to decide common Matters between Man and Man, and all *petty Crimes*. There was one in every City. 2. Of *three and Twenty*, that determin'd more important Matters, and capital Crimes. 3. The *Great Council* or *Sanhedrim* of Seventy two, before whom, all matters of Moment relating to Religion, the High-Priest, and the State in general was brought. Our Saviour is suppos'd to allude to the two last in these Words, *Whosoever is angry with his Brother, shall be in danger of the Judgment*, (i.e.) of being condemn'd by the Court of Twenty three; and *whosoever shall say to his Brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the Council or Sanhedrim*. There is no mention of the Court of Three.

(g) Talmud. Sanh. c. 1. Grot. & alij in Matt. v. 22.



ANTIQUITIES

SACRED and PROFANE:

OR, A

COLLECTION

OF

Curious and Critical DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

Old and New Testament.

Written in *French* by the Learned
D. AUGUSTIN CALMET.

Done into ENGLISH, with Notes, by N. TINDAL, M. A.
Vicar of *Great Waltham* in *Essex*.

Illustrated, as Occasion requires, with Copper-Plates.

NUM B. IX. Containing a Dissertation

On the Military State of the Jews, their ARMIES, OFFICERS, Manner of FIGHTING and Besieging TOWNS; with a particular Description of their several ARMS and WEAPONS, and Account of the Origin and Antiquity of CHARIOTS OF WAR, &c.

To be continued Monthly.

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Advertisement.

ON Thursday the 27th of May will be published, Numb. X. of Antiquities Sacred and Profane, being a Curious Dissertation on the several Ways of Punishing Offenders among the Jews; as Crucifying, Hanging, Imprisoning, Scourging, Cutting off, Burning, Stoning, Casting down from a Rock, Sawing asunder, Throwing headlong into Ashes, Crushing to Death with Briars and Thorns, &c. concluding with this Question, *Whether the Hebrews had any Executioners?*

N. B. The Day of Publishing the following Number, will be always fixed by the Number before it, as above; and no other notice will be given for the future.



A DISSERTATION concerning the Art of War among the Hebrews; their OFFICERS, ARMS, Manner of FIGHTING, and BESIEGING Towns, &c.

THE Jews, as contemptible as they appear at present, were once the most warlike People in the World. Few Nations have acquired more Glory by their Arms, whether we consider the great Number of their Wars, or their own and the Enemy's Forces and Valour. *Israel* has produced such Prodiges of Strength, such Instances of Courage, Conduct and Wisdom, as deserve as well or better to be had in Remembrance, than those of any other Nation whatever. And the History of their warlike Exploits has this Advantage above that of the most celebrated Nations, that it is of undoubted Authority, where neither Flattery, nor Mistake, nor Ignorance, have occasion'd any Falsity, Obscurity, or Exaggeration. It is no idle Romance of Fabulous Heroes. It treats not of those Conquering Ravagers of Cities and Provinces, that without any Reason, carry War and Desolation into the Territories of their Neighbours; but, for the most part, of wise and valiant Generals, who were rais'd up by God, to execute the Vengeance of the Lord, to punish the Wicked, and protect the Innocent.

Such were the *Joshuas*, the *Calebs*, the *Gideons*, the *Jephthas*, the *Samsons*, the *Dauids*, the *Maccabees*, and many others, whose illustrious Names will be had in everlasting remembrance.

The great and powerful Armies of the Hebrews. We are apt to represent the *Jews* as a handful of People, pent up in a little Corner of *Asia*. Now nothing is more wrong than this Notion. The *Hebrews* brought into the Field greater Armies than the *Greeks* or *Romans* ever did. They were upon a level with the mighty Potentates of *Asia*, and other powerful and numerous Nations; over whom they often obtain'd signal Victories. *Abijah*, King of *Judah*, with four hundred thousand Men, attack'd *Feroboam*, King of *Israel*, whose Army consisted of eight hundred thousand, and slew in one Battel five hundred thousand upon the spot (a). *Pekah*, the Son of *Re-maliab*, King of *Israel* (b), kill'd in one day in *Judah*, one hundred and twenty thousand, all valiant Men. *Zerah*, King of *Ethiopia*, or rather *Arabia*, came powdering upon *Asa*, King of *Judah*, with an Army of a million of Men, and 300 Chariots. But tho' the Army of *Judah* was but 540,000, the *Ethiopians* were entirely routed (c). The Standing-Forces of *David* and *Solomon* were above 300,000 (d); and *Fehobaphat*, besides what were in *Garisons*, had an Army of eleven hundred and sixty-thousand Men, ready prepared for the War (e). Where is the Monarch that hath any thing like this now-a-days? These were the Armies that conquer'd the Land of *Canaan*; that vanquish'd and subdu'd, one after another, the *Syrians*, *Philistines*, *Idumeans*, *Arabians*, *Amalekites*, *Midianites*, *Moabites*. These are the Armies that so long withstood the Power of the *Egyptians*, *Assyrians*, *Chaldeans*, *Syrians*, *Romans*; over whom they were often victorious, and at length were brought under only by reason of their Disobedience and Rebellion against God.

The Valour of the Hebrews. The Valour of the *Hebrews* could not be unknown to the *Persians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*. *Artaxerxes*, King of *Persia*, says, in *Ezra* (f) that the *Jews* were a warlike Nation, and impatient of a foreign Yoke, and that formerly they had had mighty Kings. *Josephus* (g) affirms, that the *Jews* were distinguish'd, in the famous Army of *Xerxes*, by the name of *Solymi*. It is

(a) 2 Chron. xiii. 3—17. (b) 2 Chron. xxviii. 6. (c) 2 Chron. xiv. 9—13.
(d) 1 Chron. xxvii. (e) 2 Chron. xvii. 14—19. (f) iv. 19, 20. (g) Lib. i. con. App.

matter

matter of fact, that *Alexander the Great* had a vast opinion of the Valour and Faithfulness of the *Hebrew Soldiers* (h). To those he had in his Army, he granted several Privileges, and gave them frequent Marks of the Trust he put in them. *Demetrius Soter* order'd 30,000 to be enroll'd among the King's Forces (i). The Kings of *Egypt*, Successors to *Alexander*, had the same esteem, as the Founder of their Monarchy, for the *Jewish Nation*. They more than once trusted them with the Command of their Armies (k), made them Guards to their Persons, and Governours of their most important Places. The Armies of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and of *Demetrius*, Kings of *Syria*, experienced to their Cost, the Heroic Valour of the *Maccabees*.

Diodorus Siculus (l) makes honourable mention of the Valour and Firmness of the *Jews*. He says, *Moses* apply'd himself to military Affairs with a great deal of Prudence, and order'd the *Jewish Youth* to be train'd up in the Exercises of War, and inur'd to the Fatigues of it; that he waged several Wars with the neighbouring Nations, and left the *Jews* in possession of a fine Country. *Tacitus* owns their Valour and Contempt of Death, founded upon a Notion of theirs, that the Souls of those that were kill'd in the Wars, were immortal (m).

The Subject then I am about to handle, is not a matter unworthy our notice; and deserves so much the more to be examin'd into, as the Author of these Wars, for the most part, was God himself (n). The main Circumstances and principal Rules to be observ'd in War, are laid down in the Law of *Moses*: The Generals, most of them, are very holy and vertuous Persons; so that this *Essay* may be intitled, *A Treatise of the Wars of the Lord*: And nothing would be more proper to give us a just Notion of an excellent Method of waging War, had the Princes always follow'd the sacred Rules prescribed them.

Whilst the *Israelites* were obedient to the Law of the Lord, *The Prodigies that accompany'd the Wars of the Hebrews.* they were always Prosperous, Victorious, and Triumphant. The Wars they waged by the Command of God, were always accompany'd with Prodigies in their favour, and followed with miraculous Successes. The Hand of the Lord was stretch'd out

Joseph. Antiq. l. xi. c. ult. (i) 1 Macc. x. 36. (k) Jos. l. 2. con. App. 4 Macc. v. (l) Eclog. 6. Photi. ex lib. 4c. (m) Tacit. Hist. l. 5. (n) 2 Chron. xiii. 12.

upon

upon all Occasions, and the *Strength* of his *Arm* display'd against their Enemies. The Elements fought against *Pharaoh* and his Host at the Passage thro' the *Red-Sea*. *Amalek* is vanquish'd by an *invincible Hand*, that regulates its Assistance by the Motions of *Moses's* Arm, who was praying on the Mountain, all the while *Joshua* was fighting. All *Arabia* and *Idumaea* behold *Israel* for 40 Years together sojourning in the Wilderness, without daring to attack them. *Edom* and *Moab*, at the bare sight of the Army of the Lord, are struck with Astonishment and Respect. *Og* and *Sihon*, Kings of the *Amorites*, the Terror of the neighbouring Nations, make but a very faint resistance against *Moses*. What is the whole Life of *Joshua*, but one continu'd Series of Victories? The same Success crowns the Wars of *Othniel*, *Caleb*, *Gideon*, *Barak*, *Jephtha*, *Samson*, and those *Saul* and *David*, and the other Kings, undertook by the Command of the Lord.

But after the Kings had abandon'd the Lord, and entirely follow'd their own ambitious Devices in the declaring and waging War, the Lord left them to themselves, and assisted them not in the Execution of the Projects of their own Invention. The Kings, proud, insolent, and faithless in time of Peace; faint-hearted, inconsiderate, and unfortunate in War, became at length the Scorn and Sport of their Enemies.

Two sorts of War.

The Wars of the *Hebrews* are distinguish'd into two sorts; those commanded by God, and those undertaken voluntarily by the King or People. The former were chiefly against the *Canaanites* and *Amalekites*, who were devoted to Destruction. The latter were against the Enemies of *Israel*, and left to the Discretion of the Governors. They might, upon just and lawful Accounts, attack their Adversaries, assist their Allies, repel Injuries, and revenge Insults. In a word, what to other Nations is a just Cause to go to War, was so likewise to the *Hebrews*.

The Manner of declaring War.

The Law of Nations will not permit a War to be entred into, without making a Declaration of it before-hand, and demanding satisfaction for the Injury done. *Moses* orders, that Peace be offered first to a City before they attack it (c): *When thou comest nigh unto a City to fight against it, then proclaim Peace unto it. And it shall be, if it make thee answer of Peace, and*

(c) Deut. xx. 10.

open

open unto thee; then it shall be, that all the People found therein, shall be Tributaries unto thee, and they shall serve thee. And if it will make no Peace with thee, but will make War against thee, then thou shalt besiege it. And when the Lord thy God hath delivered it into thine hands, thou shalt smite every Male thereof with the Edge of the Sword. But the Women, and the little Ones, and the Cattel, and all that is in the City, even all the Spoil thereof, shalt thou take unto thyself: and thou shalt eat the Spoil of thine Enemies, which the Lord thy God hath given thee. Thus shalt thou do unto all the Cities that are very far off from thee, which are not of the Cities of these Nations. But of the Cities of these People which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an Inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth; but shalt utterly destroy them.

These Ordinances then related not to the Wars with the *Canaanites*; wherein *Israel* was only God's Instrument in putting his Curse against them in execution. This was not properly an Affair between Nation and Nation, where the Laws of Humanity and Equality ought to take place; it was rather the executing the Vengeance of the Lord upon a People whose Crimes were come to their height. Obedience to God's Command was all the *Israelites* had here to mind. The *Canaanites* had time enough given them to divert the Judgments hanging over their Heads. They could not be ignorant of the Resolution, taken so long before-hand, of utterly destroying them, unless they turn'd from their evil Ways. Thus God stood clear from the Charge of Injustice, in ordering them to be rooted out; and also the *Israelites*, for putting those Orders in execution.

They were not uniform in their Declarations of War. *Jephtha*, being made Captain of the *Israelites* on the other side *Jordan*, sent Messengers to the King of the *Ammonites*, saying, *What hast thou to do with me, that thou art come against me, to fight in my Land?* And after having justify'd the *Hebrews* from the Complaint of the *Ammonites* of their having usurped their Lands, concludes with these words: *The Lord be Judge this Day between the Children of Israel and the Children of Ammon* (p). After which, he fell upon, and defeated them.

(p) Jud. xi. 12, 27.

The

The *Philistines* invading *Judab*, to revenge themselves of *Samson* for burning their Corn, the Men of *Judab* demanded of them, *Why are ye come up against us (q)?* And having promised to deliver up *Samson*, the *Philistines* retired. After the horrid Crime committed by the Men of *Gibeab* upon the Body of the *Levite's* Concubine, all *Israel* arose as one Man, to revenge this Outrage; and sent to the *Tribe of Benjamin*, to have those Sons of *Belial* deliver'd up and punished, that Evil might be put away from *Israel (r)*. And it was not till after their refusal that the War was resolved upon.

We meet with another kind of Defiance, or Declaration of War, between the Armies of *David* and of *Ish-boshath*, commanded by *Joab* and *Abner (s)*: *Let the young Men now arise, and play before us*, says *Abner* to *Joab*. And *Joab* says, *Let them arise*. Immediately twelve Men of a Side began the Onset. *Amaziah*, King of *Judab*, elevated at his Success against *Edom*, sent a Defiance against *Joabash*, King of *Israel*, in these Terms, *Come, let us look one another in the face*. The King of *Israel* answer'd, *The Thistle sent to the Cedar that was in Lebanon, saying, Give thy Daughter to my Son to Wife: and there passed by a wild Beast, and trod down the Thistle. Thou hast indeed smitten Edom, and thine heart hath lifted thee up: Glory of this, and tarry at home (t)*. But *Amaziah* would not hear. So the two Kings met at *Beth-Shemesh*, where *Judab* was beaten. *Ben-badad*, King of *Syria*, as he was besieging *Samaria*, sent *Abab* a Declaration of War in this insolent manner (u): *Thy Silver and thy Gold is mine, thy Wives also and thy Children are mine*. *Abab* finding himself no Match for him, return'd in answer, *My Lord, O King, according to thy Saying, I am thine, and all that I have*. *Ben-badad* upon this growing more arrogant than before, sent him word, *Thou shalt deliver me thy Silver and thy Gold, and thy Wives and thy Children; and I will send my Servants to-morrow about this time, and they shall search thy House, and the Houses of thy Servants: and it shall be, that whatsoever is pleasant in thine eyes, they shall take it away*. These exorbitant Demands made *Abab*, and the Elders of *Israel*, resolve to stand the Siege; which they did in such a manner, as that *Ben-*

(q) Jud. xv. 10. (r) Judg. xx. 12. (s) 2 Sam. ii. 14. (t) 2 Kings, xiv. 8, 9, 10.
(u) 1 Kings, xx. 3.

badad

badad was obliged to break it up, after great Losses. *Necho*, King of *Egypt*, in his way to *Carchemish*, being denied by *Josiah* leave to pass thro' *Judab* with his Army, sent Ambassadors to him, saying, (w) *What have I to do with thee, thou King of Judah? I come not against thee this Day, but against the House wherewith I have War: for God commanded me to make haste. Forbear then from meddling with God, who is with me, that he destroy thee not*. But *Josiah* persisting in his Denial, was wounded to death in the Battel, which he lost.

When a War was resolved upon, the Head of the Nation either commanded all Men to take Arms, if occasion required; or chose out a certain Number of Troops, sufficient for the Expedition. *Joshua*, at the head of some chosen Troops, fights *Amalek* by the Command of *Moses (x)*. All *Israel* attack *Sihon*, King of the *Amorites*, and *Og*, the King of *Bashan (y)*; but against the *Midianites* twelve thousand only were sent (z). The whole Army of *Israel* was before *Jericho (a)*; but three thousand only were sent at first against *Ai (b)*, which were afterwards follow'd by all the People (c). In the same manner *Joshua* proceeded, when he went to the assistance of the *Gibeonites*, against the five Kings of the *Amorites (d)*; and in the War against *Jabin*, and the other Kings of the Northern Parts of *Canaan (e)*. In the time of the *Judges*, we seldom find all *Israel* engaged at once in an Expedition. In the first War, the *Tribes of Judab* and *Simeon* only fought against *Adoni-bezek (f)*. *Ehud* freed the *Israelites* from the Yoke of the *Moabites*, by the assistance of the *Ephraimites* alone (g). In the Army of *Deborah* and *Barak*, the *Tribes of Issachar*, *Zebulun* and *Naphtali* only were present (h). *Gideon*, of the 32,000 Men that he had with him at first out of the *Tribes of Manasseh*, *Asher*, *Zebulun* and *Naphtali*, made choice only of 300, wherewith he defeated *Midian (i)*. *Jephthah* had none in his Army, but those that dwelt beyond *Jordan (k)*. The War against the *Benjamites* was the only one in those Days wherein all *Israel* was concern'd at one time; at the conclusion of which, the People observing that none of the Inhabitants of

(w) 2 Chron. xxxv. 21. (x) Exod. xvii. 9. (y) Num. xxi. 24 & 35.
(z) Num. xxxi. 4, 5. (a) Josh. vi. 7. (b) Josh. vii. 4. (c) Josh. viii. 1.
(d) Josh. x. 7. (e) Josh. xi. 7. (f) Judg. i. 3. (g) Judg. iii. 27. (h) Judg. v. 15, 18.
(i) Judg. vi. 35. vii. 7. (k) Judg. xi. 29.

B

Josiah.

Jabesh-Gilead had been in the War, sent 12,000 Men, who sack'd the City, and put Man, Woman, and Child to the Sword, sparing none but the young Damfels, who were given in Marriage to the Remains of the *Tribe of Benjamin* (l).

In the time of the Kings, the whole Nation being united under one Head, we find the Armies more numerous, the Expeditions more important and glorious, and the *Military* Discipline more uniform and strict. *Saul*, in the beginning of his Reign, being inform'd, as he came after the Herd out of the Field, that the City of *Jabesh* was besieged by the *Ammonites*, took a Yoke of Oxen, and hewed them in pieces, and sent them throughout all *Israel*, saying, *Whoever cometh not forth after Saul and Samuel, so shall it be done unto his Oxen* (m). The same Prince having received Orders from God utterly to destroy the *Amalekites* (n), gathered the People (i. e. his whole Army) together, and led them against the Enemy. The Kings, his Successors, brought into the Field those prodigious Armies taken notice of before, and which it is needless here to repeat.

The Lord himself was Captain of their Armies.

The Captain of the Armies of *Israel* was the Lord himself: Hence he so often styles himself, *The God of Hosts*; and hence *Moses* in so many places calls the *Israelites*, *The Host of the Lord*. An Host consisting of a whole Nation marching to the Wars under the Conduct of their God. His *Ark*, the Symbol of his Presence, was sometimes in the Army, as well as the Trumpets of his Temple in the hands of his Priests and Ministers. The General of *Israel* was but the Lord's Lieutenant; and he who had the Reins of the Government in his hands, whether as Prince, Judge, or King, had likewise the Command of the Army. The Soldier quitted his House, leaving his Wives and Children behind, as Pledges of his Obedience and Zeal. Always train'd up to War, always ready to march, seeing he fought for his Country, his Religion, and all that was near and dear to him in the World. He was taken from a laborious Country-life; and consequently the more undaunted, and capable of undergoing the Hardships of War. *Nescio quomodo minus mortem timet, qui minus deliciarum novit in vita*, was a Saying of a *Roman* (o). By this means, exceeding numerous Armies, full of Courage and Zeal, were form'd without any trouble.

(l) *Judg.* xxi. 9—14. (m) 1 *Sam.* xi. 7. (n) 1 *Sam.* xv. 4. (o) *Veget.* l. 1. c. 3.

Josephus observes (p), that *Johannes Hircanus*, the Son of *Simon* the *Maccabee*, was the first that kept foreign Soldiers in Pay.

We don't find in old time any Soldiers by Profession in *Israel*, ^{The Hebrew Soldiers.} or any Troops kept on foot at the expence of the Nation; they were all Soldiers and Burghers, or Countrymen, at the same time. *David* was the first that had any regular Troops maintain'd at his own Charge (q). We read that the King of *Judah* hired of the King of *Israel* 100,000 Men for 100 Talents (r): but this Money was for the Prince, and not for the Soldiers. Regularly they who were ordered out to War, bore their own Expences: every one found their own Arms and Provisions; and had no other Reward than the Spoils of the Enemy. This Discipline was not only observ'd in the times of *Moses*, *Joshua*, and the Judges; but also under the Kings; and after the Captivity, from the *Maccabees* to *Simon*, who was both High-Priest and Prince of the People, and kept Soldiers in Pay. See 1 *Macc.* xiv. 32. Historians inform us, that formerly among the *Romans* and *Greeks*, and, as I think, among all the Eastern Nations, the same Discipline was observ'd. I meet with nothing concerning the Age a Soldier was to be of. The *Romans* lifted them at 17 Years old.

Jesse, the Father of *David*, had three Sons in *Saul's* Army; *David*, the youngest, staid at home to keep his Father's Flocks. *Jesse* sent him to the Camp with Provisions for his three Brethren, viz. ten Loaves, and an Ephah of parched Corn, (which was mightily eaten in those Days) with ten Cheeses for their Captain (s). *David* being forced to fly out of *Jerusalem* on a sudden, for fear of falling into the hands of *Absalom*; *Ziba*, the Servant of *Mephibosheth*, met him with Provisions for his Flight, 200 Loaves, 100 Bunches of Raisins, and 100 of Summer-Fruits, and a Bottle of Wine (t). And when he was beyond *Jordan*, his Friends brought him all manner of Necessaries; Beds, Basons, Earthen Vessels, Wheat, Barly, Flour, parched Corn, Beans, Lentiles, Honey, Butter, Sheep, and Cheese (u). Hence we may learn what Provisions they usually eat then in the time of War.

(p) *Jos. Antiq.* l. xiii. c. 16. (q) 2 *Sam.* xxiii. (r) 2 *Chr.* xxv. 6. about 34150.
(s) 1 *Sam.* xvii. 17, 18. (t) 2 *Sam.* xvi. 1. (u) 2 *Sam.* xvii. 28, 29.

As for Arms, every one was to provide for himself: The Princes had no *Arsenals* till after the Reign of *David*. Under the *Judges*, and in the beginning of *Saul's* Reign, Arms were exceeding scarce in *Israel*. *Shamgar* is said to have slain 600 *Philistines* with an *Ox-Goad* (w). *Deborah* says in her Song (x), *Was there a Shield or Spear seen among 40,000 in Israel?* We don't find *Samson* made use of common Arms, but fought with what came next to hand, the *Jaw-bone* of an *Ass*, a *Club*, &c. In *Saul's* War against the *Philistines*, there was not one in the whole Army, besides himself and his Son *Jonathan*, that had a *Sword* or *Spear*. The *Philistines*, whilst they had the upper-hand of the *Israelites*, took care there should be no Smith in all their Land, lest he should make them Weapons. They were forced to go to the *Philistines* to grind even their Instruments of Husbandry (y).

Horses and
Chariots.

Soon after this, *Saul* took upon him the State and Equipage of a King. He had his Guards (z), and General Officers. *Abner* was General of his Army, in which Post he was continu'd by *Ish-bobeth* the Son of *Saul* (a). *Joab* was General under *David* (b), and *Benaiah* under *Solomon* (c). *David* had always 280,000 regular Troops, besides the *Cherethites* and *Pelethites*, who were Foreigners, from the Land of the *Philistines*. These serv'd monthly, 24,000 in each Course (d). *Solomon* kept up the same Number of Troops, and had besides a vast many Horses and Chariots. The Scriptures (e) mention 40,000 Stalls for Horses, and 12,000 Horsemen; or, as it is said elsewhere (f), he had 1400 Chariots, and 12000 Horsemen, whom he bestowed in the Cities, and with the King at Jerusalem. *Solomon* was the only King of the *Hebrews* that made use of Cavalry, and Chariots of War. Neither *David*, nor any of his Successors, aspir'd to this. Their Armies consisted wholly of Infantry. If Horses or Chariots are mention'd in the succeeding Reigns, they were very few in number, and incapable of forming an Army. So little desirous was *David* of having Horses and Chariots, that he cut off the Hoofs of all those he had taken from the *Syrians*, and burnt their Chariots (g). *Rab-shakeb*, one of *Sennacherib's* Officers, told *Hezekiah*, *I will deliver to thee*

(w) *Judg.* iii. 31. (x) *Judg.* v. 8. (y) *1 Sam.* xiii. 19—21. (z) *1 Sam.* xxii. 7.
(a) *1 Sam.* xxvi. 5. (b) *2 Sam.* viii. 16. (c) *1 Kings* ii. 35. (d) *1 Chr.* xxvii.
(e) *1 Kings* iv. 26. (f) *Ibid.* x. 26. (g) *2 Sam.* viii. 4.

2000 Horses, if thou be able on thy part to set Riders upon them (h). The *Greeks* and *Romans*, in the beginning, made use only of Foot. Even the General himself was forbid by Law to ride on Horse-back. But this Law was dispens'd with in favour of *Fabius Maximus* (i).

The Kings went to War in Person, and at first fought on foot like common Soldiers. We read no where either of *Saul* or *David* making use of Horses or Chariots. But in process of time, the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel* appear'd in Battel in their Chariots, and other Royal Ensigns. There was generally an empty Chariot that follow'd the King's, either out of Show, or in case any Mischance should happen to that the King was in (k). *Abab* and *Jebozaphat* going to attack the King of *Syria*, this last order'd the Captains of his Chariots to fight against none but *Abab* King of *Israel*. *Abab*, to elude the Prediction of the Prophet *Micaiah*, who had foretold his Death in the Battel, disguised himself like a common Soldier. On the contrary, *Jebozaphat* appear'd in his Chariot with his Ensigns of Royalty, and by that means drew the brunt of the Battel upon himself: but upon his crying out, they knew him, and left pursuing him. In the mean time, a random Arrow shot *Abab* between the Joints of his Harnels, And he said to the Driver of his Chariot, Turn thy Hand, and carry me out of the Host, for I am wounded (l). *Josiab*, opposing the King of *Egypt's* Passage thro' his Dominions, disguised himself, and went into the Battel without any Mark of Distinction; but however, was mortally wounded, and his Servants took him out of that Chariot, and put him in the second that he had (m). *Abalom* fought on a Mule the fatal Day he was hung in an Oak by the Hair of his Head (n). The *Amalekite*, that boasted of having slain *Saul*, took the Crown off his Head, and the Bracelet off his Arm, and brought them to *David* (o): consequently, *Saul* wore those Ornaments in the Battel of *Gilboa*.

I shall not here fully speak to the General and Subaltern Officers of the Armies of *Israel*, designing to do it in another Place: I shall only observe at present, that there was a General or Captain of the Army; such were *Abner*, *Joab*, *Benaiah*. There

(h) *2 Kings* xviii. 23. (i) *Plut.* in *Fab.* (k) *2 Chr.* xxxv. 24. (l) *1 Kings*,
xxii. 34. (m) *2 Chr.* xxxv. 23, 24. (n) *2 Sam.* xviii. 9. (o) *2 Sam.* i. 9.

were likewise *Princes* or *Captains of Thousands*, commonly stiled *Tribunes* by the Author of the *Vulgate*. After these, were the *Captains of Hundreds*, or *Centurions*; the *Chamischim*, or *Captains of Fifties*. There were also other Officers, call'd *Schalischim*, whose Business we have no distinct knowledge of. There were likewise *Commissaries* or *Scribes*, and *Soterims* or *Heralds*. *Decurions*, or *Rulers of Tens*, are mention'd in *Exodus* (p), and the *Maccabees* (q). These were the several Officers in their Armies; of whom I shall largely treat, in my Dissertation on the Employments in the *Court* and *Army* of the Kings of *Judab*.

The Wars of
the Hebrews
never lasted
long.

Their Wars, for the most part, were quickly over. It would have been impossible for such vast Armies, without any Provisions but what each Soldier carried with him, or took from the Enemy, to have subsisted any long time. The Country would have been uncultivated, had the whole Nation (of which their Army consisted) remain'd many Months in the *Field*. The War with *Amalek* was ended in a Day (r). Two Battels put the *Israelites* in possession of the Dominions of *Og* and *Sihon*. As they led to Battel, according to the Custom of those Days, all their Forces at once, upon losing the Day, all hopes of retrieving their Loss vanished. The Expeditions of *Joshua* were finish'd in a few Days; the Country was not large; the Enemy was at hand: he had nothing to do but to come to a Battel, which commonly prov'd very obstinate and bloody, tho' soon decided. The Vanquish'd were generally all slain to a Man. The *Moabites* were driven out of *Palestine* by *Ehud*, and the *Midianites* by *Gideon*, in a Day. The famous War of the eleven Tribes against the *Benjamites*, was resolv'd upon, undertaken, and brought to a conclusion in a few Weeks. The War, wherein *Goliath* insulted the Army of *Israel*, was one of the longest; the *Philistines* and *Hebrews* had been encamp'd over-against one another forty Days, when *David* came and fought *Goliath*. The Insurrection of *Absalom* against *David*, and the Wars between the Kings of *Israel* and *Judab*, or those against the *Philistines*, never lasted but a few Days. But when Sieges came to be form'd, or the Army was to march into distant Countries, the Wars became more tedious and troublesome, chiefly upon account of victualling

(p) xviii. 21. (q) iii. 55. (r) Exod.

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the Camp. After an Expedition was over, the People, without any more ado, return'd each Man to his Home and daily Employment.

We are ignorant of the Manner of the *Hebrews* drawing up their Army in Order of Battel. The Scriptures often make use of this Expression (s), to set the Battel in array. We read in the *Chronicles* (t), that there came to *David* a great Number of Men of War, that could keep the Rank; or, as the Original signifies, that ranged their Troops as so many Flocks. It is said elsewhere (u), that when the *Syrians* came up against *Israel* in vast Multitudes, the *Israelites* pitched before them like two little Flocks of Kids. *Jeremiah* has the same Comparison when speaking of the *Assyrians*; he says, *The Shepherds with their Flocks shall come unto her* [Sion], *they shall pitch their Tents against her round about*. *Homer* makes use of the same Simile at the ranging the *Grecian* Troops by their Leaders*.

It is certain the ancient *Oriental* Nations observ'd but little Order and Discipline in their Wars. The Whole consisted in the impetuous Ardor and undaunted Courage of the Soldiers, and their acting according to the Command and Example of their Leaders. We meet with astonishing Effects of Force and Valour; but very often brought about in a manner little conformable to the Rules of War.

They valued themselves mightily upon Drawing the Bow, The Bow, Slinging of Stones, and Swiftness of Foot. *David* returns God thanks for having given him Arms strong enough to break even a Bow of Steel, and Feet like the Feet of an Hind (x). *Asabel*, the Brother of *Joab*, the swiftest Runner that ever was known, is said in Scripture to be as light of Foot as a wild Roe (y). There were 700 chosen Men of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, that could sling Stones at an Hair's Breadth, and not miss (z). The *Gadites* that join'd themselves to *David* during his Retreat from *Saul*, were Men of Might, and Men of War, fit for the Battel, that could handle Shield and Buckler, whose Faces were like the Faces of Lions, and were as swift as the Roes upon the Mountains (a). *Homer* almost continually gives

(s) Judg. xx. 22. 1 Sam. iv. 2. xvii. 21.

(t) 1 Chr. xii. 38. עֲרֵבֵי מִקְרָה

(u) 1 Kings, xx. 27.

* Iliad c. 474. Τὸς δ' ὅς' ἀπόλεια πλάτ' ἀγῶν ἀπολοὶ ἄνδρες

ῥεῖα διακρινύσαν, ἔπειτα νόμος μύγιστον.

(x) Psal. xviii. 33, 34. (y) 2 Sam. ii. 18. (z) Judg. xx. 16.

(a) 1 Chr. xii. 8.

Achilles

Achilles the *Epithet* of *Swift-footed*. This was what he was most distinguish'd for; *Idomeneus* (b) says, that *Ajax* gave not place to *Achilles* in Valour, but only in *Lightness of Foot*. *David's Worthies* were all remarkable for some extraordinary Act of Valour and bodily Strength: Some for having kill'd Lions with no other Weapon but a *Staff*; Others for having with three only in Company, broke thro' an Army of *Philistines*: One for having slain 300, and another 800, at one time; and a third, for having withstood a whole Army singly by himself. The *Maccabees* came not far behind in the Noble Race of Honour and Glory. We need only read the History of a *Judas*, an *Eleazer*, a *Jonathan*, a *Simon*, to have a just Notion of true Courage, join'd with Piety and Devotion.

What was
said to the Ar-
my before they
engaged.

Before they gave Battel, or it may be, before they marched out against the Enemy, the Officers were to speak thus to the People (c): "What Man is there that hath built a new House, and hath not dedicated it? let him go and return to his House, lest he die in the Battel, and another Man dedicate it. And what Man is he that hath planted a Vineyard, and hath not yet eaten of it? let him also go and return unto his House, lest he die in the Battel, and another Man eat of it. And what Man is there that hath betrothed a Wife, and hath not taken her? let him go and return unto his House, lest he die in Battel, and another Man take her. What Man is there that is fearful and faint-hearted? let him go and return unto his House, lest his Brethren's Heart faint as well as his." At the same time, the Priest came and said to the People: "Hear, O *Israel*, you approach this Day unto Battel against your Enemies: let not your Hearts faint, fear not, and do not tremble, neither be ye terrify'd because of them. For the Lord your God is he that goeth with you, to fight for you against your Enemies, to save you." We have an instance of this Custom in the *Maccabees* (d). The *Rabbins* tell us moreover, that after the Army was drawn up, the Generals placed their most valiant *Subaltern* Officers in the Rear, armed with Scythes and Battel-Axes, to cut in pieces the first that should turn their backs. But for this we have only their word, the Scriptures not mentioning any thing of these Matters. It seems to me,

(b) *Iliad*. N. v. 324.

(c) *Deut* xx, 5. &c.

(d) *1 Mac*. iii. 56.

from

from several Passages (e), that they sat down whilst they waited for the Signal of Battel. This was a common Practice among several Nations.

The Signal of Battel was given by sound of Trumpet; ^{The Trumpets founded by the Priests.} which Office was perform'd by the Priests: *The Sons of Aaron, the Priests, (says (f) Moses) shall blow with the Trumpets; and this shall be to you for an Ordinance for ever. And if ye go to War in your Land against the Enemy that oppresseth you, then ye shall blow an Alarm with the Trumpets; and ye shall be remembered before the Lord your God, and ye shall be saved from your Enemies.* Among other Nations, as well as the *Hebrews*, particularly among the *Egyptians*, the Trumpet was a *Sacred and Holy Instrument*. The Use of it was confin'd to those that were *Free*; and very often Persons of the greatest Distinction blew it themselves (g). In the War with the *Midianites* (h), *Phineas*, the Son of *Eleazar* the High-Priest, was sent with the *Holy Instruments, and the Trumpets to blow, in his Hand*. The Sound of the Trumpet was as a *Warrant* for the Protection of Heaven, and a *Symbol* of the Presence of the Lord. *Abijah*, King of *Judah*, called out to *Feroboam* King of *Israel*, and to all his Army, saying, *Behold, God himself is with us for our Captain, and his Priests with sounding Trumpets to cry alarm against you: O Children of Israel, fight ye not against the Lord God of your Fathers* (i). However, they came to a Battel, and the Army of *Abijah*, which was much inferior in number to *Feroboam's*, finding themselves surrounded on every side, began to cry unto the Lord, and the Priests sounded the Trumpets. Immediately God struck the Army of *Feroboam* with a *Pannick Fear*, and there were slain that day 500,000 *chosen Men*. It is well known what happen'd at the Siege of *Jericho*, how the Walls fell down to the Ground at the Priests sounding the Trumpets in the Presence of the Army of *Israel*. *Jehoshaphat*, King of *Judah*, march'd against the *Moabites, Edomites, and Ammonites*, with the *Levites* at the Head of his Army, with their musical Instruments in their Hands, as if he had been going to a Triumph; because the Lord had promised him the Victory by

(e) *1 Sam*. xvii. 48. *2 Sam*. ii. 13, 14. Milit. Rom. c. x.

(f) *Num*. x. 8, 9.

(g) *Lips*. l. 4. de

(h) *Num*. xxxi. 6.

(i) *2 Chr*. xiii. 12.

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the Prophet *Jabaziel* (k). In fine, in the time of the *Macca-bees*, *John* and *Judas*, Sons to *Simon* the High-Priest, put the Army of *Cendebeus* to flight meerly with the Sound of the *Holy Trumpets* (l).

We must not confound the Trumpets; the Priests alone had the Privilege of sounding with the Trumpets or Horns the *Generals* made use of to call their Troops together, and to give the Signal of *Retreat*. *Ebud*, having killed *Eglon* King of *Moab*, blew an Horn on the Mountains of *Ephraim*; upon which the People coming together, he immediately fell upon the *Moabites* (m). *Gideon* made use of the same Means to assemble the People against the *Midianites* (n). *Saul* blew the Trumpet to give the Signal of War against the *Philistines*, after *Jonathan* had destroy'd their Garison at *Geba* (o). *Joab* founded a *Retreat*, to prevent his Troops from pursuing any farther after *Abner* and his Men (p). As he did likewise in the Battel with *Absalom* (q). *Sheba*, the Son of *Bichri*, stirr'd up the People to follow him by the sound of a Trumpet or Horn (r). By this means vast numbers of People might be got together in a few Hours, in a close and populous Country, where the Villages stood thick, and the Men were naturally Light and Nimble, and fond of Novelty.

Sentinels
placed on the
Tops of Tow-
ers and Moun-
tains.

There were *Sentinels* or *Watchmen* generally placed in Towers and on the Mountains, to sound the Trumpet, or make some Signal on the Top of a Pole at the approach of the Enemy, to give notice to the People to run to their Arms. *Shall a Trumpet*, says *Amos* (s), *be blown in the City, and the People not run together? When I bring the Sword upon a Land, says God* (t), *if the People of the Land take a Man of their Coasts, and set him for their Watchman: If when he seeth the Sword come upon the Land, he blow the Trumpet and warn the People; then whosoever heareth the sound of the Trumpet, and taketh not warning; if the Sword come, and take him away, his Blood shall be upon his own Head. Blow the Trumpet*, says *Jeremiah* (u), *in Tekoa: and set up a Sign of Fire in Beth haccerem: for Evil appeareth out of the North*. This Signal was set up on the Mountains, and there were large Trees

(k) 2 Chr. xx. 15, 21. (l) 1 Mac. xvi. 8. (m) Judg. iii. 27. (n) Judg. vi. 34.
(o) 1 Sam. xiii. 3. (p) 2 Sam. ii. 18. (q) 2 Sam. xviii. 16. (r) 2 Sam. xx. 1.
(s) iii. 6. (t) Ezek. xxxiii. 2. (u) vi. 1.

planted

planted on purpose, on the Tops of which they made Fires, or spread some *Ensign* or *Colours*, that might be seen at a great Distance. See ye, says *Isaiah* (w), *when he lifteth up an Ensign on the Mountains; and when he bloweth a Trumpet, &c.* And again (x): *One Thousand shall flee at the rebuke of One: — till ye be left as a Beacon upon the Top of a Mountain, and as an Ensign on a Hill*. *Absalom* aspiring to the Crown, order'd the People to be told, that as soon as they heard the sound of the Trumpet, then should they say, *Absalom reigneth in Hebron* (y). *Solomon* (z), and *Febu* (a) were saluted King with the sound of the Trumpet. When *Holofernes* advanced with his Army to besiege *Bethulia*, *The Jews kindled Fires upon their Towers, and watched all Night* (b).

I shall now consider the *Arms* and *Weapons* of the *Hebrews*, as well *Offensive* as *Defensive*. The Chariots of Iron, or armed with *Scythes*, were one of the most dreadful Instruments made use of by the *Antients* in War. The Scriptures mention two sorts of Chariots; one for the King or General to ride in only, the other armed with Iron to attack the Foot with, of whom they made terrible Havock. The 600 Chariots of *Pharaoh* that were overwhelm'd in the *Red-Sea*, are the First we know of (c). But *Moses* does not tell us, whether they were armed or unarmed Chariots. The *Canaanites*, *Joshua* engaged at the *Waters of Merom*, had *Horses and Chariots very many* (d). *Judah*, says the Scripture, *could not drive out the Inhabitants of the Valley, because they had Chariots of Iron* (e). *Sisera*, Captain of the Host of *Jabin* King of *Canaan*, had 900 Chariots of Iron in his Army (f). But the Chariots the *Philistines* brought into the Field against *Saul*, are the most we read of in Scripture: They amounted to 30,000, besides 6000 Horses, if there is no mistake in the Numbers (g). The greatest Strength of the Kings of *Syria*, with whom *David* and his Successors were so often at War, lay in their Chariots. *David* having taken from *Hadarezer* a thousand Chariots, cut off the Hoofs of the Horses, and burnt 900 Chariots, reserving only 100 (h). Another time he took 700 Chariots (i). *Ben-badad*,

The Arms
and Weapons
of the He-
brews.
Chariots of
War.

(w) xviii. 3. (x) xxx. 17. (y) 2 Sam. xv. 10. (z) 1 King. i. 34.
(a) 2 King. xix. 13. (b) Judith vii. 5. (c) Exod. xiv. 7. (d) Josh. xi. 4.
(e) Judg. i. 19. (f) Judg. iv. 3. (g) 1 Sam. xiii. 5. Some think there were only
3000 Chariots drawn by 6000 Horses. (h) 1 Chr. xviii. 4. (i) 2 Sam. x. 18.

C 2

King

King of Syria, having been vanquish'd by the King of Israel, his Servants said to him (k), *Their Gods are Gods of the Hills, therefore they were stronger than we: but let us fight against them in the Plain, and surely we shall be stronger than they.* The Israelites, it seems, in the first Battle had, by keeping to the Mountains, render'd the Chariots and Horsemen of the Syrians, wherein their chief Strength consisted, entirely useless. However, God gave them to know in a second Battle on the Plain, that He is the God of Victory, and that his Power depends not on Horses, or Chariots, or Times, or Places. It does not appear that the Hebrews ever made use of Chariots in their Wars. Solomon is the only Prince that had any considerable number of them; but he was no Warrior, neither does the Scripture say any thing of his military Exploits.

The Original
of Chariots
of War.

The Original of Chariots of War is not fix'd for certain. Diodorus Siculus (l) says, upon the Authority of Ctesias, that Semiramis brought against the Bactrians very near 1600 Chariots armed with Scythes. Xenophon seems to say (m), that the Medes, Syrians, and Arabians, were satisfy'd with having Chariots of War drawn by four Horses, with each a single Combatant in it; but that Cyrus made an Alteration, by adding Scythes to the Chariot-wheels. All the Heroes, at the Trojan War in Homer, appear in their Chariots: but they had neither Scythe nor any thing else to render them dreadful. Each Chariot, with two or four Horses, had its Hero, and the Horses were guided by an expert Warrior, who knew when to attack, and when to defend. Darius, King of Persia, had Chariots in his Army against Alexander (n); as had also Mithridates in his. Antiochus the Great made use of them against the Romans (o); and the Gauls against Caesar (p). The ancient Britons (q) had likewise their Chariots; but whether arm'd with Scythes, I know not. Alexander Severus (r) attack'd Artaxerxes, King of Persia, that brought against him 700 Elephants, and 1800 Chariots arm'd with Scythes. All these Instances discover the Origin and Progress of these dreadful Machines, which came afterwards to be disused, as too incommodious, and subject to very bad Consequences, being very often turn'd against those who first brought them into the Field.

(k) 1 King. xx. 23. (l) Lib. 2. Bibliot. (m) Lib. 6. de Cyrop. (n) Quint. Cur. l. 4. (o) Veget. l. 3. c. 24. (p) Frontin. Strat. l. 2. (q) Tacit. vit. (r) Lamprid. in Alex.

The

The Form of these Chariots has been various, and we meet with a pretty many different Descriptions of them. Diodorus describes them in this manner (s): "The Yoke of each of the two Horses, was armed with two pointed Irons, three Cubits long, with their Points towards the Face of the Enemy. To the Axle-tree were fasten'd two other Irons like Spits, turn'd the same way, but longer, and arm'd at the Ends with Scythes." Those mentioned by Quintus Curtius (t), had somewhat more added to them. The End of the Beam was armed with Pikes pointed with Iron. The Yoke had on two sides three sorts of Swords, which stood outward. They plac'd between the Spokes of the Wheels several Javelins or Darts, and the Fellies were armed with Scythes, which cut in pieces every thing that came in their way. Xenophon (u) observes, the Wheels of the Chariots were very strong, and able to withstand the violent Shocks they were to endure. The Axle-tree was longer than ordinary, that the Chariot might not be so apt to overturn. The Seat of the Charioteer was a sort of a little Tower of Wood; but very solid, and about Breast-high. He was arm'd at all Points, his whole Body being cas'd in Iron, except his Eyes.

As the Chariots of War had four Wheels, and were stronger and larger than the common ones, they were capable of holding several Men armed with Darts and Javelins, that from thence fought with greater Advantage. There were some Chariots that had no body in them; only upon each of the two Horses caparison'd, rode a Horseman armed and ready prepar'd for the Fight (w). Sometimes there was but one such Horse, and one Rider. These Chariots consisted only of two Wheels and an Axle-tree, arm'd with Swords and Scythes, which fasten'd to the Axle-tree, turn'd by means of a Spring, and destroy'd all that came within their reach. And sometimes Whips were so order'd by certain Springs join'd to the Wheel, as to save the Rider the trouble of whipping his Horses.

Hence one may guess the dreadful Hawock these Machines made in a Battel, before their violence and rapidity could be guarded against: Of this, Lucretius gives us an elegant Descrip-

(s) Lib. 17. (t) Lib. 4. (u) Lib. 6. de Cyrop. (w) Vide Libell. de Rep. Bell. post Notit. Imperij.

tion;

tion; and to support his Notion of the *Divisibility* of the Soul, he alledges the *Motions* of the yet panting Limbs that preserve some remains of Life, tho' separated from the Body by a Stroke of these *Scythes*, which was perform'd so suddenly, that the Soul expanded throughout all parts, could not, in his Opinion, withdraw itself soon enough (x).

The Weapons
and Arms of
the Hebrews
the same as
other Nations.

The *Hebrews* made use of in War the same Weapons as their Neighbours. They were armed with Swords, Darts, Spears, Javelins, Bows, Arrows, Slings. They wore Helmets, Breast-plates, Bucklers, &c. The completest Coat of Armour mention'd in Scripture, is *Goliath's*. As it was very remarkable for its extraordinary *Weight* and *Largeness*, care has been taken to give us a particular Description of all its Parts. It must be observ'd in general, that the *Arms* were usually of *Brass*; and it will be proper here to alledge some Proofs of this Assertion, against those who will have it that the Term *Brass*, in the Descriptions of *Arms*, means either *Metal* in general, or *Iron* and *Steel* in particular. It must be confess'd (y), that the word *Brass* is sometimes put for *Iron*; but then it is only after *Iron* and *Steel* became more common, and Things began to be made of these, that before were made of *Brass*.

Arms at first
were made of
Brass.

Hesiod, in ranging the four several *Ages* of the World, places the *Golden* first, then the *Silver*, then the *Brazen*, and lastly the *Iron Age*. In speaking of the *Brazen Age*, he assures us, that not *Arms* and *Instruments of Husbandry* only, but also the very *Houses* were of *Brass*, because there was then no such thing as *Iron* (z). *Proclus*, one of *Hesiod's* Commentators, observes, that in the Beginning they had a way of tempering *Brass*, so as to make it as hard and solid as *Iron*: but this Art being lost, they came at last to make use of *Iron* in War and Tillage. There are now in being some antient

(x) *Lucr.* l. 3. Falciferos memorant Currus abscindere membra
Sæpe ita subito permixta cæde calentes,
Ut tremere in terrâ videatur ab artubus, id quod
Decidit abscissum, cum mens tamen, atque hominum vis
Mobilitate Mali, non quit sentire dolorem.
Et caput abscissum, calido viventeque trunco,
Servat humi voltum vitalem, oculoſque patentes,
Donec reliquias animæ reddidit omnes.

Vide Comment. 1 Sam. xiii. 5.

(y) *Voss. Lexic. Etymol. verbo Æs.* Æs pro ferro capit accipi, postquam ferreus arma in usu esse cœpere, &c. (z) *Hesiod. Opera & dies.*

Arms

Arms of Brass, that are temper'd like *Steel* (a); and also *Brass Nails* of equal Hardness with *Iron* ones. *Brass Scissars* have been found likewise that could cut *Copper-Plates* (b). There are they, who have *Keys*, *Dishes*, *Cups*, *Chasing-Dishes*, *Knives*, *Axes*, *Heads of Pikes*, and a hundred such things, made of a very solid sort of *Brass*. In *Architecture* they used only *Brass*, because it is not so liable to rust as *Iron*. *Bows*, which ought to be so well temper'd, and are made now-a-days of *Steel*, were formerly made of *Brass*.

Lucretius thinks that *Gold* and *Silver* were first found out, and serv'd to make *Arms* and other *Instruments*: and that afterwards *Brass* came in use; and lastly *Iron* (c), which insensibly came to have the Preference; and *Brass Scythes*, were made a jest of (d). The *Witches* had a *Brass Sickle* to cut their Herbs with by Moon-light (e). And *Servius* observes, that in old Time in religious Matters, *Brass* was more in use than any other thing; and that it was the Custom at *Rome* to cut the Hair of the Priest of *Jupiter*, only with *Brass-Scissars*. He makes this Remark on the Passage of *Virgil*, where he describes the Temple, *Dido* built at *Carthage*: The Threshold, Hinges, and Plates the Doors were cover'd with, were of *Brass* (f). What we have remaining of the Instruments made use of by the *Ancients* in their Sacrifices, are *Brass*; and it is remarkable, that *Moses* made the *Vessels* of the *Tabernacle*, and *Solomon* those of the *Temple*, of nothing but *Brass*, *Gold* and *Silver*.

Homer in a hundred places mentions *Arms*, and *Instruments of Husbandry* made of *Brass*. He describes, for instance, a Chariot with an Axle-tree of *Iron*, and Wheels, with eight *Spokes*, of *Brass* (g). He afterwards speaks of Soldiers, some

(a) See D. Bernard. de Montfaucon, *Diar. Ital.* c. 5. apud eund. c. 12.

(b) *Flamin. Vacca*

(c) *Lucr.* Posterior ferri vis est, ærisque reperta,
Et prior æris erat, quam ferri cognitus usus.

(d) *Lucr.* Inde minutatim-procellet ferreus enſis,
Versaque in opprobrium species est falcis ahenæ.

(e) *Virg.* Falcibus & Messæ ad Lunam queruntur ahenis
Pubentes Herbae.

(f) *Virg. Æn.* 1. Arcæ cui gradibus surgebant limina, nexæ
Arc traves, foribus cando stridebat ahenis.

(g) *Il. E.* Καμπύλα κνύρα,
Χάλκεια, ὀκτανύχη, σιδερέϊα ἄσπον ἀμφίς.

with

with *Brass*, and some with *Iron Arms* (b). *Herodotus* (i) assures us, that the *Massageta* had not only Hatchets, but *Pikes*, *Quivers*, *Axes*, of *Brass*. *Xenophon* makes frequent mention of the same sort of Arms; and tells us, the *Persians* wore *Brazen Helmets*, and *Breast-plates* (k). *Alceus* speaks of *Swords* and *Greaves of Brass* (l). *Philip* King of *Macedonia* pretended to the *Scythians*, that he had vow'd a Statue to *Hercules*, and wanted to go and set it up at the Mouth of the *Danube*. The *Scythians* sent him word, that if he would send the Statue to them, they would set it up for him; but in case he insisted upon doing it without their leave, they would pull it down, and convert the *Brass* into *Heads for Arrows* (*). In fine, *Virgil* so often mentions the making of Arms with *Brass*, that a Man must be blind not to see it (m).

The Scriptures are no less express in this matter. There is mention of *Brazen Gates*, and *Bars* (n), of *Bucklers*, *Helmets*, and *Bows* (o), of *Bands* and *Chains* (p), of *Wheels*, and *Axle-trees* (q), and lastly, of *Greaves of Brass* (r). Had *Iron* or *Steel* been design'd to be meant in all these Passages, why was the Term *Brass* made use of, since a proper Word to express *Iron* by, was not wanting? If this Term had only been used in *Poetical Works*, it might possibly by a *Figure* of Speech be understood, either of some other Metal, or of any Metal in general. Such a *License* might be pardonable in *profane* Authors. But that this Liberty shou'd be taken in the plain and historical Narrations in Scripture, is what no Man in his Senses will say. We may therefore, when the Scriptures speak of Arms of *Brass*, understand the Words in their *literal* Sense.

Their Swords.

But to consider each of their Arms in particular, I shall begin with the most remarkable, the *Sword*. The *Hebrews* wore it on their Thigh. *Solomon's* Bed was guarded by *threescore valiant Men*, with every Man his *Sword upon his Thigh* (a). I conjecture, they usually wore it on their left side, since it is observ'd of *Ehud*, who was *left-handed*, that he *girded his Dag-*

(b) ἄλλοι μὲν χαλκῶν, ἄλλοι δ' αἰσίνων εὐδῆρον.

(i) Ap. Athen. (*). Justin l. IX.

(k) Xen. l. 7. (l) Ap. Athen. (*). Justin l. IX.

(m) Aeneid. VII. Atraxaque micant

(n) 1 Kings iv. 13. (o) 1 Kings xiv. 27.

(p) Dan. iv. 15. (q) 1 Kings vii. 30. (r) Deut. xxxiii. 2. (a) Cant. iii. 7. 8.

ger

ger under his Raiment upon his right Thigh (b). They wore besides at their Girdle a Dagger in a Sheath or Case. The *Arabian* Soldiers wear at this Day, a *Sabre* by their Side, and a *Bayonet*, or Dagger, at their Girdle (c). The *Romans* and *Persians* did the same (d). *Homer* describes *Agamemnon* drawing his Cutlance, or Dagger, that he always wore beside his ponderous *Sword* (e).

Their *Military* Girdles, or Belts, did not come over their *Belts*. Shoulders, as the ancient *Greeks* wore them, but about their *Loins* or *Waists* (f). *Nehemiah* order'd the Builders of the Walls of *Jerusalem* to have every one his *Sword* girded on his *Loins*. The Belts were commonly of great Value, and were sometimes given as a Reward to Soldiers, that had behaved themselves well. *Jonathan* made a Present of his to *David* (g). *Joab* said to him, that saw *Abalom* as he hung on the Tree, *Why didst not thou smite him to the ground, and I would have given thee ten Shekels and a Girdle* (h)?

The *Spear*, *Pike*, *Dart*, or *Javelin*, were likewise common among the *Hebrews*. The *Spear* was of Wood pointed with *Iron* or *Brass*, its Weight and Length were proportionable to the Strength of him that used it. The Head of *Goliath's* *Spear* weigh'd 600 *Shekels* of *Iron* (i). *Isbi-benob's*, another Giant, weigh'd 300 *Shekels* of *Brass* (k). *Saul* generally held in his hand, like the *Heroes* of Antiquity, a *Javelin* or *Scepter*, with which he several times endeavour'd in the Transports of his Fury to kill *David* (l). They threw their Darts and Spears against the Enemy, and very often had more than one in their hand. *Joab*, for instance, took no less than three, when he went to kill *Abalom* as he hung by his Hair (m). The Ancients had a sort of *Javelin* ty'd to a *Leather String*, which they darted against their Enemies without letting the String go (n). I don't know whether *David* did not mean to express by the Term *Sword*, one of these *Javelins*, when he said, *The Sword of Saul return'd not empty* (o). This Term was of a general Signification among the

The Spear, Pike, and Javelin.

(b) Judg. iii. 16. (c) Roger, Terre Sainte, l. 2. c. 2. (d) Lips. de Milit. Rom. l. 3.

(e) Iliad. F. x. 271. (f) 2 Sam. xx. 3. Neh. iv. 18. Margin.

(g) 1 Sam. xviii. 4. (h) 2 Sam. xviii. 11. (i) 1 Sam. xvii. 7. about 22 1/2 lib.

(k) 2 Sam. xxi. 16. (l) 1 Sam. xviii. 10. (m) 2 Sam. xviii. 14.

(n) Xen. l. 3. & 4. de Exped. Cyr. (o) 2 Sam. i. 22.

D

Hebrews.

Hebrews. Statius mentions another sort of *Javelins* made use of in War by the Ancients.

Spiculaque, & multa crinitum missile flammâ.

These were burning Darts daub'd with Pitch, and other combustible matter, and so darted against the Enemy. It is not long ago, that such were made use of in Sieges (p). The Scriptures make us believe, these Instruments of Death were not unknown to the *Hebrews*: *Mighty and sharp Arrows, with hot burning Coals*, says the *Psalmist*. And the Prophets frequently stile Lightning the *Arrows of the Lord*; alluding to the flaming Darts we are speaking of (q). The Lamps or *Firebrands* that *Gideon* carried against the *Midtanites*, conceal'd in empty *Pitchers*, till he came near the Enemy, might be something of this nature (r).

Bows and Arrows.

Bows and Arrows are mention'd in almost every Page of the *Bible*. Nothing was more common among the *Hebrews*. They are Things so well known, as to afford no Matter for any Remark peculiar to the *Israelites*. The *Bow* and *Quiver* were generally of *Brass* (s). They call'd bending their Bow, *treading it under foot*, because they set their feet upon one end of it, in order to bend it. They shot at *Marks* set up on purpose without the Town, in order to make themselves expert at this Exercise (t); as is commonly done at this day in the *East*. They have a sort of *Mud-Wall*, which they take care to keep moist, that the Arrow may enter and stick in it. The *Hebrews* were very dexterous Archers, the Bow being one of their principal Arms. *David* praises *Jonathan* for his great Skill in this Art. *From the Blood of the Slain*, (says he) *the Bow of Jonathan turned not back*; that is, he never fail'd of doing Execution.

The Sling.

The Sling was in as great, or greater request among the *Hebrews*, than any where else in the World. We read in their History, of the most surprizing Instances of their Skill this way. All know the Glory *David* acquired, having never before been in the Wars, or handled his Arms, when with the first Stone he slung, he brought *Goliath*, the Terror of *Israel*, down to the ground. The Scriptures speak of the Dexterity of the *Benja-*

(p) Du Cange, Notes sur l'Histoire de St. Louis, par Joinville.

(q) Habac. iii. 11. & Psal. xviii. 14.

Vulg. Arcum Ereum, (r) 1 Sam. xx. 28.

(s) Judg. vii. 16.

(t) Job xx. 24.

mites

mites in Slinging, somewhat indeed hyperbolically; but however not without a real Foundation, when they say, *They could sling Stones at an Hair's-breadth, and never miss* (u). It is elsewhere said (w), that there came to *David*, whilst he was at *Ziklag*, mighty Men, that could use both the Right-hand and Left in *Slinging Stones*. Slings were made use of in Battel, when they fought at a distance; and in Sieges, to beat off the Besieged from the Walls. The Kings had in their *Arsenals* *Slings* as well as other Arms (x).

I am not very certain whether the *Hebrews* had a sort of *offensive Arms*, mentioned by the Antients. *Herodotus* (y) says, the *Sagarces* had no Arms of *Iron* or *Brass*; but *Cords* with a *Head of the Enemy*. *Noose*, or *running Knot*, which they threw about the *Necks* of Men and Horses, and so drawing them to them, killed them. Others made use of *Nets*, which they cast over their Enemy's Head, and then pulling him down to the ground, they disabled him from defending himself, by intangling him in it. In this manner *Pittacus*, one of the seven *Wise Men* of *Greece*, caught and vanquish'd his Enemy (z). Some Scriptural Expressions seem to insinuate, the *Hebrews* had this Practice among them. *Ezekiel* (a), speaking of *Zedekiah*, says, *My Net will I spread upon him*. The Scriptures make frequent mention of *Snares* and *Nets*, that are spread to take Men; and *Pits* dug to make them fall into. These things intimate, as if at that time they hunted Men as they did wild Beasts. *Upon the Wicked, God shall rain Snares*, says the *Psalmist*. And again, *The Snares of Death prevented me*; that is, the Snares of my mortal Enemies, who sought my Life. And *Isaiab* (b), *Fear, and the Pit, and the Snare are upon thee. He that fleeth from the Noise of the Fear, shall fall into the Pit; and he that cometh up out of the Pit, shall be taken in the Snare*. *Jeremiab* (c) reproaches the *Jews* for setting *Traps* for Men, and catching them in *Nets* like Birds. There are a hundred Expressions to the same purpose; and some Learned Men understand literally what is said of *Nimrod*, that *he was a mighty Hunter before the Lord*; (i. e.) he was a Tyrant, and a Hunter of Men. *The Jews* is said by *Pharaoh* to kill one of those *Hunters*, who used

(u) Judg. xx. 16. See the Author's Comment.

xxvi. 14.

(y) Lib. 7. c. 95.

(z) v. 26, 27.

(w) 1 Chr. xii. 2.

(x) 2 Chr. xii. 13.

(b) xxiv. 17, 18.

D 2

to

to lay *Snares* and *Traps* for People as they pass'd along the Road.

The Shield or Buckler.

The Shield is the chief of the *Defensive Arms*. The *Hebrews* have four *Terms* to express it by; and, without dispute, they don't all mean exactly the same thing. There was some difference in these several Shields, either as to the Matter or Form. That which *Goliath* had between his Shoulders, is called *Chidon*. But it is much doubted, whether this Term signifies a Shield (*d*). Those *Solomon* made, and overlaid with Gold, are filed *צנה* *Tinnab*, different from others he made, and called *מגן* *Magen*, the common Name for a Shield (*e*). The *Psalmist* seems to say, that the *Tinnab* incircled or crown'd them that bore it. *With Favour wilt thou compass or Crown him, as with a Shield* (*f*). Somewhat like those large Bucklers, *Homer* compares to a Tower, and generally gives this Epithet to, *That cover a Man all over*. Or those mention'd by *Virgil* (*g*),

— *Chypeique sub Orbe teguntur*.

Amos (*h*), speaking to the *Israelites* from God, says, They were as Beasts fatted for the Sacrifice. They should be quarter'd, and carried away upon Shields [צנתי]. *Virgil* represents the dead Body of *Pallas* carried in that manner (*i*):

Impositum Scuto referunt Pallanta frequentes.

Livy (*k*) says, they gave to the Roman Soldiers of the *Second Class* a Buckler, because they had no Breast-plates, to the end it might serve them for both. The *Psalmist* distinguishes the *Tinnab* from another sort of Shield he calls *סבארב* *Sabarab* (*l*), apparently from its Form, *Sabarab* signifying the Moon. *Virgil* (*m*) gives the Epithet of *Lunar* to the Bucklers of the *Amazons*:

Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis.

The Shields were made of Wood or Osier, Leather, and Metal, with which they were covered all over, or round the Edges

(d) 1 Sam. xvii. 6. It is render'd in most Places in our English Bible by Spear. See Josh. xviii. 6. Jer. l. 42, &c. (e) 1 Kings, x. 16, 17. (f) Psal. v. 12. (g) Æneid. 2. (h) iv. 2. in our Bible [with Hooks.] (i) Æn. x. (k) Lib. i. (l) Psal. xc. 4. (m) Æn. i.

only.

only. *Isaiab* (*n*) speaking to those who were to destroy *Babylon*, says, *Arise and anoint, or grease, the Shield*; which is proper only for Leather ones. *Solomon* made some of Gold; and *Jeroboam* his Son made others of Brass (*o*). *Nabum* (*p*) says, *The Shield of the mighty Men is made red*, or cover'd with Blood, or else shin'd and appear'd as if all on Fire, like that in *Virgil* (*q*):

— *Vastos umbo vomit aureus ignes*.

They held their Bucklers in their Left-hand during the Fight; but when they march'd, they bore them between their Shoulders. The *Arabians* at this day, carry their Bucklers in that manner, fasten'd with a Leather String (*r*). This is a very antient Custom, as may be seen from several Passages in *Homer*. *Herodotus* (*s*) adds, that formerly they that made use of Bucklers, tied them round their Necks with Leather Strings, and threw them over their left Shoulder. It was the *Carians*, says he, that put Strings on to their Shields, to carry them on their Arm. *Homer* describes *Patroclus's* Shield on his Shoulder (*t*). The Roman Soldiers, filed *Triarii*, sat down under their Colours with their Bucklers on their Shoulders (*u*). The antient People of *Lusitania*, or *Portugal*, bore their Shields tied round their Shoulders, but hanging before.

The Helmets of the *Hebrew* Soldiers, as well as those of *Helmet*, most other Nations, were of Brass. *Goliath's* and *Saul's* were both of this Metal (*w*); as were those of *Antiochus Eupator's* Soldiers in the *Maccabees* (*x*). *Polybius* speaks of Helmets, as if generally they had been made of Brass. I might here enlarge upon the Matter and Form of the Helmets of the Antients, but this would carry me too far from my present Subject.

Somewhat more may be said of the *Breast-plate*, since it is *Breast-plate*, more than once mention'd in Scripture. There were several *several sorts*. Some were made of *Flax*, *Cotton*, or *Wool*, beaten as you do *Felt*: Others were of Brass or *Iron*, but made in a different manner; in some the Plates were so placed one over another, as to resemble the *Scales* of Fishes; whereas others were properly what we call *Coats of Mail*; and others again consisted of one

(n) xxi. 5. (o) 1 King. xiv. 27. (p) ii. 3. (q) Æn. x. (r) Roger. Voyage de la Terre Sainte. (s) Lib. i. c. 171. (t) Iliad II. v. 802. (u) Liv. l. 7. (w) 1 Sam. xvii. 5: 38. (x) vi. 35. (y) OE.

or two pieces of Brass or Steel that cover'd the Back and Breast. The Scriptures mention all these sorts. *Goliath* is said, according to the *Original*, to have a *Breast-plate of Scales* (y), that is, made of thin Plates of *Brass* and *Iron*, laid over one another so as to form a sort of *Tissue* of *Iron* and *Brass*, like *Fishes Scales*. Others will have it, that his *Breast-plate* was like our *Coats of Mail*, which consist of a Contexture of an infinite number of small circular Plates interwoven one in another. This is what the Author of the *Maccabees* (z) calls, *Lorica concatenata*; and the *Latins*, *Lorica squamea*, the very Term made use of by the *Vulgate* for *Goliath's*. *Virgil* speaks of this sort of *Breast-plates* in these Words (a):

Nec duplici squamâ lorica fidelis, et auro —

But I see no manner of reason to give up the literal Meaning of the Words in the *Original*, which signify a *Breast-plate of Scales*. That the Antients had such, is not to be disputed. *Herodotus* (b) expressly says, that the *Persians* wore *Breast-plates of Iron*, like the *Scales* of a Fish. And in another Place he observes (c), that *Masistius*, General of the *Persians*, had a *Breast-plate of Gold* so wrought, as to represent *Fishes Scales*.

Breast-plates
of Flax, Cotton,
and Wool.

The Scriptures speak of another sort of *Breast-plates* not made with Metal, but *Flax*, *Cotton*, or *Wool*. It is thought, *Saul* had one of these on in the Battel of *Gilboa*. The *Amalekite*, who gives an account of *Saul's* Death to *David*, says, that he saw him leaning upon his Spear, and endeavouring to stab himself, but that his *linnen Breast-plate* hindered the Spear from running in (d). The *Original* Word is not well understood: however, several learned Commentators take it in this Sense; and it is certain that it denotes *Linnen-cloth* in *Exodus* (e) and in the *Psalms* (f). The *Egyptians*, *Persians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, wore such sort of *Breast-plates*. *Xenophon* seems to think they were peculiar to the *Persians* (g). *Ajax* and *Adrastus* in *Homer*, are surnamed *Λιννοπλάστῃ* or wearing *linnen-Breast-plates* (h). *Pliny* says (i) that at the *Trojan* War, there were Heroes that fought covered all with *Linnen*. *Orb* the

(y) Sam. xvii. 5. שריון קשקשתי. (z) 1 Mac. vi. 35. Vulg. & Gr. (a) Æn. 9. v. 707. (b) Lib. 9. c. 61. (c) Lib. 9. c. 22. Σαΐστης καὶ γενναῖος ἀνδρὶς ἄριστος. (d) 2 Sam. i. 9. פָּצְלוֹ. In the Margin of our Bible it is render'd Coat of Mail & embroidered Coat. (e) xxviii. 4. (f) xlv. (g) Lib. 6. Cyrop. (h) Iliad. B. 529. (i) Lib. 19. c. 1.

Roman

Roman Emperor had one of these *Breast-plates*. *Iphicrates*, General of the *Athenians*, made his Soldiers leave off their *Steel Breast-plates* for *Linnen* ones (k): by which means they became more light and active; because these *Breast-plates*, tho' they were as solid as *Brass* or *Iron*, yet were nothing so heavy and cumbersome. They were made both with *Flax* and *Wool*. *Nicetas* (l) gives us an account how the *Linnen* ones were made. The *Flax* was steep'd a good while in *Vinegar* with a great deal of *Salt*. When it was soak'd enough, it was work'd and manag'd as *Hatters* do *Felt*, and the Stuff they make their *Hats* with. The *Breast-plate* was usually eight or ten-fold thick. It resisted the Force of *Iron*, and by stretching, gave the Body an entirely free Motion. The *Woollen* ones were made much after the same manner.

There is no mention of any Armour for the Thighs, or rather the Legs, in Scripture, but only in the Description of *Goliath's* Armour. The antient *Grecians* in *Homer* (m) wore *Buskins* of *Brass* that cover'd the Foot and Leg. From the Words in the *Original*, it seems as if *Goliath's* Armour cover'd only the forepart of his Leg; the *Hebrew* Term signifying the *Front* or *Forepart* (n). On *Antoninus's* Pillar at *Rome* there are Soldiers in *Relievo*, with Plates of Metal just broad enough to cover the forepart of their Legs. *Vegetus* (o) says, the *Roman* Soldiers, in the foremost Ranks, wore a sort of *Iron Boot* on their right Leg. This, I suppose, is what was formerly call'd *Greaves*.

After having described the several sorts of Arms in use among the *Hebrews*, it will be proper to give some account of their *Arsenals* or Store-houses where they laid them up. It is plain from what has hitherto been said, that in the Beginning of the *Hebrew Republick*, there was no such thing as a common Magazine of Arms. Every Man was to provide for himself in the best manner he could; and we find that *Saul* himself and his Son *Jonathan* were at first hardly provided with even necessary Arms. There were then no *Arsenals* till the Reigns of *David* and *Solomon*. *David* had laid up in the Temple good store of Arms consecrated to the Lord; which the High-Priest *Jehoiada* armed the People with at the Coronation of young

(k) Corn. Nep. in Iph. (l) Nic. in vit. Isaac. Ang. l. 1. (m) Iliad. H. 41. χαλκοννημίδες. See the Author's Comment on Deut. xxiii. 24. (n) 1 Sam. xvii. 6. (o) Lib. 2. c. 20.

King

King *Joash* (p). It was customary also to hang up Arms in Towers. The Spouse in the *Canticles* (q) mentions the Tower of *David* built for an *Armory*, whereon hung 1000 *Bucklers*. *Ezekiel* (r) observes, that the *Tyrians*, *Persians*, *Lybians* and *Lydians*, hung their Shields and their Helmets on the Walls of *Tyre* as an Ornament to the City. *Solomon* obliged all Nations that were subject to him, to furnish him, amongst other Things, with a yearly Tribute of Arms (s). He had in his Palace, called *the House of the Forest of Lebanon*, a large Hall where Arms were kept always in Order; particularly 300 Shields and 200 Targets, all cover'd with *beaten Gold* (t). These *Reboboam* his Son lost in the War with *Shishack* King of *Egypt*: however, he made others of *Brass* in their room (u). Moreover, he made *Arsenals* in all the fenced Cities of *Judah* (w). But *Uzziah*, King of *Judah*, was the most famous for his Magazines of Arms (x). He was not satisfy'd with laying up common Arms and Weapons, as Spears, Shields, Helmets, Bows, Slings, &c. but several Engines also proper for Sieges. King *Hezekiah* follow'd his Example, and had a *Treasury of all sorts of Arms* (y). In the time of the *Maccabees*, *Jonathan* and *Simon* had got together so great a quantity of Arms, as put them in a condition to make head against all the Power of *Syria* (z).

Watch-Word.

Some imagine, from the History of *Jephthah*, that it was usual to give a *Watch-Word*. After he had vanquish'd the *Ammonites*, the Men of *Ephraim*, envious of his Glory, pick'd a Quarrel with him for not calling them out to the War; and, without hearkning to what he said in his Defence, fell upon him immediately, but were worsted. And that not a Man of them might escape, the *Gileadites* secured the Fords of the River *Jordan*, where, as the *Ephraimites* presented themselves in order to pass over, they demanded of them the *Watch-Word*, which was *Shibboleth* (a): and upon their answering *Sibboleth*, they put them to death without Quarter. But it is much more probable, they were made to speak the Word *Shibboleth*, in order to discover them by their Language; because it was well known that *Tribe* could not pronounce it *Shibboleth*, but *Sibboleth*. In

(p) 2 Chr. xxiii. 9. (q) iv. 4. (r) xxvii. 10. 11. (s) 1 King. x. 25.
(t) 2 Chr. ix. 16. (u) 1 King. xiv. 26. (w) 2 Chr. xi. 12. (x) 2 Chr. xxvi. 14, 15.
(y) xxxii. 27. Vulg. (z) 1 Mac. xv. 7. x. 21. (a) Judg. xii. 6.

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the War against the *Benjamites*, the *Seventy* (b) thought the *Watch-word* given to the *Israelites* that lay in *Ambush* near the City of *Gibeah*, was, *The Sword*.

That the Soldiers, upon their going to fight, had a certain Form of Words given them, is plain, from what *Gideon* says to his Men; *When I blow with a Trumpet, then blow ye also, and say, THE SWORD OF THE LORD AND OF GIDEON* (c). Every one knows what is said of the *Motto* of the *Maccabees*. It was taken (say they) from these Words in *Exodus* (d): *Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the Gods?* The first Letters of which Words in *Hebrew*, make *Maccabai*, which they put in their Standards, and from thence were ever after call'd by that Name. But this is uncertain. We read that *Judas Maccabeus*, upon joining Battel with *Nicanor*, gave his Soldiers *this Signal*: *THE HELP OF GOD*; and in the Battel with *Lyfias*, *VICTORY IS OF GOD* (e).

The *Hebrew* Writers have given us a large and very exact Account of the *Standards* of their Ancestors, in the time of *Moses* (f). But their being so very particular, is what makes them the more suspected. Each *Tribe* had its Standard, and each *Body*, consisting of three *Tribes*, had one in common to all three. *Judah*, *Issachar*, and *Zebulun*, bore on their Standard a *Young Lion*, with this *Motto*, *Let God arise, and let our Enemies fly before us*. *Reuben*, *Simeon*, and *Gad*, had the Figure of an *Hind*, with these Words, *Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord*. *Ephraim*, *Manasseh*, and *Benjamin*, had an *Infant embroidered*, with this Inscription, *The Cloud of the Lord was upon them by day*. Lastly, *Dan*, *Asher*, and *Naphtali*, bore an *Eagle*, with this *Devise*, *Return, O Lord, and let thy Glory abide in the midst of the Host of Israel*.

But we meet with something that is more to be depended upon in the Scriptures. *Moses*, after the Defeat of the *Amalekites*, built an Altar, with this Inscription upon it, *Jehovah-nissi, The Lord is my Standard* (g). The *Psalmist* says (h), *In the Name of our God we will set up our BANNERS*. The *Bridegroom* in the *Canticles* (i), compares his Spouse to an *Army with Banners*. *Isaiah* (k), describing the Kingdom of the

(b) Judg. xx. 38. Septuag. (c) Judg. vii. 18. (d) xv. 18. (e) 2 Mac. viii. 23.
xiii. 15. (f) See Calmer on Numb. ii. 2. (g) Exod. xvii. 15. (h) xx. 5.
(i) vi. 4. (k) v. 26.

E

Messiah,

Messiah, under the Representation of the Return from the *Babylonish* Captivity, says, the Lord *will lift up an Ensign to the Nations from afar*. But it is not known for certain, whether this *Standard* or *Banner* was a Shield, Helmet, or Breast-plate, on the top of a Spear, or something of that nature. *Colours* were not *then* in use; neither do we know when they first came to be so. The *Greeks* had none at the Siege of *Troy*. *Agamemnon*, endeavouring to rally his Troops, held up a Purple Robe in his hand, to make himself seen by the Soldiers (*l*).

The Ark of the
Covenant in
the Army.

From *Moses*, to the building of the Temple by *Solomon*, the *Ark of the Covenant* was generally in the Armies of *Israel*. It always stood in the midst of the Camp in the Wilderness. After their worshipping the Golden Calf, for the Punishment of the People, *Moses* removed the *Tabernacle* afar off from the Camp (*m*). When the *Hebrews* would, contrary to the Command of the Lord, advance towards *Canaan*, it is observed, that neither the *Ark* of the Lord, nor *Moses*, stir'd from the Camp (*n*). *Joshua* commonly carried with him this precious *Pledge* of the Presence and Protection of the Lord. The *Israelites* being put to flight by the *Philistines*, in the time of *Eli* the High Priest, the Elders of *Israel* sent for the *Ark* of the Lord. At its coming to the Camp, the Army shouted for Joy, at which the *Philistines* were dismay'd. However, God permitted the *Ark* to be taken, and the *Israelites* to be entirely routed, for the Wickedness of the Priests and People (*o*). It is plain the *Ark* of the Lord was at *Gilgal*, when *Saul* offered there Burnt-Offerings, since a very little time after, he order'd *Abiath* to consult the Lord before the *Ark* (*p*). *David* took care to have it carried to the Siege of *Rabbah*; for *Uriah* says to him, *The Ark and Judah abide in Tents, and my Lord Joab is encamped in the open Fields; shall I then go to my House to eat and to drink* (*q*)? When *David* was fain to fly from *Absalom*, *Zadock* the Priest brought to him the *Ark* of the Lord; but he ordered it back again to *Jerusalem* (*r*). The *Heathens* carried with them in their Armies their *Gods*, and all they held most *Sacred*, just as the *Hebrews* did the *Ark*, which they look'd upon as the *Throne*

(*l*) *Iliad* θ. v. 221. (*m*) *Exod.* xxxiii. 7. (*n*) *Numb.* xiv. 44. (*o*) *1 Sam.* iv. 11. (*p*) *1 Sam.* xii. 9. xiv. 18. (*q*) *2 Sam.* xi. 11. (*r*) *2 Sam.* xv. 24.

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of the Lord. The *Philistines* had their *Gods* with them, and the *Israelites* of the ten Tribes their *Golden Calf* (*s*).

The Camp of *Israel* in the Wilderness was so ordered, that the *Tabernacle* and *Ark* of the Lord stood in the middle. Three Tribes were encamped on the *East*, three on the *West*, and as many on the *North* and *South* Sides of the *Tabernacle*, with the Tribe of *Levi* round about it (*t*). The same Order was observ'd every time the *Ark* of the Lord accompanied the Army. *Hom*er (*u*) places in the midst of the *Grecian* Camp the *Altars* and *Statues* of their *Gods*, their *Courts of Justice*, and *Market* where they bought their Provisions. When the *Ark* came to be fix'd more to one Place in the Land of *Canaan*, we don't so plainly see what the Form of their Camp was: but, in all likelihood, the King's or General's Tent stood in the middle, where the *Tabernacle* used to be. *David* came by Night into the Camp of *Saul*, and found him sleeping, with his General and People lying round about him (*w*). This Instance shows, they kept no very strict Guard, since he penetrated to the Center of the Army, and got off again, without any one's perceiving it.

The *Hebrews*, as well as other Nations, commonly made their Tents of Skins. *David* having a Design to build a Temple for the Lord, told *Nathan* the Prophet (*x*), *See now I dwell in an House of Cedar, but the Ark of God dwelleth within Skins* *. And in fact, the *Tabernacle* or Tent of the Lord, made by *Moses* in the Wilderness, was covered with Skins on the outside. The *Psalmist* compares the Heavens to a magnificent Tent: *Extendens Calum sicut Pellem* (*y*). And *Isaiab* says (*z*), the Lord stretches out the Heavens as a *fine Cloth*; for they sometimes made their Tents of Linnen, or Cloth made of Camel's or Goat's Hair, of a dark colour. Hence the Spouse in the *Canticles* (*a*); *I am black as the Tents of Kedar, as the Curtains or Skins of Solomon*. The *Kedareni*ans were the *Arabians*, who dwelt in Tents, as well as the *Midianites*, mentioned by *Habakkuk* (*b*): *I saw the Tents of Cushan in Affliction, and the Skins of the Land of Midian did tremble*. *Isaiab* (*c*), speaking to the *Israelites*, says, *Enlarge the Place*

(*s*) *1 Chr.* xiv. 2 *Chr.* xiii. (*t*) *Numb.* ii. (*u*) *Iliad* XI. (*w*) *1 Sam.* xxvi. 7. (*x*) *2 Sam.* vii. 2. * The Word we translate here, and in other Places, *Curtains*, signifies also the Skins they made their Tents with. (*y*) *Psal.* ciii. 3. *Vulg.* civ. 2. in ours. (*z*) xl. 22. p 77. (*a*) i. 5. (*b*) iii. 7. (*c*) liv. 2.

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of

of thy Tent, and let them stretch forth the Skins of thine Habitations; lengthen thy Cords, and strengthen thy Stakes.

The Law of the Lord strictly kept during the Wars.

The Law of the Lord was never dispens'd with during the Tumult and Hurry of War. They punctually kept the Sabbath; and we find several times the whole Army of *Israel* halting in their Marches, and desisting from important Enterprises, out of a scrupulous Observance of their Law. Oftentimes the Enemy, knowing they dared not work, or march, or fight on the Sabbath-Day, took that opportunity to prevent them in their Marches, to repair their Breaches, to finish their Works, and sometimes even to attack them, and storm their Towns. *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Lagus*, King of *Egypt*, took *Jerusalem* without any resistance, because he made the Assault on the Sabbath-Day (d). The *Maccabees* for some time would make no resistance on that Day; many of them perished in the Caves of the Mountains, because they would not so much as shut up the Entrance into them. But at length they came to a resolution of defending themselves, but not of attacking the Enemy: Which Ordinance the *Jews* all along religiously observed. They took up Arms in their own Defence, when attacked; but they would do nothing to annoy the Enemy on that Day. In this manner they acted, when *Jerusalem* was besieged by *Pompey*. He took the Advantage of the Sabbath-Day to carry on his Works, and to advance his Engines, secure of meeting with no Disturbance from the Besieged (f).

There were no Laws, not even those troublesome ones about the purifying their common Uncleanesses, but what were strictly observed in the Camp. *Moses* order'd the Man that should find himself unclean, by reason of any casual and unforeseen Accident in the Night, to absent himself from the Camp, and not to return, till he had wash'd himself in Water in the Evening (g). No Woman was to come within the Camp. They who had in any Rencounter kill'd an Enemy, were unclean, as well as they that had touch'd a dead Body. They were not to come into the Camp till after seven Days, and the purifying themselves in the same manner as they did that assisted at Funerals (h). This we find practis'd after the Defeat of the *Midianites* (i). *Moses* or-

(d) Jos. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1.
l. xiv. c. 8.

(g) Deut. xxiii. 10.

(e) 1 Mac. ii. 31—44.
(h) Numb. xix. 11.

(f) Jos. Antiq.
(i) Numb. xxxi. 19.

ders

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ders moreover, that each Soldier, when he went forth out of the Camp to the Place appointed to ease Nature in, should carry a Paddle with him, to make a Hole in the Earth, and cover it up again when he had done.

Tho' several prodigious Instances of Severity, and even of Cruelty, shown to the vanquished Enemy, are to be met with in the Holy Scriptures, yet may it be affirm'd, that nothing is more contrary to the Laws and Spirit of their Great Legislator, than such violent and furious Proceedings. *Moses* forbids all manner of inhuman Actions; he orders them not to destroy so much as the Trees of the Field, when they besiege a Town, which is a time that Timber is most wanted to make Engines with (k). If God sometimes commanded or permitted any cruel Action, he always did it with a view to Justice: for example, when *David* put the *Ammonites* under Saws, and Harrows, and Axes of Iron (l). The Scriptures never approve of such Doings; but as they condemn them not, we are obliged to think that *David* acted thus with the Approbation, or by the Order of God. *Jehoshaphat*, King of *Judah*, and *Jeboam*, King of *Israel*, waged a cruel War against the *Moabites* (m), who had revolted against *Israel*. They sack'd all the Cities, ravaged the Country, fell'd the Fruit-Trees, stopp'd up the Wells, covered the best of the Land with Stones, and cut in pieces their whole Army. The King, with 700 Men, fled to his Capital; which, as they were upon the point of taking, this unfortunate Prince took his eldest Son, and sacrificed him upon the Walls, in sight of the *Hebrews*; which struck them in such a manner, that they desisted from proceeding any farther. Nothing can seem more cruel and inhuman than such Wars. However, the Scriptures tell us, all this was done by the Command of the Lord. *Gideon* tore the Flesh of the Princes of *Succorh* with Thorns and Briars, for their having refused him Necessaries for his Men (n). *Amaziah* cast down from the top of a Rock 10,000 *Idumeans* he had taken Prisoners (o). But there is no necessity of vindicating those Actions the Scriptures never approv'd of.

Instances of Clemency are more rare; but however, several there are to be met with in the *Hebrew* Wars. The Scriptures often upbraid them for their Clemency to the *Canaanites*, whom

(k) Deut. xx. 19.
(o) 2 Chr. xxv. 12.

(l) 2 Sam. xii. 31.

(m) 2 Kings, iii.

(n) Judg. viii. 7, 16.

they

they were commanded to extirpate. *Abab*, King of *Israel*, having obtain'd in a miraculous manner a Victory over *Benhadad*, King of *Syria*, was so weak as to be wrought upon by the Entreaties of that Prince, to give him his Life, and enter into an Alliance with him (p). God severely reprimanded him by his Prophet: *Because thou hast let go out of thy hand, a Man whom I appointed to utter Destruction; therefore thy Life shall go for his Life, and thy People for his People*. Some *Syrian* Troops being sent to seize *Elisba*, the Prophet besought the Lord to strike them with Blindness; which being done, he led them to *Samaria*, without their knowing any thing of the matter. Then the King of *Israel*, when he saw them, said to *Elisba*, My Father, shall I smite them? The Prophet made answer, Thou shalt not, for thou hast not taken them with thy Sword, nor with thy Bow; but give them wherewithal to eat and drink, and send them back to their Master (q). The *Israelites* having vanquish'd *Abaz*, King of *Judah*, and carried off 200,000 Women and Children; *Oded* the Prophet met them as they were returning to *Samaria*, and threatned them with the fierce Anger of the Lord, unless they sent back their Captives and all the Spoil they had taken. Upon which, the Prisoners had Clothes and Shoes given them, and were made to eat and drink; and the Weak and Infirm being put on Asses, were all sent back to *Judah* (r).

Sieges.

It is time now to take a view of the *Hebrew* Soldiers at a Siege. The antient Manner of besieging Towns, was very different from that in use in our days, as well as their Way of fortifying them. Cities of Consequence stood on a Rising Ground, and were surrounded with several Walls one within another, thick enough to withstand the Force of the *Battering-Ram*; and high enough, if possible, to overtop the *Towers* that went upon Wheels, and the *Moles* or Banks of Earth that were thrown up against them. These Walls were not built straight, but with several Turnings and Windings, to the end a small Part of them only might be expos'd at once to the Shocks of the *Battering-Rams*, and the Breaches by that means be render'd the less. *Tacitus* (s) observes, that the Walls of *Jerusalem* were built in this manner. And *Vegetius* (t) tells us, it was a standing and

(p) 1 Kings, xx. 27. (q) 2 Kings, vi. 13—23. Vulg. (r) Lib. 5.

(s) Lib. 4. c. 2.

(t) 2 Chr. xxviii. 8—15.

general

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general Rule with the Antients to do so. *Vitruvius* (u), amongst his *Maxims* in the Art of *Fortification*, says, the Towers ought to jet out beyond the Walls, that the Enemy may be repuls'd on the Right and on the Left. And as for the Walls, he would have them built so, as that they might not be approach'd, without great difficulty, on steep and inaccessible Places. The Entrance of the Gates ought to be not direct and open, but in some fort close and dark. The Town itself should not be a Square, or have *Angles* with Sides of any Length, lest they should be too much expos'd to the Blows of the *Battering-Ram*; but should be built winding, so that the Enemy might be seen from several Parts. These are the Rules of that able *Architect*: And it is certain the *Hebrews*, without having studied them, followed them with great exactness. The greatest part of their Kings fortified a good number of Cities. *Solomon*, *Rehoboam*, *Asa*, *Jehoshaphat*, *Uzziah*, *Hezekiah*, are all famous upon that account. They placed *Garrisons* in their *Fenced* Cities, and had their *Magazines* of Arms, and, in process of time, their *Engines of War* also, as we shall see presently. In the Fortifications of *Jerusalem* alone, we find almost all that has been observ'd of the Fortifications of the Antients. But however, we must distinguish the Times; for what has been said, was not all along in use; the Manner of besieging Towns in different Ages, was not the same amongst the Antients.

From the time of *Moses*, Sieges were carried on much after the same manner for a long while together; all the difference was, there were not as yet any *Engines of War*, as there were afterwards. *When thou shalt besiege a City a long time, thou shalt not destroy the Trees thereof, to employ them in the Siege; only the Trees that be not Trees for Meat, thou shalt destroy and cut them down, to build Bulwarks against the City* (w). In those Days, the *Besiegers* surrounded the City with *Ditches*, *Banks of Earth*, and sometimes *Palisades*; and also with *Walls* and *Towers*, in order to prevent all going out or coming in. Oftentimes the City, reduced to Extremity by Famine, was forc'd to surrender, without having its Walls *Sapp'd* or *Scaled*, or without being surprized by any other way, invented by Necessity and Industry. The *Rabbins* tell us, their Forefathers never made *Lines* or *Walls* quite round the City, but left an open Space for the sake of those who were willing to save themselves, by

(u) Lib. 1. c. 5.

(w) Deut. xx. 19, 20.

coming

coming over to them. But there is not a word of this in Scripture. At the Siege of *Troy*, there were no *Lines of Circumvallation*. All was open quite up to the City-Gates.

Machines or
Engines for
Sieges.

We are very much in the dark as to the Original of *Engines of War*. In all the Sieges mention'd in the Scriptures, from *Joshua* to the Reign of *Uzziah*, King of *Judah*, there are not the least Footsteps of any such thing. They only speak of the antient Custom of surrounding the Cities with *Trenches* and *Moles*, and of *Scaling* and *Sapping* the Walls. *Joshua* took *Ai* by *Stratagem* (x), having placed an *Ambush* behind the City, who immediately enter'd the Town upon the Inhabitants all falling out to pursue the *Israelites*, who made as if they fled before them. *Gibeab*, and perhaps the City of the *Amalekites*, were taken in the same manner (y). This sort of *Stratagem* was in great request among the Antients; and the bravest Men in the whole Army were always pick'd out to lie in *Ambush* (z). *David* took *Jerusalem* by *Storm*. He promised the *Command* of his Army to the first that should *scale* the Wall; which was perform'd by *Joab* (a). This General laid Siege to *Abel* (b) and *Rabbab* (c), the Capital of the *Ammonites*, in Form. Mention is made of *Trenches*, *Moles*, and *undermining the Walls*; but not a word of *Engines*. *Homer*, the most antient Greek Writer, that speaks of *Sieges*, describes an *Intrenchment*, consisting of a *Strong Wall* with *Towers* upon it from Space to Space, and a *Ditch*, with *Palisades* *: but he says nothing of *Lines of Circumvallation*, or *Warlike Engines*; tho' he had frequent occasion of doing so, had there been any such at the famous Siege of *Troy*. *Sardanapalus*, says *Diodorus Siculus* (d), held out a seven Years Siege in *Nineweh*, because *Engines of War* were not then invented. They had neither *Slings* to throw huge Stones, nor *Tortoises* † to undermine, nor *Rams* to batter down the Walls. *Salmanezzer*, some time after, besieged *Samaria* three Years (e). *Psammiticus*, King of *Aegypt*, is said to have laid Siege 20 Years to *Azotus* (f). Every one knows how long the Siege of *Troy* lasted. The spending so much time in a Siege,

(x) *Josh.* viii. (y) *Judg.* xx. 1 *Sam.* xv. 5. (z) See *Homer* *Il.* i. & XIII. (a) 2 *Sam.* v. 8. & 1 *Chr.* xi. 6. (b) 2 *Sam.* xx. 15. (c) 2 *Sam.* xi. 12. * *Hom.* *Il.* VII. It is doubted whether the Use of intrenching Camps was known in the Trojan War; and therefore *Homer* is thought to have borrowed this regular Fortification from what was practised in his own Times. (d) *Lib.* 2. p. 80. † *Xenophon* (e) 2 *Kings*, xviii. 5. (f) *Arist.* de 70 *Interp.*

was,

was, no doubt, owing chiefly to their manner of going to work, and their want of *Warlike Engines*.

Uzziah, King of *Judah*, (who reigned from the Year of the *Uzziah* in-vented some Warlike Machines. World 3194 to 3247, and consequently lived about the time of *Sardanapalus*, who died in 3257) had laid up in his *Arsenals*, *Shields*, *Spears*, *Helmets*, *Habergeons*, *Bows*, and *Slings* to cast *Stones*. And made in *Jerusalem*, *Engines* invented by cunning Men, to be on the *Towers* and upon the *Bulwarks*, to shoot *Arrows* and great *Stones* withal: and his Name spread far abroad (g). It is not plain from hence, that this Prince was the Inventor of all these *Machines*, and that before him the like had not been seen. However, 70 Years after, the Use of *Engines* is expressly mention'd in Scripture. *Nebuchadnezzar* besieged *Jerusalem* in 3416; and, three Years after, the City of *Tyre*, in 3419. And in both these Sieges, he made use of *Slings* and *Battering-Rams*. *Ezekiel* represents to the *Israelites* the future Siege of *Jerusalem* in this manner (h): Take a *Tile*, says the Lord, and pourtray upon it the City of *Jerusalem*; and lay Siege against it, and build a Fort against it, and cast a Mount against it: Set the Camp also against it, and set *Battering-Rams* against it round about. He mentions *Battering-Rams* in another Place (i), where he describes *Nebuchadnezzar* making use of *Divinations* to see whether he should besiege *Jerusalem*, and appoint *Battering-Rams* against the Gates. The Hebrew Term made use of here, as well as those used by the Greeks and *Latins*, signify a real Ram; but it is evident, it can't be understood literally in this Passage. The Word in Hebrew is *Car*, from whence came *Carcamuse*, which signify'd formerly a Ram, in French: *Carcamusas*, *arietes vulgò resonatos*, says *Albo*, in his History of the Siege of *Paris*. The same *Ezekiel* (k), speaking of the Siege of *Tyre* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, expresses himself in this remarkable manner: The King of *Babylon* shall make a Fort (or Towers) against thee, and cast a Mount against thee, and lift up the *Buckler* against thee. And he shall set *Engines* of Ropes against thy Walls, and with his Axes he shall break down thy Towers. In all probability, these Words, he shall lift the *Buckler* against thee, mean, forming the *Tortoise*, that is, making the Soldiers, standing close to-

(g) See 2 *Chr.* xxvi. 14, 15, in Hebrew. (h) *Ezek.* iv. 1, 2. (i) *Ezek.* xxi. 21.

(k) xxvi. 8, 9. See the Hebrew.

F

gether,

gether, and cover'd over with their Shields, to advance to the Foot of the Walls to undermine them, or up to the very Gates, to break or fire them. Bucklers thus placed one over another like Tiles, or Scales of Fishes, and held over the Soldiers Heads, were like a *solid Pavement*, over which, it is affirm'd, *Horses and Chariots* have ran without sinking in (i).

As for the *Engines* of (*) *Ropes*, mention'd here, Commentators, for the most part, understand by them, *Ballists*, or *Slings*, to shoot *Darts* or *great Stones*. The *Battering-Ram* may also be meant by them. This was a vast thick piece of Timber, fortify'd at one end with an *Head of Iron*, and slung upon *Ropes* (u). The Soldiers thrust them with great Violence against the Walls, which made the strongest Stone-work shake. Some were carried on the Arms of those that used them. Others ran upon Wheels. There have been some of 80, 100, or 120 Foot long. *Appian* gives us the Description of one at the Siege of *Carthage*, that was so large as to require 6000 Men to manage it. *Pliny* (n) says, *Epeus* invented this Machine at the Siege of *Troy*: but *Viruvius* (o), *Tertullian* (p), and others, give the Honour of it to the *Carthaginians*. The Scriptures say nothing who invented it, but only expressly declare it was made use of by *Nebuchadnezzar* at the Siege of *Jerusalem*, and probably of *Tyre*. In fine, these *Engines of Ropes*, may possibly mean *Iron Hooks* with *Ropes* to them; with which, by throwing them up, they pull'd down the *Battlements*, demolish'd the *Walls*, or caught hold of the *Soldiers* that defend-ed them. The Antients had such a sort of *Machines*, call'd *Crows*, which served at Sieges for the foresaid Purposes (q). There is a Passage in *Samuel* (r) that seems to allude to this Instrument. *Ahitophel* counselled *Abisalom* to fall upon *David*, without giving him time to recover out of his Surprise; and in case he escaped, to besiege him in the first Town he should fly to. Then (said he) shall all Israel bring ROPES to that City, and we will draw it into the River, until there be not one small Stone found there. *Homer* (s) describes the *Trojans* attacking the *Grecian* Intrenchments, pulling down the *Battlements* of the Wall, and undermining the Towers.

(i) See Lips. Polior. Dial. 5. & Liv. l. 44. (*) In our Translations they are called Engines of War. (u) Joseph. de Bell. l. 3. c. 9. (n) Lib. 7. c. 56. (o) Lib. x. c. 19. (p) De Pallio. (q) Diodor. l. 17. (r) Sam. xvii. 13. (s) Il. xii. 258, &c.

The

The Conquerors used the utmost degree of Cruelty to Cities ^{Cities taken by Storm, cruelly dealt with.} taken by Storm. The Wrath of God authoriz'd and even commanded Severity against the *Canaanites*. They were forbid to show any Mercy to them (t): Of the Cities which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an Inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth. *Joshua* rigorously put this Decree in Execution against *Jericho* (u). He rased it to the Ground, put all to the Sword, and pronounced a Curse upon the Man that should ever rebuild it. *Abimelech* serv'd *Shechem* in the same manner, sack'd the City, slew all the Inhabitants, demolish'd the Walls, and sowed the Ruins with Salt (w). The *Israelites* very often let loose their Rage upon their own Brethren, in their Wars in *Palestine*. But nothing could be more contrary to the Laws and Commands of the Lord. Full of Pity and Compassion for the *Canaanites*, whom it was their Duty to root out; they glutted their Fury with the Blood of one another. This was but too frequently the Case in their Civil Wars, and in those between the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*.

In dividing the Spoils taken from the Enemy (x), the General's Share was always particular and remarkable. Some rich ^{The Division of the Spoil.} Present was set apart to the Lord, and consecrated in his Temple. What remain'd, was equally divided among the Soldiers, as well those that guarded the Camp, as those that were actually in the Battle. *Judas Maccabeus* gave a Portion to the Maimed, the Widows, and Orphans, of the Spoils taken from *Nicanor* (y). As a Reward to *Judith* for her Courage and Wisdom (z), the People gave her all that belong'd to *Holofernes*, his Tent, Beds, Vessels, and Plate, &c. the rest of the Booty they divided among themselves.

The Military Rewards differ'd according to the Nature of ^{Military Rewards.} the Service, and Circumstances of the Action. *Saul* promis'd the Man that should overcome *Goliath*, to enrich him with great Riches, to give him his Daughter, and make his Father's House free in *Israel* (a). *David* merited all this by slaying the Giant; but *Saul*, looking upon his rising Glory with a Jealous Eye, was very slow in performing his promises; and oblig'd him to bring 100 Fore-skins of the *Philistines* before he would give him

(t) Deut. xx. 16. (u) Josh. vi. 21, &c. (w) Judg. ix. 45. (x) See the Author's Comment on Numb. xxxi. 27. and 1 Sam. xxx. 24, 25. (y) 2 Mac. viii. 28. (z) Jud. xv. 11. (a) 1 Sam. xvii. 25.

Michal

Misael his Daughter to Wife. *David* being come to the Crown offer'd the *Command* of his Army to him that should first scale the Walls of *Jerusalem* (b); *Joab* was the Man that obtain'd that Honour. In the War with *Absalom*, *Joab* told the Soldier that saw *Absalom* hanging in the Tree, that if he had kill'd him, he would have given him ten *Shekels* of Silver and a *Girdle* (c). *Jephthab* was made *Judge*, and Captain over the *Gileadites*, for having deliver'd them from the Oppression of the *Ammonites* (d). Amongst *military* Rewards, may be reckon'd the *Songs of Victory* that the *Damsels* and *Matrons* sung before the Conquerors. Thus *Jephthab's* Daughter came out to meet her Father with her Companions, singing and playing upon *Timbrels* (e). And thus the Women came out of all the Cities of *Israel* to meet King *Saul*, Playing and Singing, *Saul hath slain his Thousands*, but *David his ten Thousands* (f).

Trophies

The Scriptures no where mention the Custom of erecting *Trophies* and *Monuments* of their Victories among the *Hebrews*. I meet with but one single Instance of this kind, the *Triumphal Arch*, *Saul* was accused of erecting on Mount *Carmel* (g). But the Words in the original *Hebrew*, say only he set up a *Hand*; perhaps a *Pillar*, or some such thing. *Moses* went more religiously to work, when he built an Altar to the Lord, after his Victory over the *Amalekites*, with this Inscription, *The Lord is my Standard* (h). With this View it was, that *David* dedicated to the Lord the Sword and Arms of *Goliath*, that he laid up afterwards so many rich Spoils and splendid Arms in the *Treasures* of the Lord; as *Samuel* and *Saul* had done before him, and as his pious Successors, for the most part, did after him (i). In doing this, they did *Homage* to the *God of Hosts* for their Successes, and freely acknowledg'd, That it is God alone that giveth the Victory.

(b) 2 Sam. v. 6. (c) 2 Sam. xviii. 11. (d) Judg. xi. 9, 10. (e) Judg. xi. 34. (f) 1 Sam. vi. 7. (g) 1 Sam. xv. 12. Vulgate. in our Translation, Set him up a Place. (h) Exod. xvii. 15. *Jehovah-Nissi*. (i) 1 Chr. xxvi. 27, 28.



ANTIQUITIES

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OR, A

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OF

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ON THE

Old and New Testament.

Written in French by the Learned

D. AUGUSTIN CALMET.

Done into ENGLISH, with Notes, by N. TINDAL, M.A.

Vicar of Great Waltham in Essex.

Illustrated, as Occasion requires, with Copper-Plates.

NUMB. X. Containing a Dissertation

On the several Ways of PUNISHING OFFENDERS, mention'd in the Holy Scriptures; as CRUCIFYING, STRANGLING, IMPRISONING, PUNISHMENT OF THE TYMPANUM, SCOURGING, CUTTING OFF, EX-COMMUNICATING, BEHEADING, BURNING, STONING, CASTING DOWN FROM THE TOP OF A ROCK, SAWING ASUNDER, CRUISING TO DEATH WITH BRISTLES AND THORNS, THROWING HEADLONG INTO ASHES, CUTTING OFF THE HAIR: Concluding with this Question, Whether any Publick Executioners among the Hebrews?

To be continued Monthly.

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ON Tuesday the 30th of June will be published Numb. XI. Containing Two Dissertations: I. The Physick and Physicians of the antient Hebrews, their Notions of Distempers, and Ways of Curing them, &c. With the Effigies of a Jewish Physician engraven on Copper.

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A DISSERTATION concerning the several Ways of Punishing Offenders, mentioned in the HOLY SCRIPTURES.



HERE were several Sorts of Punishments formerly in use among the Hebrews, and other Nations in general, that are either entirely disused, or very rarely inflicted now-a-days. They punished Offenders by Imprisonment, Bonds, Crucifixion, Stoning, the Sword, Scurge, Saw, Boiling Cauldrons, Wheels, Burning, and the like. They sometimes cast them to Wild Beasts, tore them with Briars and Thorns, put them under Harrows; not to mention Banishment, Cutting off, and Excommunication, which were peculiar to the Hebrews.

If the Jewish Doctors were Writers of any Credit, it would be sufficient to relate what they say in this Matter. They have taken care to range, with a scrupulous Exactness, under each Punishment, the Crimes the Law has made subject to it, and to describe very particularly the Manner of inflicting these Punishments on Criminals. But the Authority of these Rabbins is so cry'd down, and their Notions so absurd, that it is surprising some Learned Men have suffer'd themselves to be carry'd away with them.

A

Tho'

Yet their Authority made use of by the Enemies of Religion.

Tho' *wrong* Notions in Matters of this nature seem to be of little consequence, yet the Enemies of our holy Religion would not fail to take the advantage of them, did we not endeavour to confute them. The *Jews* will contest with us all those Prophecies that are understood of our Lord's Crucifixion: They'll maintain, that their Forefathers had no hand in it; that it was a Punishment unknown to Them: That they have no such Term in their Language as a *Cross*, nor Words to express the *Crucifying a Man alive*: That indeed they sometimes hung up Criminals, but then it was never done before they were dead. Who can believe that the *Prophets* should foretell the *Messiah's* being put to death by the *Jews*, in a way that was never practised by that Nation? Who can imagine that the Son of God should chuse an *extraordinary* and *foreign* Punishment, different from what was usually inflicted on Criminals, among whom he was pleased, in his Sufferings, to be rank'd (a): And he was reckoned among the *Transgressors*.

I own, these Reasons have but little Solidity in them. What Inconvenience would follow, from supposing the *Prophets* to have foretold the Death of the *Messiah* by a *foreign* Punishment, and that by means of the *Jews*? To make good these Predictions, we need only say, that the Punishment of the *Cross* was not practised among the *Jews*, and that the *Romans* were the Executioners of our Saviour: but however, that it was the *Jews* who crucified Him by the hands of the *Roman* Soldiers, who only executed the Sentence, *They* had extorted from *Pilate*. Thus the whole Difficulty is solved.

CRUCIFYING
or hanging up
alive on a
Tree or Cross,
practised by the
Jews.

But I see no manner of reason to make this Concession, as indifferent a thing as it seems to be; I'll maintain, that the Death our Saviour was to suffer, is *plainly* foretold in Scripture, and that the Custom of crucifying Men *alive*, was common among the *Jews*, as well as other Nations. Tho' I could alledge no other Proof for what I advance, but that famous Passage of *Psalm* xxii. 17. *They pierced my Hands and my Feet*; this alone would be sufficient to convince all unprejudiced Persons. The *Psalm* visibly relates to the *Messiah*; the *Jews* can't deny it: All *Antiquity* read and quoted these Words, as they are now in the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate*. It is but a few *Ages* since

(a) Luke xx. 37.

the

the *modern Jews* corrupted some of their *Copies*, and substituted one *Letter* for another. In all their *Correct Hebrew* Editions they have put כָּאֵר instead of כָּאֵל, and so read it, *As a Lion my Hands and my Feet*: which is no Sense at all. But there are some antient *Hebrew Bibles* that still retain the *old Reading*; which, as it is allow'd of also by the antient *Jewish Writers*, is a good Proof of its being the true one, and a strong Confirmation of the Text being corrupted by the *modern Jews*.

The Prophet *Zechariah* is no less express, when he says, *The Jews shall look upon him, whom they have pierced (b)*. *David* alludes to this Punishment, when he prays God to pierce his Flesh as with Nails, because he was afraid of his Judgments (c). In fine, our Saviour in the Gospels, and St. Paul in his *Epistles*, frequently represent a perfect Christian Life, under the Image of a *Cross* and *Crucifying*; which plainly supposes they were things well known to those whom they spoke to. Would our Saviour have express'd himself in an intelligible manner, when he said, *He that taketh not his Cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me*: And again, *If any Man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his Cross (d)*; if the *Jews* had not been accustom'd to this Punishment? Would it not have been a mere *Riddle* to his Disciples, when he told them, that the *Son of Man* was going up to *Jerusalem* to be scourged and crucified (e)? Would the *Jews* have understood St. Paul when he said, *They that are Christ's, have crucified the Flesh*; that Sinners crucify the Son of God afresh; that he himself was crucified to the World (f). Do not all these figurative Expressions visibly allude to some Thing well known and practised by the *Hebrews*, as well as by other Nations?

But I shall further prove the Custom of crucifying Men *alive* by undeniable *Facts* in the *Jewish History*. Those that join'd themselves to *Baal-peor* were hung up alive (g), as well as the King of *Asi* (h); the Sons and Grandsons of *Saul*, whom *David* deliver'd up to the *Gibeonites* (i), and the Children in *Jer-*

(b) Zech. xii. 10. (c) Psal. cxix. 120. Vulg. Septuag. καθήκον.

(d) Mat. x. 38. xvi. 24, &c. (e) Mat. xvi. 21. xx. 19. xxvi. 2.

(f) Gal. v. 24. vi. 14. Heb. vi. 6. (g) Numb. xxv. 4. (h) Josh. viii. 29.

(i) 2 Sam. xxi. 9.

miah (k), that were fasten'd to a Stake by the *Chaldeans*. *Joseph* (l) relates that *Alexander*, King of the *Jews*, having crucified 800 of his rebellious Subjects to be crucified, order'd their Wives and Children to be put to death before their eyes, whilst they were yet alive.

In my Commentary on *Genesis* xl. 13, 19. I said, according to the common Notion, and the *Text* of the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate*, that *Pharaoh's* chief *Baker* had his Head cut off first, and then his Body hang'd upon a *Tree* or *Cross*, to be Meat for the Birds. But upon a closer *Examination* of the *Hebrew*, and comparing it with other parallel Places, I find I have reason to think, with several Learned *Commentators* (m), that he was hung up *alive*. The *literal* Translation of the Original is thus (n): *Joseph* said to the *Butler*, *Yet within three days shall Pharaoh lift up thine Head, and restore thee to thy Place*. To the *Baker* he says, *Yet within three days shall Pharaoh lift up thy Head from off thee, and the Fowls shall eat thy Flesh*. He tells them both, that *Pharaoh will lift up their Heads*; but to the *Butler* he foretels his being restored to his Office, and to the *Baker*, certain Death. This Expression therefore, *to lift up the Head*, does not mean *to behead*; since it is plain the *Butler* was not served so. And it cannot be objected, that there's a great deal of difference between, *He will lift up thy Head*, and *He will lift up thy Head from off thee*; for if these last Words signify, *He will cut off thy Head*, the first must mean so too. The Terms, *from off thee*, in this place taken in the sense of *Beheading*, being purely *redundant*; we must then look out for some other Meaning of this Expression.

Very often in *Hebrew*, *to lift up the Head*, means, *to take the Sum of*, or *to number*; for instance, *When thou liftest up the Head*, that is, *when thou takest the Sum of the Children of Israel* (n). Let us see then whether, in the Passage before us, the Words won't bear this sense: *Pharaoh* shall take the Sum or Number of his Prisoners, or rather of his Officers, and shall restore his *Butler*, but hang his *Baker*. Nothing can be more natural than this Interpretation; it entirely takes away the seeming Contrariety between the two Predictions. The *Keeper* or

(k) Lament. v. 13. (l) Antiq. l. 13. c. 22. (m) Jun. Pisc. Grot. in Gen. xl.
(n) Exod. xxx. 12. וְשָׂם אֶת־רֹאשׁוֹ עַל־הָעֵץ. See also Numb. i. 2, 49. iv. 2, 22.

Super-

Superintendent of the Prisons, was a considerable Post, not only in *Egypt*, but among the *Hebrews* and *Romans* also. *Potiphar*, *Joseph's* Master, held this Office under *Pharaoh* (o); and *Jonathan*, the *Scribe*, under *Zedekiah* King of *Judah* (p). Among the *Romans*, this Officer was called *Commentariensis*; his Business was to see all the Prisoners *Forth-coming*, and give in, every Month, an Account of their Number, Quality, Age, and the Crimes they were committed for. They proceeded, in all probability, much in the same manner in *Egypt*; *Pharaoh*, on his Birth-day, order'd the Account to be brought him of the Names, Quality, Times of Imprisonment, and Crimes, of his Prisoners, *He lift up their Head*, that is, he *review'd* them, pardon'd the *Butler*, but commanded his *Baker* to be hanged on a *Tree*.

We meet with a parallel Place in *Jer.* lii. 31. that gives great light to this Passage. *Jehoiachin*, King of *Judah*, having been carry'd away Captive to *Babylon* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, was clapt up in Prison. But upon *Nebuchadnezzar's* Death, *Evilmerodach* his Successor, who had entertain'd a great Friendship for *Jehoiachin*, deliver'd him out of Prison. The Words in the Original are, *He lift up the Head of Jehoiachin, King of Judah, and brought him forth out of Prison*. He took him from the Number of his other Prisoners, and set him at Liberty. *Pharaoh* did the same with regard to his *Butler*; but for his *Baker*, after he had taken him from the Number of those he left in Prison, he order'd him to be hang'd, *He lift up his Head from off him*; that is, he took him out of the Number, to put him to death. The Expression in the Original may denote, that he took him out, so as that he was no more, he appear'd no more in the number of the Living. Thus, for any thing to the contrary in the *Hebrew*, we may reckon this unfortunate Wretch among those that were hung upon a *Tree* or *Cross* *alive*.

We may observe several other Instances, as well in the Scriptures as *Profane* Authors, to this purpose; *Haman* was fasten'd to the Tree he had prepared for *Mordecai* (q). *Artaxerxes* made a Decree, That all his Officers in the Land of *Canaan*, that refused to contribute towards the Building of *Jerusalem*,

(o) Gen. xxxix. 21. (p) Jer. xxxvii. 13. (q) Esth. vii. 9, 10.

should

should be crucified on *Beams* taken out of their own Houses (r). *Philo* mentions the crucifying of several *Jews* at *Alexandria* (s). *Alexander the Great* commanded 10,000 *Tyrians* to be crucified along the Sea-shore (t). This was a common Punishment among the *Persians* (u); and much used by the *Romans*, *Egyptians*, and *Africans*. These last had it from the *Phenicians*, from whom they were derived; and it is remarked, that this Custom prevailed among them more than any where else. It is well known they crucified sometimes even the very *Lions*, for a *Terror* to their Fellows. All these Nations, in their several *Ways* of crucifying, agreed in hanging Men *alive* on the Cross; and therefore who can believe that the *Hebrews* alone should refrain from doing so; they who, upon other accounts, were but too remarkable for their bloody and cruel Temper?

They were sometimes hung up after they were dead.

I am far from denying, but that sometimes Men were first put to death, and then hanged on a *Tree* or *Cross*. The five *Kings* conquered by *Joshua* were served in that manner (w). *David* caused the Hands and Feet of *Ish-bosheth's* Murderers to be cut off, and then ordered them to be hang'd over the *Pool* in *Hebron* (x). The *Maccabees* fasten'd on a *Pole* the Head and right *Hand* of *Nicanor*, that *Hand* which he had lifted up against the Temple of the Lord (y). The Soldiers of *Antiochus Epiphanes* hung the Children, that had been circumcised, about the Necks and Breasts of their Mothers, and then cast them down headlong from the Walls (z). *Julius Caesar* (a) being taken by the *Pirates*, often threaten'd them, in a jesting manner, that if ever he regain'd his Liberty, he would take and hang them all. He was as good as his Word: the moment he was redeem'd, he fits out a Fleet, and attacks them; however, to make some amends for their Civilities to him, whilst among them, he was willing to save them the Shame and Pain of expiring on the Cross, and so, contrary to the Custom of the *Romans*, first put them to death, and then, not to break his Promise, hanged them up afterwards. *Tarquinius Priscus* (b) fasten'd to a Cross the dead Bodies of those who had killed themselves, and so left them exposed to Birds and Beasts

(r) Ez. vi. 11. (s) Phil. in Flac. (t) Diod. Sic. l. 18. (u) Lip. l. 1. c. 11.
(w) Josh. x. 26. (x) 2 Sam. iv. 12. (y) 1 Mac. vii. 47.
(z) 2 Mac. vi. 10. (a) Sueton. in Jul. c. 74. (b) Plin. l. 36. c. 13.

of

of Prey; in order to deter others from following their Example. *Cleomenes* was served in the same manner by *Ptolemy King of Egypt* (c).

The *Rabbins* (d) tell us, That after a Criminal is stoned, his Hands are tied with a Rope, by which his Body is drawn up to the Top of a *Gibbet* made on purpose, where he is to hang till the Evening; then he is taken down, and buried before Sunset, according to the Law of *Moses* (e): *If a Man have committed a Sin worthy of Death, and thou hang him on a Tree; his Body shall not remain all night on the Tree, but thou shalt in any wise bury him that day.* We see this Ordinance was observed with regard to the Bodies of the King of *Assyria*, of the five Kings of the *Ammorites*, and of our Saviour and the two Thieves, who were taken down from the Cross the same day (f).

Sometimes, for particular Reasons, and to breed a greater Abhorrence of the Crime, the Bodies were left to hang several Days, nay, several Months on the *Gibbet*. Thus were served the Children and Grandchildren of *Saul*, crucified by the *Gibionites* (g). The *Wise-Man* seems to allude to this Custom in these words (h): *The Eye that mocketh at his Father, and despiseth to obey his Mother, the Ravens of the Valley shall pick it out, and the young Eagles shall eat it.* It was common to say to a Man one with'd to be hang'd or crucify'd, *Ad Corvos, The Crows take ye.* And *Horace* (i):

Non hominem occidi. Non pasces in cruce Corvos.

The same thing is observed in *Joseph's* Prediction to the *Baker*, *He shall hang thee on a Tree, and the Birds shall eat thy Flesh.* Guards were sometimes placed about the *Tree*, to prevent the Body's being carry'd off by Friends or Relations (k). The Story of the *Ephesian Matron* is well known. *Theodorus* of *Cyrene* told *Lyfimachus*, who threaten'd him with the Cross: 'You may fright your Courtiers, by talking to them thus; but for my part, it is equal to me, whether I rot on the Earth or in the Air (l).

(c) Plut. in Cleom. (d) Halac. Sanh. c. 15. (e) Deut. xxi. 23.
(f) John xix. 31. (g) 2 Sam. xxi. (h) Prov. xxx. 17. (i) Lib. 1. Ep. ad Curt.
(k) Herod. l. 2. c. 121. (l) Val. Max. l. 6. c. 2.

The

The Term
Cross very
ambiguous in
Hebrew.

A DISSERTATION on the Book III.

The Word *Cross* is not at all ambiguous in our Language, neither is the Term *Crux* so in *Latin*. Among the many different Sorts we know of, it is agreed on, that the Thing which distinguishes a *Cross* from all other Figures, is the having one of its Parts either quite at the Top, or in the Middle, or a little below the Top, transversed or crossed by the other. But the *Greek Stauros*, is not always to be understood in this Sense; it very often signifies only a *Post* or *Stake*; and the *Hebrew* *Stav*, *Hets*, is still of a more undetermin'd Signification, it denotes only a *Tree* or *Timber* in general. And therefore it cannot be demonstrated that the *Cross*, such as ours, was ever made use of by the *Hebrews*. However, there is no doubt but the *Shape*, as well as the *Punishment*, of the *Cross*, was not entirely unknown to them. The most *antient* Monuments, both *Marbles* and *Medals*, represent the *Cross* just as we are wont to paint it. *Lucian* (u) arraigns the *Letter T*, for having, by its Form, given an Occasion to *Tyrants* to invent the *Cross* for the Torment of Mankind. Our Saviour's *Cross* is unanimously compared by the Fathers to the *Letter T*; so that there is no room left to doubt in that Matter.

They never
hung any on
a Tree that
was growing.

The *Rabbins* maintain, a Man was never hang'd on a Tree that was alive and growing; because, say they, the *Tree* or *Cross* was always to be buried with the *Criminal* (u); however not in the same Place with the *Body*, but in the *Prison*, where he lay before he was condemn'd. But this last Particular is proved to be false by the Instances of our Saviour and the two Thieves, whose *Crosses* were buried upon the Spot; and if there was any reason for their not crucifying Malefactors on Trees that were growing, it was rather for fear of polluting them and their Fruit, than for any thing else.

Crosses set up
before the Bodies
were fasten'd to
them.

Criminals were fasten'd to the *Cross*, sometimes with *Cords*, and sometimes with *Nails*. Our Saviour and the two Thieves were nailed to theirs; but St. *Andrew* is said to have been tied only with *Ropes*, that his Pains might last the longer (v). Generally the *Cross* was erected before the Malefactor was fasten'd to it. The *Terms* made use of by the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors to express this Punishment by, imply as much. They say, *To lift up on the Cross*, *To hang up on a Cross*, *To go up*

(u) In Judic. vocal. (v) Halac. Sanh. c. 15. (o) Abdias l. 3. de Hist. Apof.

the

Dis. V. Several Ways of punishing Offenders.

the *Cross* (p). *Galba* order'd a white *Cross* to be set up a great deal higher than the rest; to hang one upon, that cried out he was a *Roman Citizen* (q). *Bassus* having taken, at the Siege of *Macheron*, a *Jew* named *Eleazar*, order'd a *Cross* to be set up, as if he had had a mind to crucify him immediately (r). *Nonnus* (s), and St. *Gregory Nazianzen* (t), were of opinion, that our Saviour was nailed to his *Cross* after it was erected; which seems to be the most natural, as well as most probable way. If we meet with some Instances to the contrary, as *Pionius* and *Metrodorus* at *Smyrna* (u), they were fasten'd only to *Stakes* in order to be burnt, which were very low in comparison of *Crosses*, which it would have been extremely difficult to have erected, Bodies and all, without shaking them off, by the violent Jolts that were unavoidable in setting them up.

The *Punishment of the Cord*, or *Strangling*, was not unknown to the *Hebrews*; but the *Rabbins* (w) explain it in a manner very different from us. Some will have it, that when the Law does not express what Kind of Death the Malefactor is to die, this is always to be understood. They tell us, the guilty Person was set up to the Knees in a Dunghill, and so strangled by two Men with a Linnen Cloth. But what makes this Account the more suspected, is, the Silence of the Scriptures and *Josephus*. We read that the Servants of *Benbadad*, after he had been vanquish'd by *Ahab*, told him, *Behold now, we have heard that the Kings of Israel are merciful, let us therefore put Sackcloth on our Loins, and Ropes upon our Heads, and go to the King of Israel; peradventure he will save thy Life* (x). They are supposed to have put these *Ropes* about their Necks, as an Acknowledgment of their being worthy of Death, or of Slavery. The Traitors, *Achitophel* and *Judas Iscariot*, hanged themselves, and so were the Executioners of their own Perfidiousness. *Jeremiah* (y) informs us, that the *Princes* of *Israel* were hung up by the *Hand*, either because they were beheaded before, or else to make them live the longer in Pain; just as the *Christian Martyrs* were served, many of whom were hanged up by their Hands, with heavy Weights at their Feet.

PUNISH-
MENT of the
CORD or
STRAN-
GLING.

(p) Lips. l. 2. de Cruce, c. 7. (q) Suet. in Galba. (r) Jos. l. 7. de Bello, c. 25.
(s) Non. de Christo. (t) Greg. Naz. de Christ. Patien. (u) Acta Sancti Pionij.
(w) Seld. de Syned. l. 2. c. 13. (x) 1 King. xx. 31. (y) Lament. v. 12.

B

In

A DISSERTATION on the Book III.

In a Matter of Life and Death, they proceeded with the utmost Caution, if we may believe the *Rabbins*, who tell us: After the Witnesses had been examined, and the Case decided, they put off giving the *Final Sentence* till the next day. The Judges went home, eat little, and drank no Wine. They met together in private, two by two, to examine over again more deliberately all Circumstances. On the morrow it still lay in their power to reverse the Sentence, so far as to pardon whom the day before they had condemned; but could not condemn whom they had had Thoughts of acquitting. The Sentence being ratified and pronounced, the Malefactor was led to the Place of Execution about Sun-set. A Herald on Horseback proclaim'd as he went along: *Such a one is condemn'd for such a Crime; if any Person has any thing to say in his behalf, let him speak.* Which if any body offer'd to do, the Herald made Signs to bring back the Criminal. Two Judges walk'd by his side, to hear what he had to alledge in his own Defence, and to judge whether what he said was of any weight or consequence. The condemned Person might be thus brought back *Five Times*.

Nothing can be finer than this Representation of Matters, given us in the *Mishna*. It only wants a little more Truth and Certainty; the whole has the Air of a Fable; we have not the least Footsteps of these *Formalities* either in the Scriptures, or ancient *Jewish* Writings. On the contrary, we meet in the *Talmud* with quite opposite *Facts* and *Maxims*. A Prisoner, as he was going to be executed, declared upon Oath he was innocent; the Witnesses retracted their Evidence: the Judges minded nothing of all this. *Let the false Witnesses (said they) perish, but let the Judge never reverse the Sentence he has once pass'd (x).* The Judges, whom they would make us believe to be such Lovers of Justice, and Enemies to Blood, were passionately fond of *Tryals* and *Actions*. The Question was put, Whether it was lawful to reconcile the contending *Parties*. *Rabbi Eliezer* determines it in this manner: 'He that makes up the Matter, *sins*; and they that bless the Peace-maker, *blaspheme*: The Sentence ought to pierce the Mountains.' Such were the Sentiments of these *merciful Judges*.

(x) See Basnage Hist. des Juifs, t. 3. l. 5. c. 1.

Prisons

DIL V. Several Ways of punishing Offenders.

Prisons among the *Hebrews*, as well as among other Nations, were sometimes design'd to secure the Persons of Those who were accused or suspected of any Crime. *Joseph*, willing to be certifi'd of what his Brethren told him concerning his Father *Jacob*, and Brother *Benjamin*, detain'd *Simeon* in Prison, and let the rest go (a). The Blasphemer that was brought before *Moses*, and the Man that was caught gathering of Sticks on the Sabbath-day, were both put in Prison, till the Lord had declared what their Punishment should be (b). *Jeremiah* (c), and *St. John Baptist* (d), were imprison'd, to hinder them from speaking too freely to the People. The Prophet *Micaiah* (e) having foretold *Abah*, that his Design upon *Rabbath* would not succeed, was order'd to be shut up in Prison till the King's Return.

But very often Prisons were also Places of Correction, and accompanied with ignominious and severe Punishments. *Joseph* unjustly accused by his Mistress, was put in Prison, and loaded with Irons (f). *Pharaoh's* two Officers were served in the same manner (g). *Samson* was dealt with somewhat more harshly: they put out his Eyes, and cast him into a Dungeon, where they forced him to grind (h). The *Captive Kings* were usually bound with Fetters, and thrown into Dungeons. Thus *Hosea* was treated by *Shalmaneser*; *Jehoiakim* by *Nebuchadnezzar*; *Zedekiah*, by the King of *Babylon* (i); *Manasseh*, by the King of *Babylon* (k); *Artaxerxes*, in his Decree for the rebuilding the Temple of *Jerusalem*, commanded all those that refused to comply with his Order, to be punish'd with Death or Imprisonment (n).

(a) Gen. xlii. (b) Levit. xxiv. Numb. xv. 34. (c) xxxii. 2.
(d) Mat. xiv. 3. (e) 1 King. xxii. 27. (f) Gen. xxxix. 20. & Psal. cv. 18.
(g) Gen. xl. 3. (h) Judg. 16. 21. (i) 2 King. xvii. 4. xxiii. 33.
(k) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11. (l) 2 King. xxv. 7, 27. (m) 2 Sam. iii. 34.
(n) Ez. vii. 26.

B 2

Criminals

Criminals and
Captives
load'd with
Irons.

Several Sorts
of Prisons.

Criminals and Captives were usually laid in Irons. They had *Shackles* on their Feet (o), *Yokes* or *Collars* on their Necks, and *Manacles* on their Hands (p); and were fed with *Bread* and *Water*, and that but sparingly (q): *Put this Fellow in Prison, and feed him with Bread of Affliction, and with Water of Affliction*. There were several Sorts of Prisons. Some were Places where the Slaves were kept; others were dark *Dungeons*, where Criminals were closely confined. *Jeremiah* was successively put into three different Prisons. He was confined at first to the *Court of the Prison in the King's House*: This was an open and publick Place, where his Friends came to see him (r); he enjoy'd there the same Liberty as they did among the *Romans* that were in *Libera Custodia*; here it was he sign'd, before several that were present, the *Purchase-Deed* for a Field he had bought of his Uncle *Hanameel*. He was afterwards shut up in the *Prison* that was in the House of *Jonathan the Scribe* (s); from whence *Zedekiah* removed him back again to the *Court of the Prison*: but as he continued foretelling the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, the *Princes* threw him into the *Pit* or *Dungeon* that was in the *Court of the Prison*. He was let down into it with Cords, and as there was no Water there, *he sunk in the mire*, and remain'd for some time in that Condition (t).

The Bonds
of the Pri-
soners,
Yokes or Col-
lars.

There were several Sorts of *Bonds*, *Fetters*, or *Chains*, for Prisoners, Captives, and Criminals. Sometimes they put a sort of *Yokes* on their Necks, made of two pretty long and broad Boards, with *Notches* in them to go round the Neck; the *Romans* called them *Numella* (u). God commanded *Jeremiah* (w) to make *Bonds* and *Yokes*, and to put one about his own Neck, and send the rest to the Ambassadors of the Kings of *Moab*, *Edom*, *Ammon*, and *Tyre*, who were then at *Jerusalem*. God by this Action design'd to denote their future Subjection to *Nebuchadnezzar*. *Hananiah*, the false Prophet, having broken the *Yoke* that was about *Jeremiah's* Neck, *Jeremiah* told him from God, that instead of a *Yoke of Wood*, one of *Iron* would

(o) Eccles. xxi. 19.

(r) Jer. xxxii. 2.

(u) Nonius.

(p) Jer. xxvii. 2.

(q) Jer. xxxvii. 15.

(w) xxvii. 2, 3.

(s) 1 King. xxii. 27.

(t) Jer. xxxviii. 6. Zech. ix. 11.

be

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be put on the Neck of all the Nations *Nebuchadnezzar* should conquer (x).

The same Prophet (y) perhaps speaks of something of the like nature with these *Collars* in these words: *That thou shouldst put him in Prison, and in Tsernoch*. This Term seems to have some relation to that made use of to denote *Achitophel's* hanging himself (z). Some understand by it a sort of Punishment used formerly in the *East* (a). Two *Boats* (*Scapha*) were so fitted together, as to make, as it were, a *Cage* for a Man's Body, with Holes for his two Legs to come out at, and another for his Head. The Criminal that was thus *caged*, was constrain'd to eat a great Quantity of Milk and Honey, which they made him swallow whether he would or no, and likewise rubbed his Face with the same, and then turn'd it to the Sun, that the Flies might torment him; and at length growing very *loose* with so much Milk and Honey, Worms bred in his Dung, and eat into his very Bowels. But, I make no doubt, this Passage in *Jeremiah* is to be understood rather of some kind of *Bonds* or *Fetters*.

Besides these *Yokes* for the Neck, we meet also with *Shackles* Shackles or Fetters for the Feet. for the Feet (b): I am apt to think these were something like the *Machines* mention'd so often in the Histories of the *Martyrs* (c). Their Legs were stretched asunder, and thrust thro Holes more or less distant from one another, according to the Degree of Torment and Pain they design'd to put the Person to (d):

*Lignoque Plantas inserit
Divaricatis Cruribus.*

The Scriptures often use this Expression, *Mittere in Nervum* (e), to put into *Prison*, or in *Fetters*. The *Psalmist* (f) speaks of binding Kings and Nobles in *Fetters of Iron*. Such, no doubt, were the *Iron Rings* or *Circles* for the Feet mentioned in the History of *Manasseh*, who was carried away bound to *Babylon* (g).

(x) Jer. xx. 10, 14.

(z) 2 Sam. xvii. 23.

(b) Job xiii. 27.

(e) 2 Chron. xvi. 10.

(g) 2 Chr. xxxiii. 11.

(y) Jer. xxix. 26. *English Bible*, Stocks.

(a) Plut. in Artax. Zonar. t. i. Gallon. de Cru. Mart. c. 1.

(c) Fufeb. l. 6. c. 31, &c.

(d) Prod. Hyem. 4.

(f) Psal. cxlix.

(g) *English Bible*, Thorns.

lately,

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Lastly, we read of *Manacles* or *Fetters* for the Hands. *Jeremiah* (b) had his *Manacles* taken off by *Nebuzar-adan*. God promises to give up to *Cyrus* the *Assyrians* and *Ethiopians*, and to make them walk after him with their Hands manacled (d). The *Chains* or *Fetters* for the Hands and Feet, were usually made of Brass. Hence it is, that in Scripture a Man is said to be bound in Brass (k); as in *Latin* and *English* he is said to be laid in Irons, to denote his being chain'd hand and foot.

Among the Punishments inflicted on the Martyrs in the Old Testament, the Author to the *Hebrews* reckons first the *Tympanum*. This Expression has been the occasion of great Debates among the Commentators. The *Greek* *τυμπανισμός* being rendered in the *Vulgate* by *distenti sunt*, were stretched out (l), made some Learned Men think (m), by the *Tympanum* was meant a Sort of wooden Instrument like a Horse, on which the *Romans* formerly were wont to torment Malefactors; but the Manner how this was done is not well known at this time. The *Greeks*, to whom one would think it would be more proper to apply, than to the *Latins*, for the Meaning of one of their own Words, took it in another Sense. Some understand it of *beheading*; others, of *fleeting alive*; others again, of *bastinading*; lastly, some (n) explain it of all Kinds of violent Deaths in general; and indeed we sometimes find it used in that Sense: But is it at all probable, that the Apostle should do so here, in a Place where his profess'd Design was to particularize the several Sorts of Torments Holy Men of old were put to?

St. Chrysostom (o), followed by *Theophylact*, and *Occumenius*, and some modern Interpreters, will have it, That *St. Paul* had chiefly in view here the *Beheading* of *St. John Baptist*, and *St. James* the Apostle. To these may be join'd the Authority of *Eusebius*, who uses the Verb *τυμπανισμός* in the sense of *Beheading*, in his History of the Martyrs of *Lyons* (p). The Emperor issued out Orders, That all who renounced the Christian Religion, should be set at liberty; but that they who persisted in

(b) xl. i. *Marg.* (c) *Mat.* xlv. 14. (d) *2 Chron.* xxxvi. 6, 11, &c. &c. (e) *2 Kings* xlv. 7. (f) *Heb.* xi. 35. *English Bible*, were tortured. (g) *Cajet. Hammond. Hieron. Mag. lib. de Equileo*, c. 10, &c. (h) *Camer. Castal. Grot. Gatak. &c.* (i) *In Heb.* xi. (j) *Athen.* l. 4. *Dionysophist.* or *Ephor. Chalced.*

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the Faith of Christ, should undergo the Punishment of the *Tympanum*. Accordingly the Judge cut off the Heads of the *Conjessors* that were *Roman Citizens*, and exposed the rest to wild Beasts. But this Instance seems to prove, that this Term signifies rather putting to death in general, than any kind of Torment in particular; since some were beheaded, and others thrown to wild Beasts, in pursuance of the Emperor's Decree.

We meet with something more express in *Cassaubon's* Notes upon *Athenaeus* (q). *Ephorion of Chalcis* relates, that there was a Custom among the *Romans*, of proposing sometimes a Reward of five *Mine* (r. 10s.) to be paid to the Heirs of any one that would suffer the Punishment of the *Tympanum*. 'Several, says this Author, were wont to put in for this Reward, and great Contention arose who should have his Head chopt off.' The Punishment of the *Tympanum* then in this Place is the same with *Beheading*, as *Eusebius* remarks, after his quoting these Words of *Athenaeus* (r). But I leave the Reader to judge, whether *αποτυμπανισμός* in this Passage is not put for any violent Death in general, the particular Manner whereof was determined by what followed, which makes it appear here that it was *Beheading*.

As for *St. Chrysostom* and others applying the Punishment, mention'd here by *St. Paul*, to *St. John Baptist* and *St. James*, I should chuse rather with *Theodore*, and the greatest part of Commentators, to refer it to the *Maccabees*; persuaded, as I am, that the Apostle had only in view the Martyrs of the Old Testament, whose Faith and Sufferings he was describing. This is plain from the Tenor and Design of his whole Discourse.

Hesychius, *Suidas*, and *Occumenius* affirm the Term in question signifies to *flee alive*; but I can find it no where used in this Sense, unless when it is put for any kind of Death in general. We read indeed in the Passage in the *Maccabees*, *St. Paul* refers to (s), that they pulled off the Skin of the Head of one of the young Men, *Antiochus* put to death; and perhaps this was what made them imagine the Punishment, I am speaking of, is to be understood of *fleeing alive*: but this is but a poor Proof of their Notion.

(q) See *Favorini Lex.* & *Notas Jungermanni in Lib.* (r) *Magi de Equileo.* (s) *2 Mac.* vii. 7.

The

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The Opinion that seems to me the most probable, is, that St. Paul meant here *Bastinading*. The *Tympanum*, from whence is derived *Tympanizare*, is an Instrument that is beaten, like our Drums, with Sticks. The Scholiast of Aristophanes (1) says, that the Rods or Sticks Criminals were beaten with, were called *Tympana*.

The Holy Martyr Eleazer, whom St. Paul seems principally to point at, was beaten to death with Rods. See the Historian's own Words (a). Eleazer came of his own accord to the *Tympanum*; and when he was ready to die with the Stripes, he groaned and said, It is manifest unto the Lord, that hath the Holy Knowledge, that whereas I might have been deliver'd from Death, I now endure these Pains in my Body, by being beaten with Rods; and I need only compare the Words of St. Paul with what is here said, to be convinc'd of his alluding to this Passage (a). Others (says he) suffer'd the Punishment of the *Tympanum*, not accepting Deliverance, that they might obtain a better Resurrection. Josephus (x), who has embellish'd the History of the Maccabees, owns also that he was cruelly beaten with Rods. It is true, he adds, he was put to death with hot Irons, and by having burning and stinking Liquors pour'd into his Nostrils; but we read nothing of this in the Canonical Books of the Maccabees: Besides, the Author of the Hebrews could not refer to the Writings of Josephus, which were not compos'd till some time after.

Eleazer was not tormented in this manner alone, the seven Brethren met with the same Treatment. Their Martyrdom began with Scourges and Whips (y); so that I see no reason to question but that the Punishment of the *Tympanum*, mention'd by the Apostle, is to be understood of *Bastinading*, or beating with Rods. This is the Opinion of a great many Learned Commentators; as Erasmus, Drusus, Cappellus, Piscator, Beza, Estius, and others.

This Punishment is still practis'd at this day among the Turks (z). The Party, that is to undergo it, is made to lie down on his Belly, with his Face to the Ground. His Heels

(1) Schol. in Plut. Arift. (a) 2 Mac. vi. 19, 28, 30. (w) Heb. xi. 35.
(x) De Macc. c. 6. (y) 2 Mac. vii. 1. Μαχίται καὶ ῥαβδοῖς.

(z) See Montauban. Rene Tur. & Roger. l. 2. c. 17. de la Terre Sainte.

are

Dis. V. Several Ways of punishing Offenders.

are lifted up, and fasten'd to a Stick, called *Falkala*, held up by Soldiers. Then they strike him with a Rod or Cudgel on the Soles of his Feet, and over his Back and Chine, to the number sometimes of 500 Blows. The usual number is 100. They that receive 1000, seldom out-live their Punishment. The Judge himself stands by, and counts the Blows on a Turkish Chaplet or Pair of Beads. After all is over, he is paid for his Trouble, and receives a Piafter, or Crown, for every Blow. The Romans generally made those who were condemn'd to the *Bastinado* or Scourge, to lie flat on the Ground. *Explorato-rem via, stratum humi, penè ad necem verberavit*, says Suetonius, speaking of Tiberius (a). It is very probable that the Roman Captain, that took St. Paul at Jerusalem, design'd to punish him in this manner. St. Luke says (b), he caus'd him to be stretched out, bent forward with Leather Thongs, in order to examine him, or put him to the Rack, by Scourging, or beating with Rods, according to the Custom of the Romans. The Persians commonly, at this day, put People to the Torture or Rack, in order to make them confess, by *Bastinading*.

Scourging has a near relation to the Punishment I have been SCOURGING. describing. Moses (c) says, when a Man has committed a Fault that deserves Scourging, The Judge shall cause him to lie down, and to be beaten before his face, according to his Fault. Forty Stripes he may give him, and not exceed; lest if he beat him above these with many Stripes, then thy Brother should seem vile unto thee. Tho these Words may be understood of beating with Rods, yet are they generally explain'd of Scourging; a Punishment, the Jewish Doctors assure us, the most common, and attended with the least Shame and Ignominy of any among the Hebrews. They give us a List of 168 Crimes liable to this Punishment (d). They imagine all Crimes that were not Capital, were punish'd with the Scourge; so reckon in 39 that God forbids on pain of being cut off or excommunicated. These Doctors are pleas'd to say, that the Law not having clearly determin'd what Kind of Punishment is meant by cutting off those that are guilty of the Crimes annex'd to it,

(a) In Tiber. c. 60.
(c) Deut. xxv. 2, 3.

(b) Ag. xxii. 25. ὑποκείμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν.
(d) Seld. l. 2. c. 23. de Syned.

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ought

ought only to be condemn'd to the *Scourge*, according to a known *Maxim*, That in Things of this nature, the most favourable and least rigorous Method is to be taken.

*The Manner
of Scourging.*

When a Man was condemn'd to be scourged, they strip'd him to his Middle, tearing his Clothes off his Back; that is to say, they rent his *Tunic* from his Neck to his Waist; a Practice common also among the *Romans* upon the like Occasion (e). Then they lashed him on the Back with a Scourge of four *Leather Thongs*, long enough to come round upon his Breast (f). Some will have it, that they gave him three Lashes on the Back, and three on the Breast, by turns. The Criminal was tied very fast by the Arms to a low Block, to make him stoop forwards; and the Person that lashed him, stood behind him upon a Stone. All the while he was scourging, the three Judges were present, and one of them said with a loud Voice (g): *If thou wilt not observe to do all the Words of this Law,—then the Lord will make thy Plagues wonderful, and the Plagues of thy Seed*—The second counted the Lashes, and the third exhorted the *Lictor* to do his Office. They had a Notion, that by virtue of this Punishment, the Effects of the Wrath of God were diverted, provided the guilty Person confess'd his Fault, and was sorry for what he had done. They who remain'd incorrigible, and, after having been scourged two or three times for considerable Faults, or four times for lesser ones, still were guilty of the same Crimes, were shut up in a Prison about six Foot high, and so narrow, they could not lie down. Here they were made to keep a strict Fast on Bread and Water; and when they were fallen away to Skin and Bones, they were reduced to eat nothing but Barley as long as they lived.

Some (h) affirm, they never gave more or less than 39 Lashes, which they laid on with the more or less Force, in order to proportion the Punishment to the Crime, as the Law directed. But *Schikardus* (i) undertakes to prove, for single Crimes, they often gave less, but never more than 39 *Stripes*, according to the Strength of the Criminal, and Nature of his Fault; but in complicated Crimes, and when the guilty Person deserved more than once to be scourged, either by committing several Faults liable to

(e) A.R. xvi. 22.

(f) Abenez. Drusid. Seld.

(g) Maim. Valac. Sant. c. 17.

(h) Schik. de Jure Reg. c. 2.

(i) Deut. xxviii. 38.

this

this Punishment, or by being guilty of the same Crime several times; then they might exceed the Number of 39, or repeat them over more than once.

St. Paul informs us, that he had five times received of the *Jews* forty *Stripes* save one (k). The Apostle plainly distinguishes, at the same time, *Scourging* from *beating with Rods*: *Thrice was I beaten with Rods*. These Rods were *Switches*, not so large as the *bastinading Sticks* (l). The *Synagogues*, in the *Roman Empire*, punish'd Offenders with *Rods*, as was usual among the *Romans*; but those in *Judea* kept to their ancient Custom of *Scourging* (m).

We may observe in Scripture several Sorts of Rods. The *Psalmist* speaks of a *Rod of Iron* (n): *Thou shalt break them with a Rod of Iron*. *Reboboam* told the People that desired him to make the heavy Yoke, his Father put upon them, lighter: *My Father chastised you with Whips, but I will chastise you with Scorpions* (o). The Hebrew Term *Akrabim* signifies real *Scorpions*; and some will have it to mean *Scourges* with sharp *Thorns*, whose Lashes were like the *stinging* of a *Scorpion*. The *Rabbins* (p), for the most part, affirm it signifies properly, in this Place, the Branches of the *Eglantine*, or *Wild Rose-Tree*, or some other knotty and prickly Shrub. The *Chaldee Paraphrast* renders *Akrabim* by *Maragnin* of the *Greeks*, which signifies a Scourge of *Leather Thongs* (q). There were several Martyrs that were tormented with these *Scorpions*, described by St. *Isidorus* in this manner (r): *Si nodosa vel aculeata virga sit, Scorpio rectissimo nomine vocatur, quia arcuato vulnere in corpus infligitur*.

Offenders were generally scourged on the Back. The *Rod*, says (s) *Solomon*, is for the Back of him that is void of Understanding. And the Prophet, foretelling the cruel manner in which the *Messiah* should be scourged, says, *The Plowers plowed upon my Back* (t). They were sometimes lashed on the Sides. *Josephus* (u), speaking of *Eleazar*, says, that after they

(k) 2 Cor. xi. 24.

(l) Galon. de Cruci Marr. c. 4.

(m) Bafnage Hist. de Ju.

(n) 1. 5. c. 17.

(o) Psal. ii. 9.

(p) 1 King. xii. 11.

(q) See Hefych. & Boch. de An. Sac.

(r) Jarch. Kim. Ben Gor. Capz. &c.

(s) Prov. x. 13.

(t) Plal. cxxix. 3.

(u) De Mac. c. 6.

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had stript him, they beat him on the Sides with *Rods*, crying out to him at the same time, *Obey the King's Order*. His Flesh was so torn with the Stripes, that his Entrails were laid bare. Sometimes they were struck on the Face. *They shall smite the Judge of Israel with a Rod upon the Cheek, says Micah (w)*. Perhaps *Jeremiah* is to be understood in this Sense in the Passage, where we read in the *Vulgate (x)*; *Mittamus lignum in panem ejus*. The *Hebrew* may be render'd, *Mittamus lignum in maxillam ejus: Let us strike him on the Cheek with a Rod*. These *Prophecies* were fulfill'd, when the Soldiers struck our Saviour on the Head with a Reed (y).

Scourging not
infamous, ac-
cording to the
Rabbins.

If any Credit is to be given to the *Rabbins*, Scourging was attended with no Infamy or Disgrace in the least. All the *Israelites* that were guilty of the Crimes the Law had annex'd to this Punishment, were liable to be scourged; the High-Priest and King himself were not excepted. They were all subject to the Jurisdiction of the *Sanhedrim*, who knew no Superior. This is what the *Jewish* Doctors tell us, followed herein by some learned Commentators, who observe farther, that Scourging was not looked upon by the *Eastern* Nations as a Matter of any great Reproach. Scourging not only *Slaves*, but *Freemen* also, is practis'd at this day among the *Mahometans*. We are assur'd (z), that formerly the Kings of *Persia* very often, for little or no reason, used to scourge the Officers they had invited to dine with them; which they, deeming it a singular Mark of their Sovereign's Favour, most humbly thanked them for. They give us several Instances of some *Great Men* among the *Greeks*, who, after their having been scourged, appeared with Honour in the highest Posts or Employments in their Country. *Licas*, the Son of *Arcefilaus*, was whipp'd by the hand of the common *Lit̃or*, for having fought in a different manner from what was usual, tho he behaved himself with a great deal of Bravery and Courage in the Action; notwithstanding he was afterwards sent Ambassador to the *Argives* (a). If the King was scourged, they tell us it was by way of *Penance*, and he had the Privilege of chusing the Person that was to do it.

(w) v. 1. (x) Jer. xi. 19. *English Bible*, Let us destroy the Tree, with the Fruit [Heb. Bread] thereof. (y) Mark xv. 19. (z) Pollidon, ap. Athen. l. 4. c. 13.
(a) Thucid. l. 5.

Thus

Thus we see *Henry II.* King of *England*, submitted to this Discipline, to atone for the Murder of *St. Thomas Becket*.

But neither the Authority of the *Rabbins*, nor all those Instances to the contrary, shall ever persuade me, that Scourging was not a shameful and infamous Punishment among the *Jews*, much less that the King and High-Priest were liable to be sentenced to it by the *Sanhedrim*. The Kings of *Judah* and *Israel* never look'd upon themselves as inferior or accountable to any but God alone: *Against thee, thee only have I sinned, and done this Evil*, said *David*, after his Murder of *Uriah*, and Adultery with *Bathsheba*. Can there be so much as one Instance brought of the Jurisdiction of the *Sanhedrim* over the Person of the King or High-Priest? And are there not twenty Instances of the Supreme Authority of the Kings, and their Impunity for the greatest of Crimes? Supposing the Kings of *Persia* did formerly cause their Prime Ministers to be whipped, does it follow from thence, that the *Sanhedrim* had such a Power over the King of *Israel*, and High-Priest of the Lord? The Kings of *Persia* treated all their Subjects in general as Slaves. The Authority of the Kings of the *Jews* was but little inferior to theirs, as appears from the History of the *Jewish* Nation; and yet they will have it that the *Sanhedrim*, that is, some of their Subjects, had such a Power over them, as to scourge them like the meanest of the People. He that can believe this, must be very credulous indeed. But all this is to be understood of Scourging in the Synagogue, to atone for some legal Offences; and not of that Scourging which was order'd by the *Senate* to be done in publick for other Crimes.

When our Saviour foretels his own, and the Sufferings of his Disciples, he gives us quite another Notion of this Matter; he represents Scourging as a very painful and ignominious Punishment (c). *St. Paul* reckons it amongst his Sufferings for the sake of *Christ* (d). *Philo* (e), in his Account of the shameful manner *Flaccus* treated the *Alexandrian Jews*, lets us see plainly the Sentiments of his Countrymen in this Particular. 'He order'd them, says he, to be scourged, which to Free-born Men 'is worse than Death itself.' *Anthony* having caused *Antigonus*,

(c) Matt. xx. 19. Mark x. 34. Luke xviii. 32.
(e) Phil. in Flac. & de Spec. Leg.

(d) 2 Cor. xi. 24.

King

King of the *Jews*, to be tied to a Stake, and scourged, and then to have his Head cut off; this Action was look'd upon by all the World as the Effect of *Anthony's* violent Temper, and as a Thing never practis'd before by the *Romans* on the Person of any King (*f*).

The PUNISH-
MENT OF
CUTTING
OFF.

I have already observed, That the *Jewish* Doctors rank'd under the Head of Scourging all those Crimes the Law forbids on pain of *being cut off*; the Nature of which Punishment I shall now consider. There were three Sorts of *Cutting off*. The first, according to the *Rabbins*, was *Scourging*, for the Crimes specified below. The second was a Punishment inflicted by the invisible Hand of God, on those that were not condemn'd by the Judges to be scourged for the Crimes that were to be punished with *Cutting off*. The third was *Excommunication*.

The Offences that were to be punished with *Cutting off*, are Thirty-six in Number. Fifteen of them relate to *incestuous Marriages* (*g*). The rest are as follows: 1. Consulting *Magicians* (*h*). 2. Sacrificing out of the Camp, and not before the Tabernacle (*i*). 3. Not bringing the Burnt-Offering or Sacrifice to the Door of the Tabernacle (*k*). 4. Making the Holy Ointment, or, 5. Perfume for one's private Use (*l*). 6. Spilling the Holy Ointment. 7. Breaking the Sabbath (*m*). 8. Eating the Flesh of the Sacrifice in the time of any Uncleaness (*n*). 9. Entering into the Tabernacle when unclean (*o*). 10. Eating the Fat of a Burnt-Offering (*p*). 11. Eating Blood (*q*). 12. Eating what remains of a Sacrifice three days after it was offered (*r*). 13. Eating the Flesh of the Sacrifices not in the Place prescribed. 14. Eating leavened Bread during the seven Days of the Passover (*s*). 15. and 16. Not fasting, or doing any Work on the Day of Atonement (*u*). 17. Not keeping the Passover. 18. Neglecting to be circumcised (*x*). 19. Blasphemy. 20. Idolatry (*y*). 21. Offering Children to *Moloch* (*z*). These are the several Crimes that were to be punish'd with *Cutting off*.

In my Commentary on *Exodus* xii. 15. I examined the Opinions of Interpreters concerning the Manner of God's punish-

- (*f*) Dio. l. 49. Jof. de Bell. Jud. l. 1. c. 13. (*g*) Lev. xviii. (*h*) Lev. xx. 6.
(*i*) Lev. xvii. 4. (*k*) Ibid. 9. (*l*) Exod. xxx. 33, 38. (*m*) Exod. xxxi. 14.
(*n*) Lev. vii. 20. (*o*) Numb. xiv. 13. (*p*) Lev. vii. 25. (*q*) Ibid. 27.
(*r*) Lev. xix. 8. (*s*) Exod. xii. 15. (*u*) Lev. xxiii. 29, & 30.
(*x*) Gen. xvii. 14. (*y*) Numb. xv. 30, 31. (*z*) xviii. 21.

ing,

ing, by a secret Judgment, the Persons that were condemn'd by the Law to be cut off from *Israel*. I shall now consider what Punishment the Judges inflicted on those that were convicted of the same Crimes. Without troubling myself with the Notions of the *Rabbins*, it is plain both from the Nature and Quality of the Crimes we are speaking of, and from the proper and literal Signification of the Words in the *Text*, that the guilty Persons were extirpated, and put to death.

The Breach of the Sabbath, Idolatry, Blasphemy, offering Children to *Moloch*, &c. were evidently *Capital* Crimes, as appears from the express Words of the Law. Now the same Law annexes the Punishment of *Cutting off* to these very Crimes. Hence therefore we may conclude, that *cutting off* and *putting to death* are one and the same thing. Can any one imagine, that the Scriptures should punish the Adulterer, Confuter with Magicians, and the undutiful Son, with Death, and at the same time condemn him that sins presumptuously against the Lord, to be scourged only? for thus they interpret *Cutting off* in these Words: *The Soul that doeth ought presumptuously, or with an high hand, the same reproacheth the Lord; that Soul shall utterly be cut off, his Iniquity shall be upon him* (*a*). Is it likely that so strong an Expression, so terrible a Threatning, should mean nothing more than Scourging; that is, according to them, nothing more than the *lightest* and least *infamous* of all Punishments? When the Scriptures speak of the utter Extirpation of the *Canaanites* (*b*), the Extinction of the Family of *Feroboam*, who made *Israel* to sin (*c*), the entire Ruin of the Nations devoted by God to Destruction (*d*), and the Punishment of the most wicked Wretches, whose Memory was to be effaced under Heaven (*e*); upon all these Occasions, no other Terms are made use of but *Cutting off*. It is then this Extirpation, Extinction, Ruin, and Destruction, that is meant in Scripture, by *shall be cut off from Israel*.

I would not however be understood to affirm, that all the Crimes above-mentioned, were always punish'd with Death. I don't in the least question, notwithstanding what the *Rabbins* affirm, that

- (*a*) Numb. xv. 30, 31. (*b*) Deut. xii. 29. (*c*) 1 King. xiv. 10.
(*d*) Ezek. xxv. 7. (*e*) Psal. xxxiii. 17. xxxvii. 28.

say

say to the contrary, but that formerly *Excommunication* was in use among the *Hebrews*. *Ezra* (f) separated from the Congregation of *Israel* all those that would not put away their *strange Wives*. A *Caraites*, quoted by *Selden* (g), assures us, *Excommunication* began first to be practised, when the Nation was deprived of the Power of punishing Offenders in the Reigns of *Infidels*. *Basnage* (h) thinks the *Sanhedrim*, after it was establish'd by the *Maccabees*, assumed to itself the Cognizance of all *Ecclesiastical* Causes, and the Power of punishing Offenders. Then it was that the Mixture of the *Jews* with the Heathen Nations, made the Exercise of this Power the more frequent, in order to prevent the conversing with *Pagans*, and apostatizing from *Judaism*. There were then Instances of *Excommunication* before the time of the *Maccabees*: And therefore why should the antient *Hebrews* not be supposed to exercise the same Power, and inflict the same Penalties as *Ezra*, since the same Laws were in being, and the same Offences from time to time committed? Is it not to be presumed that a Law is in Force, as long as there are no Proofs to the contrary?

We find *Excommunication* every where practised in our Saviour's time, since he forewarns his Disciples of their being scourged, and put out of the Synagogues (i). *Josephus* (k), speaking of the *Essenes*, says, Upon the taking any Man in a notorious Crime, he is excluded from their Society; and, by that means, very often comes to a miserable End. For as he is bound by Oath not to receive the least Sustenance from the hands of Strangers, nor to have any thing to do with those from whom he is separated, he is driven to graze like the Beasts, till his Flesh rots from the Bone. Sometimes the *Essenes*, seeing the excommunicated Person in this extreme Misery, take pity of him, and receive him again into their Society, computing that the Punishment he has suffer'd might in some measure atone for his Offence.

But the *Rabbins* give us a very different Notion of *Excommunication* from this of the *Essenes*. According to them, it consisted in being deprived of some Right or Privilege the Party enjoy'd before in the Society, whereof he was a Member (l);

(f) x. 8. (g) De Syned. (h) Hist. de Juif. l. v. c. 18.
(i) Joh. ix. 2. Mat. x. 17. (k) Jos. l. 2. de Bell. Jud. (l) Seld. l. 1. c. 7. de Syned.

and

and this with regard to Things Sacred or Common, or to both. This Penalty was enjoin'd for some real or apparent Fault, with hopes at the same time of being re-instated into their former Rights and Privileges.

The *Hebrews* had two Sorts of *Excommunications*, the Greater and Lesser. By the first, a Man was separated from the whole Society he belonged to; by the second, from one part of it only, namely, from the Men of the Synagogue: So that it was unlawful for any to come within four Cubits of him, except his Wife and Children. He could not make One of the Ten, necessary to transact certain Affairs; he was look'd upon as nobody; he was not so much as permitted to eat or drink in any Company.

They proceeded to *Excommunication* for any one of these four and twenty Offences. 1. For treating irreverently a Master or Doctor, even after he was dead. 2. Using foul Language to a publick Minister of Justice. 3. Calling a Freeman, a Slave. 4. Not appearing when summon'd. 5. Not regarding any Doctrine of the Scribes, or Precept of the Law. 6. Not submitting to the Sentence of the Judge. 7. Keeping any thing that may be hurtful to others, as a mischievous Dog, &c. 8. Selling an Estate to a Heathen, without making Satisfaction to the Party that may be prejudiced by the Sale. 9. Bearing witness against an *Israelite*, before a Heathen Judge, in order to oblige him to the Payment of something contrary to the Custom of *Israel*. 10. For a Priest to offer up a Sacrifice, without setting a-part the Portion due to the other Priests. 11. Profaning a Festival Day of the second Class, whilst in Captivity, altho' Custom might be pleaded for it. 12. Working on the Day of the Passover in the Afternoon. 13. Pronouncing the Name of God in a loud or hyperbolical Manner, without thinking, or by way of swearing. 14. Giving occasion to the People to blaspheme the Name of God. 15. Causing the People to eat of Holy Things not in the appointed Place. 16. Computing the Months and Years when out of the Holy Land, otherwise than was done there. 17. Putting a Stumbling-block in a blind Man's way. 18. Preventing the People from observing some Commandment. 19. Sacrificing after having permitted one to offer up an Animal taken or torn by some Beast. 20. Sacrificing without having first made Tryal of the

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Knife

Knife before a *Doctor*. 21. Not giving due Application when taught. 22. Having to do with a Wife after her being divorced, and by that means giving occasion to the Judges of making a Marriage good again, after it was dissolved. 23. A Doctor for having an ill Reputation. 24. For excommunicating another without just Cause.

Censure preceded Excommunication.

The Party was always censured or rebuked before he was excommunicated: This was done first in private; but in case he did not mend, *The House of Judgment*, or *Assembly of Judges*, charged him in a threatening manner to reform himself: After which he was publicly censured for four Sabbath-days, by having his Name, and the Nature of his Offence, publish'd to all the People, in order to shame him out of it; if he still remain'd incorrigible, they proceeded to Excommunication. Our Saviour is supposed to allude to this Custom, when he orders us, first, to rebuke our Brother privately; then before Witnesses; and lastly, to tell the Church: and if, after all, he returns not to his Duty, to look upon him as an *Heathen* and *Publican* (m).

The Sentence of Excommunication was pronounced in this manner: *Let such a one be in Separation*, or *Excommunication*; or rather, *Let such a one be separated*. A Man might be excommunicated either asleep or awake. The Senate, or even private Men, had a Power of excommunicating, provided it was done for some one of the 24 Faults above-mentioned, and after the Party had been duly censured. But generally the Sentence of Excommunication was given in the Court of Justice.

A private Man might not only excommunicate another, but himself also; for example, the *Jews*, mentioned in the *Acts* (n), that bound themselves under the Curse of Excommunication to kill *St. Paul*. Sometimes the very Beasts were excommunicated, and the *Rabbins* inform us, that even the Dogs were served so.

Excommunication, when asleep, was, when a Man dreamt he was excommunicated either publicly by the Judges, or by any other private Person. In this Case, he look'd upon himself as really in a State of Excommunication, because, say they, for ought he knew, it might be done by God, or one of his

(m) Mat. xviii. 15, 16, 17.

(n) xxiii. 12.

Ministers

Dis. V. Several Ways of punishing Offenders.

Ministers and Agents. If the Person that lay under the Sentence of the lesser Excommunication, did not in a Month's time procure his Pardon, his Sentence was prolonged another Month; and in case he did not endeavour to do it in that time, they proceeded to the *Greater Excommunication*, which separated him from all Commerce with others. He could neither study, nor teach, nor hire, nor let out to hire, &c. He was in much the same Case with those among the *Romans*, that were forbid the Use of Fire and Water; he could receive Food from the hands but of very few; and they who had any Dealings with him whilst in a State of Excommunication, were sentenced by the Judges to the same Punishment. Sometimes the Goods of the excommunicated Person were confiscated, and set a-part for *Holy Uses*, by a kind of Excommunication term'd *Cherem*, of which I shall speak immediately. If any one died in a State of Excommunication, there were no funeral Ceremonies used for him, and his Body, by Order of Court, was buried under a heap of Stones.

Some distinguish three Sorts of Excommunication (o), *Nidui*, *Cherem*, and *Shammata*. The first is the *Lesser*, the second the *Greater Excommunication*; the third is something more than the *Greater*, to which some will have the Penalty of Death to be annexed, and from which no Man could be absolved. *Nidui* lasted thirty Days. *Cherem* was an Aggravation of the first, and separated a Man from the Synagogue, and debarred him of all *Civil Commerce*. Lastly, *Shammata* was proclaim'd by the Sound of four hundred Trumpets, and took away all hopes of ever being re-admitted to the Synagogue.

But *Selden* maintains, that these three *Terms* very often signify the same thing, and that, properly speaking, the *Hebrews* never had but two Sorts of Excommunications; and if we meet with Expressions in Scripture, signifying to *separate*, *excommunicate*, and *anathematize*, they are not to be taken in the Sense above-mentioned, as so many distinct Forms of Excommunicating in use before or after the Law, by virtue of *Moses's* Ordinances.

The *Rabbins* take the *Form* and *Right* of Excommunicating from the Manner of *Deborah's* and *Barak's* cursing *Meroz*,

(o) See Bartol. Bib. Rab. t. 3.

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whom

whom they take to be a Man that came not to the Assistance of the *Israelites*. *Curse ye Meroz*, said the Angel of the Lord; *Curse ye bitterly they that are near him, because they came not to the Help of the Lord against the Midian (p)*. In these Words, thus understood, they fancy they see the whole Method of Excommunicating. 1. The *Curses* pronounced against the Person excommunicated. 2. The cursing those that come near him, *i.e.* within four Cubits. 3. The publishing the Crime he is excommunicated for. 4. The proclaiming the Sentence by Sound of Trumpet; as *Barak* (say they) excommunicated *Meroz* by the Sound of four hundred Trumpets.

But after all it must be confess'd, that Excommunication, such as I have been describing, is of a much later Date than the Time of *Barak*, and not to be traced any farther back than the Captivity. We find nothing of this kind in the time of the first Temple, or before the Coming of the *Samaritans* into *Judea*, which was not till after the carrying away Captive the *Ten Tribes* of *Israel*. The first Instances to be met with in Scripture, are in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* (q).

As for reversing or taking off the Sentence of Excommunication, they who laid it on, had a power also of taking it off, provided the Person was sorry for what he had done, and shew'd Marks of a sincere Repentance. Sometimes the Sentence, was reversed at the same time it was pronounced. In case the Person was present when excommunicated, he was obliged to be so when absolved. He that was excommunicated by some private Man, except for insulting one of the Disciples of a *Chacam*, or *Wise-Man*, might be absolved by any three Men chosen for that purpose by himself, or by some one publick Judge. He that had excommunicated himself, could not absolve himself, unless he was a Disciple of a *Chacam*, or eminent for his Learning; otherwise it was to be done by ten Men chosen from among the People. He that was excommunicated whilst asleep, had a great many more Ceremonies to observe. To absolve him, ten Men learned in the Law, and well versed in the *Talmud*, were required; if so many were not to be found in the Place where he lived, he was to go 4000 Paces round about to see for them: If he could not meet with them in that Cir-

(p) See *Judg.* v. 23.(q) *Ezra* x. 8, *Neh.* x. 29. and *xiii.* 25, 26.

cuit,

cuit, he was to take ten Men that could read the *Pentateuch*; and if these were not to be had, any ten Men; or if there were not so many, any three.

He that was excommunicated for insulting another, could not be absolved, unless the Person insulted was willing, or dead; in the last Case, it might be done by any three Men, or by the *Nasi* of the *Sanhedrim*, who had power also to absolve any one that had been excommunicated by some unknown Person.

There are twenty more Particulars of this nature, which it would be to no purpose to relate here; and I am much afraid, that what I have already said will be look'd upon as mere Whimsies, that never were put in Practice.

Excommunication did not exclude the Persons excommunicated from the Celebration of Festivals, or from the Temple, or from other Religious Ceremonies. The *Solemn* Feasts in the Temple were not in the Number of those they were forbid to be at. The *Talmud* says only, they were to go into the Temple on the left Side, and come out on the right; whereas others went in on the right, and came out on the left.

I pass the same Judgment upon these, as upon all the other *Rabbinical* Laws and Ordinances. All uncertain, and without any Foundation in Antiquity, and the Practices of the antient *Hebrews*; Abundance of silly *Formalities* and trifling *Remarks*, mix'd, it may be, with some Truths and modern Customs, establish'd since the time of the *Sanhedrim*.

The Punishment of the *Sword* affords no Matter for any Remarks. The Criminal's Head was cut off with a Sword or an Ax. Among the *Romans*, to die by the Ax was more honourable than by the Sword (r); but among the *Hebrews*, they made no Distinction that we know of. We have two famous Instances of this Punishment in the threescore and ten Sons of *Gideon*, whom *Abimelech* their Brother beheaded on the same Stone; and the seventy Sons of *Abab*, whose Heads were cut off in *Samaria*, and sent to *Jebu* in Baskets (s).

Burning was practised by the *Jews* before the Law. *Judah* being inform'd that his Daughter-in-law *Tamar* was with Child,

(r) *Galon.* de *Cruc.* Mart. cult.(s) *Judg.* ix. & 2 *King.* x. 7.

order'd

order'd her to be burnt for an Adulteress (z); but the Ceremonies used at the inflicting this Punishment are unknown. The *Rabbins*, according to their Traditions, tell us, the Offender was placed Knee-deep in a Dunghill with a large Linnen Cloth about his Neck, which was drawn by two Men, till they made him open his Mouth; then they poured in melted Lead to burn his Intrails. But we read in the Writings of these same Doctors, a Matter of Fact quite contrary to this Account. *Rabbi Eleazar* says, the Daughter of a Priest having play'd the Harlot, was condemn'd to be burnt, and they placed all round her Boughs of Trees in order to burn her, as the Law directed (u). But without having recourse to the *Rabbins*, it is plain from the Words of *Moses*, and Examples in Scripture, that Criminals were burnt among the *Jews* in the same manner as among other Nations.

The Idolatrous *Jews*, who offer'd their Children to *Moloch*, are said to put them into the Arms of the Idol, and so roast them by the Fire that was kindled at his Feet, into which at last they fell down. *Nebuchadnezzar* threw *Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego*, into a fiery Furnace (w); and *Abraham* is thought to have been deliver'd in a miraculous manner from the same Punishment (x). If a Man marries a Mother and Daughter, *Moses* orders that both he and they be burnt with Fire (y); which Words naturally give us the Notion of outwardly applying Fire to consume the Criminal. The seven Brethren in the *Maccabees*, after having had their Tongues cut out, their Heads flea'd, and their Limbs cut off, were at last brought to the Fire, being yet alive, and fried in Pans (z). *Josephus* is somewhat more particular, and gives a large Account how each of them suffer'd. He says the first, after having been cruelly scourged, was put upon the Wheel, and had all his Limbs stretch'd out of Joint. The Sixth was likewise extended on the Wheel, and after they had broken and distorted all his Bones, they put Fire under him, and thrust red-hot Spits into his Back and Sides, till his Bowels were all burnt up, and then cast him into a Cauldron of boiling Liquor. The Seventh threw himself into the burning Frying-Pans, where he expired.

(z) Gen. xxxviii. 24. (u) Lev. xxi. 9. (w) Dan. iii. 21. (x) Nehem. ix. 7.
Vulg. de Igne Chaldaeorum, & Gen. xi. 31. (y) Levit. xx. 14.
(z) 2 Mac. vii. 4, 5.

These

These are the Accounts the Author of the *Maccabees*, and *Josephus*, give us of the Sufferings of these illustrious Martyrs; wherein we find several Ways of tormenting by Fire. But as this Tragedy was acted by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, it cannot from hence be infer'd for certain, that such kind of Torments were common among the *Hebrews*, or ever practis'd in the Manner described above. But what likelihood is there, that the *Jews* should differ from all other Nations in Matters of this nature? or that by the Terms, *Punishing with Fire, Condemning to the Fire*, they should understand something different from what all other People do, or even contrary to the Meaning of the very Terms they make use of? The *Chaldeans*, it is plain, were wont to burn some certain Criminals in Pans, since *Jeremiah* (b) informs us, that the King of *Babylon* roasted *Zedekiah* and *Ahab* in the Fire.

They not only burnt Malefactors alive, but threw their dead Bodies into the Fire, after having been put to death some other way. *Achan* and his Family are supposed to have been burnt after they were stoned (c). *Josiah* burnt the Bones of the false Prophets on the Altars of the Idols (d). The Author of *Ecclesiasticus* (e) says, *The Vengeance of the Ungodly is Fire and Worms*; which may be understood of the dead Bodies of Criminals, that were deny'd Burial, and consumed by Worms or Fire: for the Fire of the Valley of *Hinnom*, near *Jerusalem*, is said to have been always kept burning, in order to consume the dead Bodies that were thrown into it, lest they should infect the City by their Stench. Our Saviour alludes to this Passage*, when speaking of Hell, by the Name of *Gehenna*, he says, *The Worm of the Damned dieth not, and the Fire is not quenched* (f). To be deprived of Burial, was the most ignominious Thing that could happen to a *Jew*. As nothing was more recommended than the Burial of the Dead, so nothing was more hateful and deplorable than to be exposed to Birds and Beasts of Prey. This is one of the Misfortunes God threatens his rebellious People with (g). *Josephus* (h) assures us, none were denied the Honour of Burial, but they who killed themselves; these were not to be interred till the Evening, after

(b) xxix. 22. Septuag. & ἀνετηνάζοντες ἐν πυρὶ. (c) Josh. vii. 25.
(d) 2 King. xxiii. 20. (e) vii. 17. * Rather to Isa. lxvi. 24. (f) Mar. ix. 44.
(g) Deut. xxxii. 24. (h) L. 3. de Bello, c. 14.

having

having been exposed unburied all the Day. *Jeremiah* (s) foretold *Jehoiakim*, the Son of *Josiah*, That he should be buried with the Burial of an Ass; that is, his Body should be thrown out for Meat to Beasts of Prey. It is however observable, that *Moses* enjoins not this upon account of any Crime whatever, but orders even those that were crucified to be buried, and their Bodies not to hang on the Cross above one day, unless for some particular Reason to the contrary; and even this last Clause is not express'd in the Law, but is the Interpretation of those who lived after *Moses*.

STONING.

The *Hebrew* Doctors have as many whimsical Notions about *Stoning*, as about any of the foregoing Punishments. To *stone*, was not with them the same thing as with other People. The condemn'd Person was carry'd to a Place about twice as high as his Head, from whence he was thrown down on a heap of Flints by the two Witnesses. If he was not killed with the Fall, all the People immediately stoned him to death. They reckon eighteen Crimes subject to this Punishment; namely, those the Law makes *Capital*, without expressly mentioning the Kind of Death the Malefactor was to suffer. *Stoning*, of all Deaths, was the most ignominious among the *Hebrews*. *Moses* (k) orders the Ox, that gores a Man to death, to be stoned. The *Blasphemer* (l), and Gatherer of Sticks on the Sabbath (m), were both stoned by all the People. *Naboth*, by the Order of *Jezebel* (n), was put to death in the same manner as well as *Hadoram* (o), whom *Solomon* had made Collector of his Tributes.

But in all these Instances, not a word of the *Rabbinical* Notion above; rather the quite contrary appears. *Moses* (p) was order'd by God to forbid the People coming near Mount *Sinai*: and in case any Man was so bold as to do it, he was to be stoned, or shot thro; but not a Hand was to touch him. Neither *Josephus*, nor *Philo*, say any thing of the *Rabbinical* Formalities. They frequently offer'd to stone our Saviour in the very Temple (q). *St. Stephen* was stoned without the City, and *St. Paul* was very near being so at *Lystra*. The *Jews*

(s) xxii. 19. (k) Exod. xx. 28. (l) Lev. xxiv. 14. (m) Num. xv. 35.
(n) 1 King. xxi. 13. (o) 2 Chron. x. 18. (p) xix. 13. Vulg. *Engl. Bible*,
touch it, meaning the Mount. (q) Joh. viii. 59.

having

having brought to Christ a Woman taken in Adultery, he said to them in the Temple, He that is without Sin, let him cast the first Stone at her (r). But in all this, there is not a Syllable of throwing down from some high Place, as the *Jews* would make us believe.

It is pretty plain from the Examples of the *Blasphemer*, *Sabbath-Breaker*, *Naboth*, *St. Stephen*, that usually the Malefactors were carried out of the Town in order to be stoned. *Moses* orders, that they should proceed in that manner with the Man that should entice the People to *Idolatry*: which Order, no doubt, was observed with regard to all other Criminals, who were generally executed without the Gates of the Cities; however, there were some Exceptions in this Case, particularly when the *Zealots* stoned a Man, without staying for the Judge's Sentence.

We find several in Scripture that were thrown headlong CASTING HEADLONG from a Rock or other HIGH PLACE. from the Top of a Rock or Tower; but it does not appear that this was a common or usual way of punishing Offenders among the *Hebrews*. *Amaziah* cast down from the Top of a Rock ten thousand *Idumeans*, whom he had taken Prisoners (s). Some are of opinion, that *Oreb*, King of the *Midianites*, was thrown headlong from the Rock that went by his Name (t). *Jezebel* was thrown out of a Window by the Command of *Jehu* (u). The *Jews* of *Nazareth* would have cast our Saviour down headlong from the Top of a Hill (w). *St. James the Just* was thrown down from the highest part of the Temple into the Valley below. *Zacharias*, the Son of *Baruch*, was put to death in the Temple by the *Zealots*, and his Body thrown over the Walls. But this Punishment was neither enjoined by *Moses*, nor ever inflicted by the Sentence of the Judges.

There is mention in *St. Matthew* of a Punishment no where spoken of in the Old Testament; which is, the throwing a Man into the Sea, with a Mill-stone about his Neck. *Grotius* and *Le Clerc* think this was no *Hebrew*, but a *Syrian* Punishment.

(r) Ibid. 7. (s) 2 Chron. xxv. 12. (t) Judg. vii. 25.
(u) 2 King. ix. 33. (w) Luke iv. 29.

E

If

If it was practised by the *Hebrews*, it was not till after the Reign of the *Syrian Kings* in *Judea*.

The PUNISHMENT of the SAW.

Among the Sufferings of the Saints of the *Old Testament*, the Apostle mentions their being *sawn asunder* (x); which *Jews* and *Christians*, by Tradition, understand of *Isaiab*, who is said to have been put to death in this manner by *Manasses* King of *Judah*, for boasting he had seen the Lord sitting on his Throne (y). *Tostatus* took it in his head to call this Tradition in question, because *Isaiab* has omitted the Name of *Manasses* in the beginning of his *Prophecy*, where he expressly mentions all the Kings he prophesied under. But this Argument is not conclusive, since *Isaiab* might be put to death in the beginning of this Prince's Reign, before he had prophesied any thing in his Time.

The *Jews*, and *antient Fathers*, not only affirm *Isaiab* was *sawn asunder*, but that it was done with a *wooden Saw*. *St. Justin*, *St. Jerom*, the Author of the Poem against *Marcion*, and many more, are express in this Matter; and this Opinion is in such a manner authorized by the *Church*, that it would show great Rashness to deny it. If it had been asserted only, that his Body was cut in *two*, in the middle, with an *Iron Saw*, as some of our Martyrs were (z), the thing would not have been so incredible; but that the Body of an old Man should be sawn down from the *Head* to the *Thighs* with a *wooden Saw*, seems impossible: for how could the *Bones*, which Iron itself sometimes can hardly master, be cut thro' with Wood? And who ever took it in his head to make such a Saw? What could such an Instrument be good for? To saw Stones, Marble, Bones? We must therefore seek to find out some Means to free the Tradition of *Isaiab*'s being sawn asunder with a wooden Saw, from the Improbabilities that attend it.

The *Septuagint* and *St. Jerom* sometimes term certain Instruments, formerly made use of to thresh Corn, *Saws*. These were large *wooden Rollers*, full of *sharp Irons*, or *Stones*, which they rolled over the *Sheaves*; or else were a Sort of

(x) Heb. xi. 37. *Επιτομήων*.

(y) Isa. vi. 1.

(z) See Baron. in Notis ad Martyr. Rom.

small

small *Carts*, or *Drays*, fortified with Iron, for the same Purpose. They are mention'd by *Virgil* (a) in these Words:

*Tatdaque Eleusine Martis volventia Plaustra,
Tribulaque, trabeaque.*

Isaiab (b) describes these *Machines* thus: *I will make thee*, says the Lord, *a new, sharp, threshing Instrument, having Teeth like a Saw*. And elsewhere (c); *The Fitches are not threshed with Saws, or a threshing Instrument*. This Grain was not fit to bear the Weight of those *Machines*. In the second Book of *Samuel* we have the same Expression in a Passage very much to our Purpose (d): *Populum adducens ferravit, & circumegit super eos ferrata carpenta*. The *Septuagint* Translation is much the same: *He brought forth the People, and put them under the Saw, and under threshing Instruments of Iron* (e). The *Hebrew* Terms (f), no doubt, signify the *Machines* before described. And *St. Jerom* renders the parallel Place in the *Chronicles*, by, *Tribulos & Trabas, & ferrata Carpenta*.

It is then very probable the Apostle must be understood of such Sort of *Saws*, and that the *Jews*, and *Fathers* after them, meant the same thing, when they said *Isaiab* was sawn asunder with a *wooden Saw*; giving us to understand by that Expression, that it was not a common Saw, but different from the usual ones.

It may perhaps be objected, that *ἐπιτομήων* literally signifying, *They were sawn with a common Saw*, this Passage of *St. Paul* cannot be understood of the *Saw* I have been speaking of, unless in an *improper* and *figurative* Sense. But to this I answer, the Apostle had the Liberty of using this *Greek* Word in the same Sense as the *Septuagint*; and since it means there, *To be crushed in pieces with a threshing Instrument*, why might not *St. Paul* make use of it in the same Sense upon the like Occa-

(a) *Georgic*. I. *Servius* in hunc locum. *Tribula*, genus vehiculi omni ex parte dentatum, unde teruntur frumenta, quod maxime in Africa utebantur. *Trabes*, vehicula sine rotis.

(b) xli. 15.

(c) Isa. xxviii. 27. *Vulg.*

(d) xli. 15. *Vulg.*

(e) *Isa. xxviii. 27. Vulg.*

(f) *English Bible*, Under Saws and under Harrows of Iron.

(g) See the Hebrew.

sion? To be *sawn asunder*, in *St. Paul*, means nothing else but what is express'd by the same Word in the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate*. And supposing in all three the Sense be *figurative*, nothing can be inferred from thence against what I advance. The common Iron Saw divides, and cuts asunder *Wood* and *Stone*; the Saw, I am speaking of, crushes and tears in pieces *Bodies*. This Punishment, as I have made appear, was not unknown to the *Hebrews*. I don't see therefore any reason for not keeping to this Interpretation. I will even venture to say, no other can be admitted, without giving up the Tradition of the *wooden Saw*.

I am sensible, that the punishing Offenders, by sawing them with a common Iron Saw, was in use among the Antients. *Valerius Maximus* (b) assures us, the *Tbracians* sometimes sawed Men asunder alive. It appears from the Laws of the *Twelve Tables*, that this Punishment was annex'd to certain Crimes; but was so seldom put in execution, that *Aulus Gellius* says (i), he never heard or read of any that suffer'd it. However, *Suetonius* acquaints us (k), that *Caligula* frequently condemn'd Persons of Quality to be shut up in Iron Cages like wild Beasts, or to be *sawn asunder* in the middle. *Daniel* seems to me to allude to this Punishment, when telling one of the wretched *Elders*, that accused *Susanna*, Even now the *Angel of God* hath received the Sentence of God to CUT THREE IN TWO (l). In *St. Matthew*, The wicked Servant is CUT ASUNDER, and his Portion appointed with the Hypocrites (m). *Herodotus* (n) says, *Sabacus* King of *Egypt* was commanded in a Dream to cut in two all the *Egyptian* Priests. In *Aristophanes*, a Woman declares she is ready to be cut asunder in the middle. All those Places of Scripture, where the Word *Paras*, to divide, or break asunder, is used in the *Hebrew Text*, for putting to death, seem to allude to this Punishment (o).

CRUSHING TO DEATH with Thorns, or under the Feet of ANIMALS. The Scriptures inform us, that *Gideon*, after his Return from pursuing the *Midianites*, crush'd to death, with Thorns and Briars of the Wilderness, the Princes of *Sacoth* (p). He laid, in all likelihood, large Pieces of Timber, and great Stones upon

(b) Lib. 9. c. 2.

(i) Lib. 12. No. 8. Artic.

(k) In *Caio*.(l) Hist. of *Suf*. 55.

(m) Mat. xxiv. 51.

(n) Lib. 6.

(o) See 1 Sam. xv. 33. Exod. xix. 24, &c.

(p) Judg. viii. 16.

the

the Thorns, under which these Wretches were placed, and so squeezed them to death; a Punishment like that of the *Crates* or *Hurdle* among the *Romans*, under which the Malefactor was put, and then crush'd to death with Stones. This Practice was common not only among the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* (q), but also among the antient *Germans*. These last thrust those, who had shewn any Signs of Cowardice in a Battle, or suffer'd any shameful Action to be committed on their Bodies, into a muddy Place, and smother'd them, by keeping them down with a *Hurdle*.

David, after he had conquer'd the *Moabites*, cast them down to the Ground, and measured them with two Lines, to put to death; and with one full Line to keep alive (r). But what kind of Death were they made to suffer? This we can only guess at, the Scriptures being silent in the Matter: however, as it is said they were made to lie down on the Ground, it may be conjectured that the same Rigour was used towards them, on whom the Lot fell to die, as was used towards the *Ammonites*, or else that they were trampled to death by Animals, a Punishment practised also by the Antients. *Ptolemy Physcon*, King of *Egypt*, order'd the *Alexandrian Jews* to be trampled to death under the Feet of his Elephants (s). *Hamilcar*, General of the *Carthaginians*, served some foreign Soldiers, that had deserted the Service of the Commonwealth, in the same manner (t). The Prophet *Micah* alludes to this Punishment in these Words (u): The Lord shall gather the Nations as the Sheaves into the Floor; Arise and thresh, O Daughter of Zion, for I will make thine Horn Iron, and thy Hoofs Brags; and thou shalt break in pieces many People. *Obedas*, King of *Arabia*, trampled to death with his Camels the Army of *Alexander*, that were fallen into an Ambush, in stony and unpasable Places (w).

We read in the *Maccabees* of another Sort of Punishment, Throwing Throwing headlong into Ashes. There were very high Towers, that had within them a great Quantity of Dust and Ashes, into which Malefactors were thrown, and so smother'd. This, tho'

(q) Liv. l. 4. Plaut. in *Penulo*.

(r) 2 Sam. viii. 2.

(s) Jos. l. 2. con. Ap.

(t) Porphy. de Abst. l. 2. p. 227.

(u) iv. 13.

(w) Jos. Ant. l. 13. c. 21.

prac-

practised by the neighbouring Nations, was not in use among the *Hebrews*. *Antiochus Eupator* (x) order'd the Traitor *Meneleus* to be thrown into a Tower fifty Cubits high full of Ashes. *Darius Ocbus* is affirmed to be the first Inventor of this Punishment. Some imagine, that in the place where this is said, it should be read *Darius Hyfaspes*, and not *Ocbus*. And indeed in my Comment on the *Maccabees*, I have stuck to *Darius Hyfaspes*: But, however, this Prince was also called *Ocbus*. In *Esther* (y) he is named *Abasuerus*, or *Abas-verus*; which is the same as *Ocbus*. Besides, *Valerius Maximus* (z) expressly calls him *Ocbus*. This Prince having obtain'd the Crown by means of a Conspiracy, bound himself by the most sacred Oaths to those that had assisted him in killing the *Magi*, never to put them to death by Poison, or Sword, or Starving, or any other violent Manner. But being jealous of them, he set about inventing a new Sort of Punishment, in order to evade his Oath; which was, to fill a Place, inclosed all round with a high Wall, with Ashes, and then putting a Rafter a-cross at the Top, he made those he had a mind to destroy, to sit upon it; where he order'd them to eat and drink heartily, by which means they were soon oppress'd with Sleep, and so tumbled into the Ashes, where they perished.

CUTTING
OFF the
HAIR.

The *Jews* generally wore large Heads of Hair, which they never cut, but when in Mourning or Disgrace. It is thought they were forbid to cut their Hair at Funerals, or for the sake of the Dead, from a Law that is understood in a wrong Sense (a), *Ye shall not make any Baldness for the Dead*; that is, for *Adonis* or *Osiris*, called, by way of Contempt, *the Dead*. But it is undeniable, the *Jews* cut their Hair when in Mourning: They likewise cut off the Hair of certain Offenders, for an Ignominy and Reproach to them. *Nehemiah* says (b), *He contended with those that had married Wives of Ashdod, and cursed them, and pluck'd off their Hair*. How infamous it was to be served thus, is plain from the severe Revenge *David* took of the *Ammonites*, for cutting off the Hair of his Ambassadors, and half shaving their Beards. God threatens the Daughters

(x) 2 Mac. xiii. 5.

(a) Deut. xiv. 1.

(y) i. 1. WTWTH.

(b) xiii. 25.

(z) L. 9. c. 2.

of

of *Zion* with Baldness, to punish them for their too nice curling and setting off their Hair (c). The *Jews*, in an impious Book of theirs, entitled, *The Generation or Life of Jesus*, affirm that their Forefathers cut off our Saviour's Hair; and, to make him bald as long as he lived, rubbed his Head with a certain Liquor, that prevented the Hair from ever growing again. This is one of the thousand Lyes and Calumnies that Work is stuffed with. In fine, this Punishment was common among other Nations. The *Christian Martyrs* were frequently used in this manner. Sometimes the Hair of their Heads and Beards was but half shaved off. *St. Cyprian*, speaking to some that had met with this Treatment, says (d): *Altho' the Hair of their Heads, by reason of its being cut so unevenly, stood staring up an end, they were to remember that Jesus Christ being the Head of Christians, their Heads could not fail of being encircled with Beauties, the moment they bore the Marks of the Name of Christ*. The Martyrs, in answer to the Bishop, told him, he had found the means, by his consolatory Discourse, to set their half-shaved Hair to rights again: *Semitonis Capitis Capillaturam adaquasti*.

I shall close this Dissertation with a Word or two concerning Whether the the Officers of Justice among the *Hebrews*. I don't find any Jews had any Executioners. where in the Old Testament, that there were any profess'd and publick Hang-men or Executioners among the *Hebrews*, that were look'd upon as a scandalous Sort of Persons. The *Soterims* (e), that are generally associated with the Judges, were, according to several Commentators, the Ministers of Justice. They stood near the Tribunal, armed with Scourges and Rods, like the *Roman Lictors*, ready to chastise upon the spot those who should be found guilty.

But so far was the Office of the *Soterims* from being odious and despicable among the *Hebrews*, that, on the contrary, it was a Post of Honour and Distinction. They were often of the Family of *Levi*. They publish'd the Orders of the Kings and Magistrates, and compelled the People by force to obey them, punishing the Disobedient and Refractory.

(c) Isa. iii. 17, 24.

(d) Cypr. Ep. 77.

(e) See the Author's Comment, on Deut. i. 15.

Upon

Upon certain Occasions, the Witnesses among the *Hebrews* were the first that put the Sentence of the *Judges* in execution. The Law (*f*) enjoins, that the Man or Woman found guilty of Idolatry, should be brought forth to the Gate of the City, *And the Hands of the Witnesses shall be first upon him, to stone him to death, and afterwards the Hands of all the People.* Thus when *St. Stephen* was stoned, the Witnesses laid down their Cloths at the Feet of *Saul*, afterwards the great Apostle of the *Gentiles*, that they might do it without any Incumbrance. *Jesus Christ* said to the Accusers of the Woman taken in Adultery, *He that is without Sin, let him cast the first Stone at her.* The same Method was taken in stoning the *Blasphemer*, *Sabbath-breaker*, *Achan*, *Naboth*, who were all stoned by the People. *Moses* delivers the wilful Murderer into the hands of the next a-kin to the murder'd Person, to be put to death (*g*). He orders also, that the *Elders* of the City themselves should chastise the Man that unjustly accuses his Wife of not having found her a Virgin (*h*). The Execution of all these Punishments was not attended with any Shame or Infamy, nothing hateful or odious was annex'd to the doing of it.

In the Punishment of *Burning*, according to the *Rabbins*, the Witnesses drew the Linnen Cloth about the Malefactor's Neck, to make him open his Mouth, that the melted Lead might be poured in. The Witnesses also drew the Cord, when a Criminal was to be strangled. The Soldiers, in the time of *Joshua*, are supposed to have hung up on so many Trees the five Kings of the *Amorites*. *Samuel* hewed in pieces with his own hands *Agag*, King of the *Amalekites*, whom *Saul* had spared. *Saul* having given Orders to the Soldiers to slay the Priests of the Lord, finding they would not obey his Command, out of respect to the Priesthood, he bid *Doeg the Edomite* fall upon them, who immediately *slaw fourscore and five Persons wearing a Linnen Ephod* (*i*). *David* order'd those that were about him to seize and put to death the two Assassins that brought him the Head of *Ishbosheth*; and also him that brought him the News of *Saul's* Death. The *Gibeonites* themselves crucified before the Lord the Sons of *Saul* that were deliver'd into

(f) Deut. xvii. 7. (g) Num. xxxv. 19. *English Bible*, The Revenger of Blood, instead of, next of Blood. (h) Deut. xxii. 18. (i) 1 Sam. xxii. 17, 18.

their

Dis. V. Several Ways of punishing Offenders.

their hands, by way of Retaliation for the Cruelties of their Father: *Solomon* sent *Benaiah*, the Son of *Jeboiada*, to fall upon *Joab*, who had fled for Refuge to the Altar of the Lord (*k*). In the Reigns of the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, the Soldiers generally performed the Work of Executing: The generous *Mattathias*, Father to the *Maccabees*, slew with his own hand a *Jew* that was going to sacrifice to Idols (*l*). *St John Baptist* was beheaded in Prison by one of *Herod's* Guards. And our Saviour was fasten'd to his Cross by the *Roman* Soldiers. *Josephus* (*m*) relates, that the *Zealots*, during the Siege of *Jerusalem*, having imprison'd *Antipas* and *Sophna*, both of the Royal Family, condemn'd them to death, and sent one of their own Body, called *John*, with ten others, to put their Sentence in execution.

The *Lictors* among the *Romans* were not at all infamous, tho' in old time, their Office was not only to bind and scourge Criminals, but also to behead and hang them; hence this ancient *Set Form* (*n*): *Go, Lictor, bind his Hands, muffle his Head, and hang him on the unfortunate Tree.* The *Mahometans* at this day have no such thing as a common Hangman (*o*); the Soldiers, or Attendants of the Judge, stand at the door of the Hall where Justice is administred, and punish the condemn'd Person upon the Spot, in the Presence of the Judge. We have numberless Instances of Executions done by the Soldiers in the *Roman* History (*p*), tho' generally the Ministers of Justice did that Office. *Claudius* the Emperor (*q*) being at *Tivoli*, and having the Curiosity to see a Criminal executed in an unusual way practis'd by the Antients, was forced to wait all day for the coming of an Executioner from *Rome*, there being none at that Place.

(k) 1 King. ii. 29. (l) 1 Mac. ii. 23, 24. (m) Lib. 4. de Bello, c. 11.
(n) Gell. l. 12. c. 1. (o) Roger, Terre Sainte, l. 2. c. 17.
(p) Sueton. in Calig. c. 26, & 32. (q) Suet. in Clau. c. 14.



ANTIQUITIES
SACRED and PROFANE:

OR, A
COLLECTION
OF
Curious and Critical DISSERTATIONS
ON THE
Old and New Testament.

Written in FRENCH by the Learned
D. AUGUSTIN CALMET.

Done into ENGLISH, with Notes, by N. TINDAL, M.A.
Vicar of Great Waltham in Essex.

Illustrated, as Occasion requires, with Copper-Plates.

NUMB. XI. Containing two Dissertations,

- I. *The USAGES and CUSTOMS of the Antient and Modern JEWS, relating to their EATING and DRINKING; their Manner of SITTING at TABLE, the most HONOURABLE PLACE; their HOURS of EATING; their Ceremonies BEFORE, AT, and AFTER their Meals, &c.*
- II. *The PHYSICK and PHYSICIANS of the Antient HEBREWS, with the EFFIGIES of a JEWISH PHYSICIAN, engraven on Copper.*

To be continued Monthly.

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A DISSERTATION on the Customs and Practices of the Antient and Modern JEWS, in Relation to their Eating and Drinking, their Ceremonies Before, At, and After their Meals, &c.



HE Customs and Usages of the Jews are of so very different a Nature from Ours, that there's no knowing them rightly, without a particular Application to the Study of them; and without a thorough Knowledge of them, how is it possible to come at the Meaning of the Holy Scriptures, where They are alluded to perpetually, and at every Turn? But of all their Practices, it more especially concerns us to know *Those* relating to their several Sorts of Food, their Manner of Eating and Drinking; not only as they are more frequently and more obscurely spoken

ken of, but as they are less uniform than any of the rest. Their Customs, in these respects, often varied. *Abraham*, by Birth a *Chaldean*, communicated to his Family the Ways of his own Country. His Posterity, sojourning a long time among the *Canaanites* or *Phœnicians*, imitated them in several Particulars. In *Egypt* they fell in with the Usages of the *Egyptians*. *Moses*, in his *Laws* and *Ordinances* about the Distinction of Meats, introduced considerable Changes in these Matters. And afterwards the *Jews* continued to vary their Practices, according to the different Customs of the Countrys they happen'd to live in. They that were carried away to *Babylon*, and they that retired into *Egypt*, and other Parts of the World, followed the Ways of those Places it was their Lot to inhabit; but however in such a manner, as they were still distinguishable by some general and uniform Customs of their own.

The Design of
this Dissertation.

My Design, in this Dissertation, is to consider the Usages of the *Jews* in all these different Times and Places, to examine all Particulars relating to their Eating and Drinking: Their Manner of sitting at Table: The most honourable Place at Table: Their Purifications before they sat down: The Quality and Sorts of their Viſtuals: Their Hours of Eating: Their Dishes and other Utensils, &c. I shall describe their *Modern* as well as *Antient* Customs, in order to observe wherein they agreed, and wherein they differ'd.

The Descriptions of the Meals of the *Antient Hebrews* in the Holy Scriptures, give us no great Idea of their *nice* or *high* Feeding. *Abraham* entertains the three Angels (a), whom he took for three Strangers, with *Cakes* baked upon the Hearth, some Milk, and Butter, and a Calf dressed in haste; they made amends for the Dressing by the Quantity; three *Measures*, or seventeen Gallons, of *fine Meal*, and a whole Calf, for three Persons only; for *Abraham* himself sat not down with his Guests, but stood and ministred unto them. When *Joseph* feasted his Brethren in *Egypt* (b), he order'd *Benjamin's* Mefs to be five times so much as any of theirs. *Samuel* (c) set before *Saul*, when he was in search of his Father's Asses, a whole *Quarter of Veal*: Such was their way of doing honour to their Guests. The same appears in *Homer*. The most honour-

(a) Gen. xviii. 6, 7, 8.

(b) Gen. xliiii. 34.

(c) 1 Sam. ix. 24.

able

able Person in Company was complimented with the largest Bit. *Eumæus*, entertaining *Ulyſſes* as an unknown Guest, had two whole Hogs served up at once, which he had killed and roasted on purpose for him (d). Wine was given in proportion to every one's Quality. Persons of Distinction had always their Cups fill'd to the Brim, whilst others were stinted to such a Height (e).

The Viſtuals were divided to the Guests by the Master of the Feast; and it is thought each sat apart by himself. This is intimated by what is said of the Entertainment *Joseph* made his Brethren: *They set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Egyptians by themselves* (f). The *Egyptians* sat by themselves out of Superstition, holding it an Abomination to eat with the *Hebrews*. *Joseph* perhaps was seated alone out of State; and his Brethren were separated both from him and the *Egyptians*, and placed every one according to his Birth; at which they wonder'd, not imagining how it was possible for him to know their several Ages. After this the Dinner was served up before *Joseph*, who distributed to every one his Mefs. *Elkanah*, the Father of *Samuel* (g), divided the Viſtuals in the same manner to his two Wives. In *Homer*, each Guest has a separate Table, and the Master of the Feast distributes the Meat about to them. All that was eaten in the Palace, was served up before the King of *Persia*. *Ctesias* and *Dion* say, that he fed daily 15000 Men. Mr. *Darvieux* (h) relates, that as soon as the *Emir* and his Company rise from Dinner, immediately the Attendants sit down, and the Table continues spread till the very meanest of the Domesticks have done, who fold up the Table or *Skin*, on which they eat, and carry it into the Kitchen. The whole is served up at one time (i). This is the Custom now in several Parts of the *East* (k). The great Quantities of Flower and Meat that were spent every day in *Solomon's* Court; imply that the same Thing was practised there. *David* fed *Mephibosheth* from his own Table. The Text literally expresses it, *He shall eat Bread at my Table* (l). *David* (m) procures the same Favour of *Solomon* for the Sons of *Barzillai*. *Jezebel* (n) main-

(d) Odyſſ. xiv. (e) Hom. Il. iv.

(f) Gen. xliiii. 32.

(g) 1 Sam. i.

(h) Mr. Dar. Cont. des Arab. c. 15.

(i) Athen. l. 4. c. 10.

(k) Chardin Voyage de la Colch.

(l) 2 Sam. ix. 7, 10. (m) 1 King. ii. 7.

(n) 1 King. xviii. 19.

tain'd.

tain'd at her Table 450 Prophets of *Baal*, and 400 Prophets of the Goddesses of the Grove, or *Aserah*.

The Women eat apart by themselves.

When Guests were invited, the Women never eat with the Men. *Sarah* sat not down with the three Angels, nor *Rachel* with *Eliezer*. There were no Women at the Entertainment *Joseph* made for his Brethren, nor at that *Samuel* made for *Saul* and the Elders of *Israel*; nor lastly at those, our Saviour was present at. The Women appeared not, but to help dress and serve up the Dinner. At the Feast *Abasuerus* made for his Nobles, none but Men were present. *Vashti*, the Queen, feasted apart with the Women, and refused to come before the Princes, when the King sent for her. However, at their common Meals, the Women eat with their Husbands, as we find *Anna*, the Mother of *Samuel*, did with *Elkanah*; *Abasuerus* with *Esther*; the *Bride* in the *Canticles* with the *Bridegroom*.

The Gait or Taste of the Hebrews.

A Kid was one of the nicest Dishes of the *Hebrews*. *Rebecca* dress'd up one for *Isaac*, in order to obtain the *Blessing* for *Jacob*. *Moses* orders a Lamb or a Kid for the *Passover*. *Samson* presents his young Wife with a Kid, when he had a mind to be reconciled to her. *Manoah* offers a boiled Kid to the Angel, who came to foretel the Birth of his Son *Samson*. The Brother of the *Prodigal* complains to his Father, that he had never given him a Kid to make merry with his Friends. It is well known, they eat only of three Sorts of tame or domestick Beasts, namely, what is born of the Cow, Sheep, and Goat. There were abundance of tame, as well as wild Beasts, they never touch'd, perhaps even before the *Law*; as may be gather'd from God's ordering *Noah* to put into the *Ark* seven Couple of clean, and but two Couple of unclean Beasts (o): The Scriptures tell us, *Solomon's Provision for one day was 30 Measures* [or about 200 Bushels] *of fine Flower, and 60* [or about 400 Bushels] *of Meal, 10 fat Oxen, and 20 Oxen out of the Pastures, 100 Sheep, besides Harts, and Roe-Bucks, and Fallow-Deer, and fatted Fowl* (p). *David* dealt among the whole Multitude of *Israel*, at the bringing back the *Ark*, to every one a *Cake of Bread, a good Piece of Flesh, and a Flagon of Wine* (q). They never eat any Blood, and we shall see hereafter the great care they take to prevent the least Drop

(o) Gen. vii. 2.

(p) 1 King. iv. 22, 23.

(q) 2 Sam. vi. 19.

from

from remaining in the Flesh they dress. The *Fat* of Beasts offer'd in Sacrifice, was set apart to the Lord; in other Cases they might freely eat of it. It is to be presumed, that the choicest Parts were reserved for the Lord; so that it is probable the *Fat* was deemed a *nice Bit*: and to express a more than ordinary Feast, they called it, a *Feast of fat Things* (r). God sometimes complains of the Leanness of his Sacrifices (s). *He that loveth Wine and fat Things, shall not be rich*, says *Solomon* (t). For this reason God always reserves the *Rumps* that are all fat, and the *Kidneys*, with the *Fat* that is upon them (u).

They baked their Bread every day. It was a Sort of *thin*, *Their Bread*. dry, and brittle Cakes. There were three Kinds. Some were kneaded with Oil; others fry'd in Oil; and others only rubbed with it. The Use of unleavened Cakes, baked on the Coals, was common, and were very much esteemed. They used also Flower fry'd with Oil, or only moisten'd with it. Such Sort of Sauces will not go down now; but Fashions alter, and there is no Dispute about Tastes. All these Sorts of Bread were offer'd in the Temple of the Lord; a clear Evidence of their being looked upon as the most exquisite. They had also Oatmeal, grey Pease, Lentils, and all Sorts of Pulse, especially when upon a Journey, or in the Country. *Barzillai* brought to *David*, when flying from *Absalom*, *Flower, Wheat*, and other parched Corn; *Beans, Lentils; Honey, Butter*, and *Sheep* (w). *Ziba* presented him, upon the same Occasion, with 200 *Loaves*, 100 *Bunches of Raisins*, and 100 of *Summer-Fruits*, and a *Bottle of Wine* (x). *Abigail* gave him, when pursued by *Saul*, 200 *Loaves*, two *Bottles of Wine*, five *Sheep ready dressed*, five *Measures of parched Corn*, and 100 *Clusters of Raisins*, and 200 *Cakes of Figs* (y). The Men *Saul* met, going up to God to *Bethel*, had with them three *Kids*, three *Loaves*, and a *Bottle of Wine* (z). *Feroboam*, King of *Israel*, sent his Queen in Disguise to *Abijah* the Prophet, to consult him concerning his Son's Illness. She carry'd with her, as a Present to the Man of God, according to the Custom of the

(r) Ex. xxv. 6. (s) Mal. i. (t) Prov. xxi. 17. Vulg. *Engl'sh Bible*, Oil.

(u) Lev. iii. 9, 10. (w) 2 Sam. xvii. 28. (x) 2 Sam. xvi. 1.

(y) 1 Sam. xxv. 18. (z) 1 Sam. x. 3.

Country,

Country, *ten Loaves*, some *Craknels*, and a *Cruse of Honey* (a). Such were the *Dainties* and *Niceties* of those Days.

Their Sauces, and way of seasoning their Viſuals. They season'd their Meat with *Salt, Honey, Oil, and Cream* or *Butter*. I don't find they used any *Spices*. The Bride, in the *Canticles* (b), at her Collation, speaks only of Fruits, Honey, Milk and Wine. Honey was an Ingredient in almost all their *Sauces*, and it is said they use a great deal now in *Palestine*, where there is great Plenty. *Wisdom*, in ordering her *Banquet*, speaks of her *Beasts being killed*, and her *Wine mingled* (c). And the King, in his Marriage-Feast (d), tells them that are bidden, that his *Oxen* and *Fatlings* are killed. The Use of Wine was not common, as it is not at this day in the *East*. The Heat of the *Climate* will not permit them to drink it often, or unmix'd, without endangering their Health. They always mingle it with Water, and drink sparingly of it, and only at their Religious Feasts, or at the Close of their Meals. They sometimes drank Wine mixed with *Perfumes*, or *odoriferous Drugs* (e). *Palm-Wine* was also very common, it is called *Shekar* in the Scripture (f), and is frequently joined with *Grape-Wine*. The Wines of *Lebanon* (g) and *Helbon* (h) were in great repute, as well as the Wines of *Sorek* (i).

They eat both *Roast* and *Boil'd Meat*. *Rebecca's* dressing the *Kids* in a savoury manner for *Isaac*, plainly shows they had a Sort of *Ragous*. The Sons of *Eli* the High-Priest, among their other Abuses, sent their Servants to take the Flesh out of the Kettle, or Cauldron, as it was offering to the Lord, saying, they would not have sodden, but raw Flesh, that they might dress it as they pleased. The *Paschal Lamb* was roasted.

Their Feasts were accompanied with Musick, Singing, and Perfumes. The *lewd Woman* described by *Solomon* (k), tells the young Man she had a mind to seduce, that she had perfumed her Bed with *Myrrh, Aloes, and Cinnamon*; that she had *Peace-Offerings*, and had prepared a Banquet for him. The Woman in the *Gospel*, that was a Sinner, anointed the Feet of our Saviour with sweet Ointment, and wiped them with the Hairs of her Head. *Mary*, the Sister of *Lazarus*, paid him the same Compliment. *Amos* (l) upbraids the Drunkards for *Chanting*,

(a) 1 King. xiv. 3. (b) v. 1, 2, 3. See 70. (c) Prov. ix. 2. (d) Mat. xxii. 4.
(e) Cant. viii. 2. (f) Lev. x. 9. Eng. Bib. Strong Drink. (g) Hof. xiv. 7.
(h) Ezek. xxvii. 17. (i) Gen. xlix. 11. Jer. xi. 21. Eng. Bib. choice or noble Wine.
(k) Prov. vii. 17. (l) vi. 5, 6.

at

at their Feasts, to the Sound of the *Viol*, and anointing themselves with the chief Ointments.

They generally dined at Noon. *Joseph* eat with his Brethren *Their Hours of Eating.* at that Hour (m). *Solomon* (n) says, *Woe to the Land, when the King is a Child, and the Princes eat in the Morning.* And *Isaiah* (o), *Woe unto them that rise up early, that they may follow strong Drink.* In fine, *St. Peter*, to clear himself from the Accusation of having drank Wine, said, *It is but the third Hour of the Day*, or nine a clock in the Morning (p). The same Apostle, when praying on the Top of the House of *Simon* the Tanner, about the sixth Hour, or twelve a-clock, *became very hungry, and would have eaten* (q). The two *Elders*, that would have debauched *Susanna*, went home to Dinner about Noon. In the *Gospel* there is express mention of *Dinner* and *Supper* (r); whence it is thought that they generally made two Meals a day. But on *Fast-Days* they eat but once, and that in the Evening. The *Rabbins* inform us, that on the Sabbath, and other solemn Days, it was not lawful to eat till the Service of the Temple was over. And some Commentators are of opinion, that *St. Peter* alluded to that Custom, when he told the *Jews*, that accused him of having drank Wine, that it was not yet the sixth Hour, and that being a Holy-Day, the Temple-Service was not yet done. Some will have it also, that when the *Pharisees* told our Saviour, of his Disciples gathering the Ears of Corn on the Sabbath-day, that they did it with a view to this Custom, of not eating on that Day till the Service of the Temple was over, and not upon account of breaking the *Rest* of the Sabbath. But there are no Footsteps in Scripture of any Obligation of fasting on Holy-days till Noon.

As they commonly went with their Legs bare, and wore only Sandals, they washed the Feet of Strangers before they sat down to eat. At a formal Invitation of Guests, the Women were never seen, their Modesty and Reservedness not permitting them to appear before Strangers.

I meet with nothing remarkable as to the Matter and Form *The Matter and Form of their Tables.* *Moses* orders, that the Table of the *Shew-Bread*

(m) Gen. xliii. 25.
(p) Acts ii. 15.

(n) Eccl. x. 16.
(q) Acts x. 9, 10.

(o) v. 11.
(r) Luke xiv. 12.

B

Bread

Bread should be made of *Shittim-Wood*, overlaid with Gold (s). The *Tables* of private Persons might likewise be of some *precious* Wood, and adorned with Ivory, Gold, or Silver. They were very high, since they sat all round, and since it is said (r), that 70 Kings, vanquish'd by *Adoni-bezek*, were fed with the Crumbs that fell under his *Table*. These were very different from what the *Arabians*, *Turks*, and other People that inhabit *Palestine* now, make use of; these all eat upon Carpets spread on the Ground. The *Hebrews* had neither *Table-Cloths* nor *Napkins*, but eat upon the bare Table. The same is observable among the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*. In *Homer* they make use of Sponges to clean the Tables.

The chief
Place at
Table.

When several sat down at the same Table, the most honourable Place was at the upper-end of the Table, towards the Wall, at the higher End of the Hall or Room. Thus *Saul* was placed by *Samuel*, before he was anointed King (u); and when he was King, he sat upon his Seat by the Wall (w). Formerly they sat down at Table, and continued to do so for the most part in the Reign of *Solomon* (x). *Amos* (y), *Tobit*, *Ezekiel* (z), speak of *Beds* or *Couches*, which they lay upon at Table; but these were not generally used. We find in the same Writers, and those that came after them, the Custom of sitting at Table. In the *Gospel*, the *Beds* to lie on as they eat, were become more common and universal. Our Saviour was on one of them, when *Mary Magdalen* anointed his Feet; and also when he eat the last Supper with his Disciples, since St. *John* leaned on his Bosom at Table. At the Feast of *Abasuerus*, the Princes lay on magnificent Beds, as they did also at the Banquet *Esther* made for the King and *Haman*. This last Instance relates only to the *Persians*; however, it shows the Antiquity of this Custom in the *East*.

The Author of the Book of *Ecclesiasticus* (a) speaks of a King or Master of a Feast, that was to take care of all things relating thereto. This Custom was taken from the *Greeks*, we find no Traces of it among the antient *Jews*. See how he

(s) Exod. 25. 23.

(w) 1 Sam. xx. 24.

(z) xxiii. 41.

(r) Judg. i. 7.

(x) Prov. xxiii. 1.

(a) xxxii.

(u) 1 Sam. ix. 22.

(y) vi. 4, 7.

describes

describes his Office, according to the Usages of the *Egyptians*, among whom he lived.

"If thou be made the Master of a Feast, lift not up thyself, but be among them as one of the rest, take diligent care for them, and so sit down. And when thou hast done all thy Office, take thy Place, that thou mayest be merry with them, and receive a Crown for thy well-ordering of the Feast. Speak thou that art the Elder, for it becometh thee, but with sound Judgment, and hinder not Musick. Pour not out Words where there is a Musician, and shew not forth Wisdom out of Time. A Consort of Musick, in a Banquet of Wine, is as a Signet of Carbuncle set in Gold. As a Signet of an Emerald set in a Work of Gold, so is the Melody of Musick with pleasant Wine. Speak, young Man, if there be need of thee; and yet scarcely when thou art twice asked. Let thy Speech be short, comprehending much in few Words; be as one that knoweth, and yet holdeth his tongue. If thou be among great Men, make not thyself equal with them; and when antient Men are in Place, use not many Words. Before the Thunder goeth Lightning, and before a shame-faced Man shall go Favour. Rise up betimes, and be not the last, but get thee home without delay. There take thy Pastime, and do what thou wilt; but sin not by proud Speech. And for these Things, bless him that made thee, and hath replenish'd thee with his good Things." In this manner the *Wise Son of Syrach* would have his Brethren behave in their Entertainments, where every one was to pay his *Scot*, according to the Custom of the *Greeks*.

This is all I can find worth taking notice of in this Matter in the Holy Scriptures. I shall now consider the Usages and Practices of the later *Jews*, as described in their own Writers. They buy their *Kitchen-Furniture* all new; for if any but *Jews* have used it, especially if it be *Earthen* Ware, and what has had any thing *hot* in it, they always break it; because it may possibly have had *Victuals* in it, that are forbidden by the Law. But if the *Vessels* are of Metal or Stone, they venture to use them, after having scoured and scalded them thoroughly. As soon as they have bought any thing for the Kitchen, whether it be of Glass, Earth, or Metal, they

B 2

plunge

The Customs
of the modern
Jews.

plunge it into the Sea, or into a River, or a large Quantity of Water, as a Mark of their great Cleanliness. They have Dishes on purpose for Things made of Milk, and others for Meat; the reason of it is, their believing it unlawful to eat *Milk and Flesh* at the same time. They have *Utenfils*, that are used only at the Feast of the *Passover*, and that never touch any *leavened Bread*. These Distinctions and Observances seem to have a great deal of Superstition in them, and I cannot think the antient *Hebrews* ever troubled themselves about them.

Washing their
Hands.

The *Talmud* mentions the eleventh Hour [or five a-clock in the Afternoon] as the most proper time to dine at. If Eating is put off longer, they imagine it may be of ill consequence, for then the Stomach is open, and the Body requires Nourishment; and in case it receives none, it will prey upon itself, and consume its own Substance, like the Bears in Winter. This is the *Physical* Notion of the *Jews*. Before they sit down, they carefully wash their Hands. The *Rabbins* have a hundred Niceties and Subtilties upon this Head. To eat with *unwashed Hands* is as great a Crime, says *Rabbi Fore* in the *Talmud*, as to lie with a Whore. To eat Bread with Hands that are washed, but not well wiped, is the same thing as to eat any thing that is unclean, says another *Rabbi*. He that washes his Hands as he ought, has nothing to fear whilst he is eating; for nothing can hurt him. They are not suffer'd to keep a Ring on their Finger whilst they wash, for fear some Dirt may get under it. The Story goes, that *Rabbi Jesua* being in Prison, and having no more Water allow'd him, than just to keep him alive, chose rather to run the risque of being choaked with Thirst, than not to wash his Hands. Whoever, says he, eats without washing his Hands, deserves to be put to death. After Dinner they wash their Hands again, and wipe their Faces. The Gospel (b) speaks of their superstitious Adherence to this Custom of frequently washing their Hands, beginning at the Extremity of their Fingers, and so washing up towards their Elbows, that none of the dirty Water may flow over the Parts that are washed. The Servants and Children begin, then the Mother, and lastly the Father.

(b) Mat. xv. 1, 2, 3. Mark vii. 2, 3, 4.

Imme-

Immediately after washing, they sit down at Table; for they must not do the least Thing in that Interval. A whole Loaf, and some Salt, is placed on the Table. The Master of the Family, or *Rabbi*, if there is one in Company, takes the Loaf, and breaks it in the middle, but not so as to separate the Parts. Then he puts it on the Table again, and laying his Hands upon it, repeats this Blessing (c): *Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who produces the Bread of the Earth.* To which all present say, *Amen*. At the same time he takes a *Bit of Bread*, and dipping it in the Salt, or Soop, he eats it without speaking a Word; then he takes the Loaf, and cuts it in small Pieces, and gives every one a Bit. This Ceremony is omitted, when there are not at least two or three at Table. Otherwise every one says the *Blessing* for himself. After this, he takes the Cup, or Bottle of Wine, with both Hands, and lifting it up in his Right Hand, he says; *Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast created the Fruit of the Vine.* The same *Blessing* is said over *Beer* or *Cyder*; and when they drink without eating, or between Meals, every one says it for himself, but nothing is said over *Water*. After the *Blessing*, they repeat the xxiii^d Psalm, *The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want: He maketh me to lie down in green Pastures, &c.* *Leon de Modena* (d) differs a little from *Buxtorf*; he says, they repeat the Psalm as soon as they sit down, and that the Master of the Family, after having blessed the Bread, gives to each a Bit about the Bigness of an Olive; after which they fall to eating. He adds, that every time any one drinks, he says the *Blessing*. *Buxtorf* assures us, they repeat *Blessings* adapted to the Nature of the Thing, every time they begin to eat of a new Dish, or taste of Wine and other Things, that were not served up at first.

The *Rabbins* lay down several Rules, for a respectful, modest, and temperate Behaviour at Table. They will have a Table, when the Victuals are served on, to be consider'd as the Altar of the Lord. The Salt is a *Symbolical* Representation of the Sacrifices. They enjoin, that whilst they are eating, they should look upon themselves as in the Presence of the Lord,

(c) Buxtorf, Synag. c. 7.

(d) Ceremon. des Juifs, p. 2. c. 10.

according

according to these Words, *Thou shalt eat before the Lord thy God (e)*. The Master of the Family sits longest at Table, in expectation of some poor Person that wants an Alms. They are not to eat to their full, because it is written, *The Poor shall never cease out of the Land (f)*; that is to say, People that eat not their Belly-full. Great respect must be had for *Bread*, say the *Talmudists*, nothing must be placed upon it, nor must it be put under any thing to raise it higher, nor thrown at any thing, as at a Dog, or the like: These Things are, in some measure, Marks of Contempt, and whoever treats Bread contemptuously, Poverty shall be his Lot. They have an opinion, that there is an Angel, whose Office it is to punish those that throw the Bread about, or let it fall out of Carelessness. This Angel takes notice of all that is done against these Rules, and reduces those that break them to Poverty. They tell us, the Prophet *Elias* is always present, whilst they are at Table; besides their good Angels, who observe all that is said or done. If they hold any ill Discourse, the evil Angels appear, who never fail of stirring up Contentions and Quarrels. The Respect they pay these invisible *Observers*, hinders them from throwing down any *Bones* or *Scraps* about the Room.

What they
do after their
Meals.

After their Meal is over, Care is taken that some Bread is left, in obedience to what is said in the *Chronicles (g)*: *Since the People began to bring the Offerings into the House of the Lord, we have had enough to eat, and have left Plenty*. This is far from being the true Sense of these Words, but the *Jews* must have Scripture for all they do. Others say, there must be something left on the Table, that the *Blessing* after Meat may not be in vain. They lock up their Knives, because the Table is look'd upon as the Altar of the Lord, on which no Iron was to be laid. Many are wont to recite the *lxviiith Psalm*, *God be merciful unto us, and bless us, &c.* The chief Man in the Company orders a Glass to be wash'd, fills it with Wine, and holding it up, says, *Sirs, let us give Thanks to him that hath fed us with his good Creatures*. To which the rest answer; *Blessed be he that hath made us Partakers of his good Things, and fed us by his Bounty*. Then he repeats the long Prayer

(e) Deut. xiv. 23.

(f) Deut. xv. 11.

(g) 2 Chron. xxxi. 10.

men-

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mention'd below; and having given to each some Wine out of his Glass, he drinks the rest; and then they *take away*. This is *Leo* of *Modena's* Account.

But *Buxtorf* differs something from him, he says they rise from Table before they *give Thanks*; wash their Hands, and then the Master of the Family rehearses the Prayer, in which they render God Thanks, for feeding all Things living with Plenteousness; for having deliver'd their Forefathers from the *Egyptian* Bondage, and put them in possession of the Land of Promise; for having condescended to make a Covenant with them, to give them Laws, with a Promise of his Protection for ever. They conjure him to have pity on *Jerusalem*, and his holy Temple, and to raise up the Throne of *David* in their days; to send them *Elias* and the *Messiah*; to deliver them from their long Captivity; to defend them from Poverty and Want, that they may not be obliged to beg an Alms, or borrow of *Christians*, whom they load with Curfes and Imprecations. To this they add other Prayers, wherein they entreat the Lord to preserve and deliver them from the Yoke of the *Christians*; to bring them back into their own Country; to bless the Table they have been fed at, and to pour down upon them the Riches of his Goodness. To which every one answers, *Amen*. They repeat these Words of *Psalm xxxiv. 9, 10. O fear the Lord, all ye his Saints; for there is no want to them that fear him. The young Lions do lack and suffer Hunger; but they that seek the Lord, shall not want any good thing.*

The antient *Rabbins* made it a Rule, not to eat Flesh and Fish at the same Meal, on pretence of its being unwholesome, and apt to breed the Leprosy; but this Custom is laid aside at present. At first, not to break thro' an old Law all at once, when they had a mind to eat Fish after Flesh, they washed their Mouth and Hands, and then, after having eat a bit of dry Bread, and drank a Glass of Wine, they fell to their Fish. But in Process of Time, these Ceremonies were dropt.

They keep more religiously to the Custom of not eating Milk, Butter and Cheese, at the same time with Meat. The *Law* says nothing of this Matter; only forbids the *sucking a Kid, or Lamb, in his Mother's Milk (h)*. Which means only:

(h) Exod. xxiii. 19.

Thou

Thou shalt not kill the *Paschal Lamb*, or *Kid*, whilst it sucks, or at least, thou shalt not dress it in the Milk of the Dam. For their part, they understand this Law in its utmost Rigour, as if the Lord had absolutely forbid the Use of Milk and Flesh at the same Meal. Accordingly they never mix any Milk in their *Ragous*. They do not eat any Cheese just after eating Flesh, but stay a considerable time before they do it (*i*). The Dish that is used for Meat, has never any Milk or Butter put in it, and for fear of Mistakes, they distinguish their Dishes by particular Marks. They do not so much as cut Cheese and Meat with the same Knife. If by chance a Milk-Dish happens to be used for Meat, they not only refuse to eat the Meat, but the Dish is entirely thrown aside, and if made of Earth, must be broken.

They never eat any Cheese but what they saw in the Curd, for fear the Milk of some prohibited Animal might be mixed with it, or some part of the Skin might get among the Curds, and so make it a Mixture of Flesh and Cheese; or the Milk might be heated in a Kettle, that the Flesh of some prohibited Beast had been boiled in. They mark therefore the Cheeses they have seen curdled. They never boil over the same Fire, Milk and Flesh near one another, nor serve them up at the same time. If ever they happen to do so, the Dishes are placed at a great Distance, and not upon the the same Table-Cloth (*k*). He that has eat Flesh or Soop, must not eat any Milk till an hour after, or, according to the most scrupulous, till six hours after. If any have a mind to eat them at the same Meal, they must clean their Teeth, wash their Mouth, and eat dry Bread to take away the Taste of the Meats.

Blood prohibited.

Eating Blood is expressly prohibited in the Law, and the *Jews* strictly abstain from it. They never eat of any Beast that has not had all its Blood drawn off. But for Fish, they are not so nice, being of opinion, that their Blood is not of the same nature with that forbid by the Law. When therefore a Beast is to be killed, it is to be done by one that understands the Business, because of the many Circumstances to be observed. A proper Time must be taken, a fit Place chosen, and the Knife

(*i*) Leo. de Mod. c. 6.

(*k*) Buxt. Synag. Jud. c. 26.

must



A Jewish Physician

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must have a good Edge; that the Blood may flow out freely, and without Interruption. It runs out upon Ashes, or on the Ground, and then it is covered over. It is a matter of great skill, to know how to kill and bleed the Beast as they ought. They have large Volumes on this Head, where every Particular is fully handled; and when a Jew hath thoroughly studied and practised this Trade, a Rabbi draws up a *Testimonial*, certifying that such a one is well qualified for the Trade of a Butcher, and that what he kills and examines may safely be eaten. At the same time he has his Certificate given him, he is enjoined to read once a Week during the first Year, the Customs and Ceremonies belonging to his Trade. The second Year, he is to read them over once a Month, and four times yearly for the rest of his Life. The Customs to be observed by the Butchers are contained in a Book, entitled, *Hilcoth Shechiloth, and Bedicoth*, where the Way and Manner of butchering the Beasts, and examining whether they have any defect that renders them *unclean*, are largely treated.

The Butcher has several sorts of Knives, large ones for Oxen, and smaller ones for other Beasts. The Knife must be very sharp, and without any Notches, otherways they would be *unclean*, and the Beast kill'd with them, must not be eaten. They first tie the Creature's Legs, and then laying it on the Ground, cut its Throat, that is, the *Weasand* and *Wind-Pipe*. Then hanging the Body up, they open it, and examine whether there are any Bruises, or *Vessels* that have any blood left in them. If they find any thing of this nature, the Beast must not be eaten, but sold to others. They use the same care about Fowls. They must not kill the same day a Cow and her Calf, nor a Lamb or a Kid and their Dams. If a Beast or Fowl die of its own accord, or is kill'd in another manner than what has been described, they are forbid to touch it. Neither must they eat of a Beast that has such or such a Bone broken, specified by the *Rabbins*, or that is like to die.

To observe with the greater exactness the Prohibition of eating Blood, besides the Precautions before-mentioned, they are wont to take out all the large *Veins*, *Nerves*, and *Fat*, after which they put the Flesh into Water, and then wash it in another very clear Water, and lay it upon a Board to drain; lastly, they put it into a Powdering-Tub, full of holes, that the Blood,

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Blood, if any remains, may flow out. They let it lie thus an hour or two, and then dress and eat it.

They abstain
from Fat and
the Hind-
quarter.

They never eat the Hind-quarter, in remembrance of what happened to *Jacob*, when wrestling with the Angel, he touch'd the Hollow of *Jacob's* Thigh, and his Sinew shrank (*l*). However, in *Italy* they have learnt the Secret of taking out this Sinew, and so eat the Leg without any scruples. All the *Jews* have not this Art, and therefore they generally sell the Hind-quarter to Christians, and are accused not only of loading it with Curses, but also of pissing upon it, in hatred of the Christian Name (*m*). They abstain from all Fat of Oxen, Lambs, or Kids, a Custom founded upon those Words in *Leviticus* (*n*): *All the Fat is the Lord's. It shall be a perpetual Statute for your Generations throughout all your dwellings, that ye eat neither Fat nor Blood.* But I am of opinion that this Passage relates only to the Sacrifices. You shall not eat the Blood, nor the Fat of the Sacrifices that are offered to the Lord: These he has reserved entirely to himself.

Eggs.

So great is their Aversion for Blood, that they won't eat an Egg that hath the least Fibre in it. And therefore before they boil it, they break it and put it upon a Plate, or toss it from one Shell to another, to see whether there be the least drop or streak of Blood, as it often happens, especially in Summer. If they kill a Pullet full of Eggs, they eat none of them, till they have wash'd and salted them, in order to cleanse them from the Blood that may be about them.

Clean and un-
clean Beasts.

It is unlawful to eat the Flesh of any Beast that is not *cloven-footed*, and *cheweth* not the cud, as Sheep and Cows. They abstain from Swine, Hares, Rabbits, and several other Animals mentioned in the *xiv* of *Leviticus*, of which they have no distinct Knowledge now. They eat no Birds of Prey, nor Fishes without Fins and Scales, nor any creeping thing. For this reason they touch nothing that has been dress'd by any but *Jews*, nor use any *Utenfils* that belong to any but those of their own Nation, for fear they may have had prohibited Meat dress'd in them. They won't use any but their own Knives. When they are in the Country, they have their Kitchen to themselves, and buy new earthen Ware to dress their Victuals in.

(*l*) Gen. xxii.

(*m*) Buxtorf. Synag. c. 27.

(*n*) iii. 17.

They

They buy their Flesh, Fish, and Fowls all alive, for if they are kill'd or dress'd by others, they'll not touch them.

Formerly the *Hebrews* gave the First-Fruits of their Dough ^{Bread.} to the *Priests* and *Levites*, in obedience to the Law of the Lord (*o*). The quantity is not fixed by *Moses*; but the *Wise-men* have settled it between the 40th and 60th Part. At this day, to keep up the Memory of this Law, they throw a bit of their Dough into the Fire before they bake it. The quantity of Dough they make, must be at least as big as forty Eggs, otherwise they are not obliged to First-Fruits. This is one of the three Precepts to be observed by the Women, whose Business it is generally to make the Bread (*p*). How unwilling soever they are of making use of what is made by others, yet upon a Journey, they eat the Bread made by Christians.

During the eight Days of the *Passover*, they eat no *leavened* ^{Unleavened} Bread. All *Leaven* is to be put away out of their Houses. For the more strict Observance of this Law of *Moses* (*q*), they search their Houses with a scrupulous, and even superstitious Niceness, for any Leaven or leavened Bread, or for the least thing that is fermented. They begin two or three days before-hand; ransack every Corner, remove all the Boxes, Tables, Chairs, and Drawers. After which, they plunge all their Dishes and Plates into a Kettle of scalding Water, and then put them into Cold Water (*r*). What things won't go into the Kettle, as Tables, Chairs, &c. they only wash. And for the greater Niceness, they hold in a pair of Tongs, a bit of red-hot Iron, or a burning Flint over the things as they are washing, to make them pass, as it were, thro' Fire and Water. They clean their Kettles by boiling Water in them, and throwing in burning Coals, &c. To this height do they carry their Care of having nothing leavened or fermented in their Houses.

The *Rabbins* determine, that the *Hebrews* ought to drink ^{Liquors,} no Wine, but what they make themselves. The *Jews* in the *Levant* still observe this Rule; but the *Jews* in *Italy* regard it not (*s*): they say, the *Rabbins*, when they enjoind it, liv'd among Idolaters, with whom they would not have the *Jews* to have the least Commerce. But at present the People, among whom they are, by the Confession of the *Rabbins* themselves,

(*o*) Numb. xv. 20. (*p*) Leo. de Mod. p. 2. c. 9. (*q*) Exod. xii. 15, 16. (*r*) Buxtorf. Synag. c. 12. (*s*) Leo. de Mod. p. 2. c. 8.

are

are not such. They have a great Veneration for Wine, because it is said (r), *Wine maketh glad the Heart of Man*; and again, *Wine cheareth God and Man* (u). There are some Ceremonies to be observed concerning it; for example, *Before* and *After* their Meals, at the Celebration of a *Wedding*, and at *Circumcisions*, it is customary to recite certain *Blessings* over the Wine and other Liquors. Every time they drink, they say a *Blessing Before* and *After*.

(r) Psal. civ. 15.

(u) Judg. ix. 13.



A

A DISSERTATION on the Physick and Physicians of the Antient Hebrews.



AFTER Mankind, by the just Sentence of God, became *Mortal*, and subject to Diseases, they found themselves reduced to a Necessity of perpetually guarding against the Attacks of Death, and the Evils that are the Causes of it. This may be termed *Natural Physick*, practised in all Ages, and by all the Nations of the World. Before the *Fall*, God had prepared for *Adam* the *Tree of Life*, as a *Preservative* against Death. The Eating the Fruit of that Tree, in the Manner God would have prescribed, would have kept him ever *Young* and *Vigorous*. But having disobey'd the Command of God, by eating of the *forbidden Fruit*, that Tree became to him the *Tree of Death*, and its Fruit a Poison, that brought Mortality upon him and all his Posterity.

The *Hebrews* attribute to God himself, or, if you will, to *Adam*, the Invention of *Physick*. Honour a *Physician* for the *Physick*, according to the *Original of* *Uses you may have of him*, says the wise Son of *Syrach* (a), for *the Lord hath created him, and of the most High cometh Healing*. The *Heathens* themselves looked upon *Physick* as a Gift from Heaven, and ranked their first *Physicians* in the Number of their Gods. The Lord looked with an eye of Pity on *Adam*, after his *Fall*, and put not the Sentence of Death immediately in Execution. He suffer'd him to live, and gave him Time to expiate his Crime by Repentance. He left him that *Speculative Knowledge* he had endowed him with, which *Adam* made good use of, in taming the wild Beasts, and culti-

(a) Eccles. xxxviii. 1, 2.

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vating the Ground; in preventing Sickneses, and healing Diseases. His long Life gave him an Opportunity of encreasing his Knowledge by Use and Experience, which are, above all things, essential in the Theory and Practice of *Physick*.

There is no doubt but *Adam* communicated his *Secrets* to his Successors, tho' History has given us no Information in that Matter. *Moses* (b), who tells us that before the Flood, the Arts of *Grazing*, *Playing on Musical Instruments*, *working in Brasse* or *Iron*, were invented, says not a word of *Physick* or *Physicians*. The first Mention of them in *Genesis* (c), is at the Death of *Jacob*. *Joseph* commanded his Servants, the Physicians, to embalm his Father; which they performed after the Manner of the Country, described by *Herodotus* (d), and *Diodorus Siculus* (e).

Egyptians
the first
Physicians.

It is certain *Physick* was then, and a long while before, practised in *Egypt*; and that the Business of their *Embalmer*s was to cure Diseases, as well as embalm dead Bodies. Several Antients (f) believed that *Hermes*, or *Mercurius Trismegistus*, was the first Physician. Now this *Mercurius* was the same with *Tham* the *Egyptian*, who probably was no other than *Canaan* the Son of *Cham*. This last was the Father of the *Egyptians*, by *Mizraim*, and of the *Canaanites*, or *Phœnicians*, by *Canaan*. Hence it must be own'd, that the Origin of *Physick* is very antient. *Tham*, or *Mercurius*, say they (g), was Counsellor to *Chronos*, or *Saturn*, or *Noah*; for these are all the same Person. *Diodorus Siculus* (h) says, he was Secretary to *Osiris* and *Isis*, the eldest Son and Daughter of *Saturn*, and King and Queen of *Egypt* (i). Others attribute the Honour of this useful Invention to *Osiris* himself, and *Isis*. In an Inscription, which was to be seen in the City of *Nysa* in *Arabia*, she was called the Daughter of *Chronos*, Wife of *Osiris*, Disciple of *Tham*, and Mother of *Horus* (k). *St. Clemens Alexandrinus* (l), and *St. Cyril*, make *Apis* the Author of *Physick*.

(b) Gen. iv. 20, 21, 22. (c) 1. 2. (d) Lib. 2. (e) Lib. 1.
(f) See Le Clerc. Hist. de la Med. part 1. p. 20, 21. (g) Sancho. ap. Euf. l. 1.
(h) Lib. 1. (i) See the Inscription in Diodorus, in these Words: *Chronos, the youngest of all the Gods, is my Father. I am King Osiris, who have carried my Arms over all the Earth—I am the eldest Son of Chronos, &c.* (k) Diod. l. 1. (l) Lib. 1. Strom.

But

But *Plutarch* (m) affirms, after the *Egyptians*, that *Apis* and *Osiris* were the same. *Æsculapius*, the most celebrated Physician, was Disciple to *Apis*. As for *Isis*, *Diodorus* says expressly (n), she invented several *Medicines*, and was well skill'd in *Physick*; for which reason she was placed among the Gods, and her Name invoked by the Sick and Diseased; and that they imagin'd they had many Proofs of her Power to cure several Distempers. *Isis* communicated her Art to *Orus* or *Apollo* her Son, as *Osiris* had done to *Æsculapius*. This is the Origin of *Physick* in *Egypt*, according to the Antients.

This Art was in great repute in that Country; and *Moses*, ^{Moses skill'd in Physick.} who was skill'd in all the Learning of the *Egyptians*, is not supposed to have neglected *Physick*. What he says of the *Leprosy*, the manner of curing it, its Signs and Tokens, is a Proof of his great Knowledge in that Disease. The Precautions he orders to be taken in Womens Distempers, show likewise the same thing. There are some who would infer that he was a great *Chymist*, from his reducing *Aaron's Golden Calf* to Powder, and making the idolatrous *Hebrews* drink it. *St. Clemens* of *Alexandria* (a) expressly affirms, *Moses* was skill'd in *Physick*, as well as in the other *Egyptian* Sciences. It must be own'd his Knowledge was very great, not only in Matters of Religion and Government, but also in *Natural Philosophy*. His Distinction of *clean* and *unclean* Beasts, and his List of the *Defects* which exclude the Priests from the *Sacred Ministry*, not to mention what has been already observ'd, prove him to have been an *able* Physician. The Author of *Ecclesiasticus* (b) seems to think *Moses* sweeten'd the *Waters* of *Marah*, by virtue of a certain *Wood*. And some will have it, that the *Brazen Serpent* cured those that were stung by the flying Serpents, by a *Physical* and *Chymical* Secret.

Diodorus Siculus (c) says, the *Egyptian* Physicians had certain *Sacred Books*, containing the Rules they were to observe; if in following these Rules they were unsuccessful, they were however free from all blame; but if they went any other way ^{to work, they were punish'd with Death, even tho' they cured their Patient.} *Homer* (d) was of opinion, all the *Egyptians* were Physicians, and the best in the World. *Herodotus* (e) af-

(m) De Iside. (n) Lib. 1. & Manetho ap. Euf. Præp. l. 1. (a) Lib. 1. Strom.
(b) xxxviii. 4, 5. (c) Lib. 1. Bibliot. (d) Odyss. Δ. Integ. d. e. i. g. 5. &c. (e) Lib. 2. c. 24.

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fures

fures us, the whole Country abounded with Physicians, because there was one for each Part of the Body, and each Distemper; some for the *Head*, others for the *Eyes*; some again for the *Teeth*, and others for the *Belly*. But this was not till long after *Moses*. And *Strabo* (f) observes, that antiently they were wont to bring their Sick into the publick Streets, that all that passed by might see, whether they knew what was good for them: a Practice common also among the *Babylonians*, *Gauls*, and *Lusitanians* (g). This is somewhat contradictory to what has been said concerning the Antiquity of *Physick* among the *Egyptians*. Accordingly *Casaubon* thinks, instead of *Egyptians*, it ought to be read *Assyrians*; and this seems the more probable, since neither *Strabo*, nor *Diodorus*, nor *Herodotus*, say any thing of this Custom, when speaking expressly of the *Egyptians*.

Strabo corrected.

Next to the *Egyptians*, the *Hebrews* had the greatest Dealings with the *Chaldeans* and *Phanicians*, from whom they might receive the Art of *Physick*. Now *Cadmus* was honour'd in *Phanicia* as their first Physician (h), as *Bacchus* was in *Assyria*, *Lybia*, and *India*. *Cadmus* liv'd about the time of *Moses*; but *Bacchus*, supposed by some to be *Nimrod*, by others to be *Moses*, was much antienter. This shows that *Physick* flourish'd in the *East*, before the celebrated *Chiron* appear'd in *Greece*, who was Tutor to *Hercules*, *Aristeus*, *Theseus*, *Telamon*, *Tenecer*, *Jason*, *Peleus*, *Achilles*, *Patroclus*, *Palamedes*. The Times these Heroes liv'd in, are not unknown, many of whom were present at the Siege of *Troy*. I shall now examine, whether the *Hebrews* had *Physicians* from the beginning; and consider their Methods of curing Diseases. This Subject is not very copious; the Holy Scriptures say so little upon this Head, that I'm afraid I shall not satisfy the Reader's Curiosity in this Matter.

Throughout the History of the *Patriarchs*, we read not a word of *Physicians*, or *Physick*, tho' the Sickneses of *Isaac*, *Abimelech*, *Rachel*, and several others are mentioned. And what is pretty remarkable, *Joseph* is not said to send the Physicians to his Father in his Illness; but only, after he was dead, to put his Body into their hands to be embalmed. In the *Laws*, there's two Passages which seem to relate to the *Physicians*. It is said

(f) Strab. l. 3. de Lusitanis. (g) Strab. l. 16. & lib. 3. (h) Plut. Sympoſ. l. 3. q. 1.

in *Exodus* (i), If Men strive together, and one wound the other, so that he keeps his Bed; if he recovers, and walks abroad upon his Staff, he that wounded him shall not be punished with Death, but shall pay for the Loss of his Time, and cause him to be thoroughly healed; that is, shall defray the Charges of his Cure. The Practice of *Physick* seems here to be plainly implied; as it does also in what *Moses* says of the *Leprosy* (k). He lays down the several sorts, their Signs and Symptoms; he describes the Tokens of a *Leprosy* when it first breaks out, when inveterate, and when cured. But however, in all this I find no Remedy prescribed, or made use of; on the contrary, it seems as if there was none, since *Moses* sends them to the Priest, without enjoining him any thing, but to examine the Distemper, and declare whether the Person is *clean* or *unclean*, capable or incapable of conversing with others. The *Jews* look'd upon the *Leprosy* as inflicted by the Hand of God: We did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, says *Isaiah* (l). Rabbi *Manabem* (m) says, the Physicians would not venture to undertake the Cure of it, as believing it supernatural. When *Naaman* came to *Samaria* with Letters from the King of *Damascus*, in order to be heal'd of his *Leprosy* (n), the King of *Israel* rent his Clothes, and said, Am I God, to kill and make alive? And our Saviour, to demonstrate he was the *Messiah*, appeals to his curing the *Leprosy*, as an evident and indisputable Miracle.

What *Moses* enjoins concerning the Separation of Women newly lain in, or during their *Flowers*, prove the same thing. All this *Physick*, if I may so call it, consisted only in preventing the Infection from spreading, and not at all in applying Remedies; unless the shaving off the *Leper's* Hair, and the shutting him up, or the Cleanings after he was well, and before he could be admitted into Company, be reckon'd so.

As for the Instance of the wounded Man, it may serve to prove, that in outward Hurts, there were Persons whose Business it was to set broken or disjointed Bones, to close up Wounds, or to apply *Lenitives* to them. This we now call *Surgery*; but then, and long after, there was no other *Physick*. *Chiron*, *Maechon*, *Podalirius*, *Paon*, *Æsculapius* himself, were but good Surgeons (o). *Pliny* says (p), the End of their Art was only

(i) xxi. 18, 19.

(k) Levit. xiii. xiv.

(l) liii. 4.

(m) Manab. ad Levit. xiii.

(n) 2 Kings, v. 7.

(o) See Le Clerc Hist. de la Med.

(p) Plin. l. 29. c. 1.

to cure Wounds. *Celsus* observes, that *Podalirius* and *Machaon*, the Sons of *Æsculapius*, going with *Agamemnon* to the Siege of *Troy*, were never applied to in the Pestilence, or inward Diseases, but only upon account of Wounds. They knew so little of the Rules of a good Regimen, that they suffer'd *Machaon*, when wounded in the Shoulder, to drink a Liquor made of Wine and Goat's Cheefe scraped or beaten to powder (g).

The *Hebrews* never mention Remedies, when the Question is about inward Ills, Fevers, Consumptions, Pestilence, Pains in the Head, or Bowels; but only when there is a Wound, Fracture, or Contusion. *Afa* being seiz'd with the Gout in his Feet (r), the Scriptures upbraid him, because in his Disease he sought not to the Lord, but to the Physicians. *Foram*, being wounded in a Battel, went to *Jezreel* to get himself cured (s). *Hezekiah*, afflicted with an Imposthume, was cured by *Isaiab* with a Poultis of Figs (t). There is a time to kill, and a time to heal, says *Solomon* (u). This Prince, whose Knowledge of Nature was very extensive, and who writ of Trees, from the Cedar to the Hyssop (w), no doubt had discovered many Secrets in Physick; but it is strange the Jews should have preserv'd none of his Remedies, and that his Methods of Cure should not have been practis'd by his Nation; for in the Writings of the Prophets, who liv'd after him, we find only Wounds bound up, anointed with Oil; and some Topical Remedies, made with Rosin; and Medicinal Plants or Herbs. *Solomon* says (x), A wholesome Tongue is a Tree of Life; that is, a Tree whose Fruit restores Health. He advises to vomit when the Stomach is overcharg'd (y). The Author of *Ecclesiasticus* (z) gives the same Advice to him that has been forced to eat too much. The Wiseman speaks also of the Indispositions, that are the Consequences of Incontinence, and the excessive Use of sensual Pleasures. He mentions it as a Disease that consumes the Flesh and Bones (a).

Isaiab says (b) the Lord shall bind up the Wound of his People, and heal it. And *Jeremiah* (c), For the Hurt of the Daughter of my People, astonishment hath taken hold of me. Is there no Balm in Gilead? Is there no Physician there?

(g) Hom. II. XI. (r) 2 Chr. xvi. 12. (s) 2 Kings, viii. 29. (t) 2 Kings, xx. 7.
(u) Eccl. iii. 3. (w) 1 Kings, iv. 33. (x) Prov. xv. 4. (y) Prov. xxiii. 8.
(z) Ecclus. xxxi. 21. (a) Prov. v. 11. (b) xxx. 26. Vulg. (c) viii. 21, 22.

Why

Why then is not the Health of the Daughter of my People recovered? And again (d), Hast thou utterly rejected Judah? hath thy Soul loathed Zion? Why hast thou smitten us, and there is no healing for us? or why hast thou given us a mortal and incurable Wound? We looked for Peace, and there is no Good; and for the time of Healing, and behold Trouble. And elsewhere (e), Thy Bruise is incurable, and thy Wound is grievous. There is none to bind thee up, thou hast no healing Medicines—I have wounded thee with the Wound of an Enemy, with the Chastisement of a cruel One—I will restore Health unto thee, and I will heal thee of thy Wounds. And again (f): Go up into Gilead, and take Balm, O Virgin, the Daughter of Egypt: in vain shalt thou use many Medicines, for thou shalt not be cured. And in speaking of the Downfall of *Babylon* (g), *Babylon* is suddenly fallen and destroyed; howl for her, take Balm for her Pain, if so be she may be heal'd. We would have healed *Babylon*, but she is not healed: forsake her, and let us go every one into his own Country.

In all this, there is mention only of Wounds, Fractures, and Bruises. And what Remedies are applied? Balm and Bandages; to which *Isaiab* adds Oil (h): From the Sole of the Foot even unto the Head, there is no Soundness, but Wounds, and Bruises, and putrefying Sores; they have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollify'd with Oil. *Ezekiel* (i), Son of Man, I have broken the Arm of Pharaoh King of Egypt; and lo! it shall not be bound up to be heal'd, to put a Roller to bind it, and to make it strong to hold the Sword. He speaks elsewhere (k) of a Tree, the Fruit whereof was good to eat, and the Leaf thereof for Medicine. *Raphael* having caught the Fish that would have devoured young *Tobias*, bid him open it, and told him the Liver was good against all Distempers; and in fact he made use of it to drive away the evil Spirit, and to restore Sight to his Father *Tobit*. *Hosea* (l) intimates, that there were Physicians in his Time. *Ephraim* saw his Sickness, and *Judah* saw his Wound; then went *Ephraim* to the Assyrian, and sent to King *Jareb*; yet he did not heal you, nor cure you of your Wound.

(d) xiv. 19. (e) xxx. 12, 15—17. (f) xlv. 11. (g) li. 3, 9. (h) li. 6.
(i) xxxi. 21. (k) xlviii. 12. (l) v. 13.

In

In case of inward Sicknesſes, and ſeveral other dangerous Diſtempers, whole Cure was difficult, they never thought of having recourſe to Phyſicians. Their Ignorance of the true Cauſes of them, was the reaſon of good Mens addreſſing themſelves to God or his Prophets for Relief. Others applied to ſuperſtitious Remedies, to Magicians, Idols, Enchanters, or even to Muſick. *Job's* Illneſs was no doubt inflicted by the Devil. But however, the Devil work'd no Miracle, but made uſe of natural Means, to reduce that holy Man to a dreadful Condition; in which he himſelf nor his Friends ever thought of uſing any Remedies. They all agreed, there was no help for him but from the Almighty. They endeavour'd to find out the moral Cauſe of his Affliction, namely, whether his Sins had not drawn down that Judgment upon his Head; or whether it were not ſent as a Trial of his Vertue, and to make the Power of the Lord ſhine forth with the greater luſtre. *Job* (m) could not bear to hear them talk in that manner, and inſult thus over his Miſfortunes; and therefore told them, *Ye are all Phyſicians of no value.* There were no Phyſicians nor Medicines for the Leproſy, a Diſeaſe ſo dangerous and common among the Hebrews. The Lepers were left to themſelves, as ſoon as their Diſtemper appear'd; all they did, was to prevent its ſpreading, by ſeparating them from the Society of others.

Ammon the Son of *David*, being fallen into a languiſhing Sickneſs, occaſion'd by the Love of his Siſter *Tamar* (n), not a word is ſaid of Phyſick or Phyſicians. *David* going to viſit him, propoſed no Remedy. But *Ammon* deſired that his Siſter *Tamar* might come and make him a couple of Cakes, that he might eat at her hand. *Abijah*, the Son of *Jeroboam*, King of *Iſrael*, falls ſick (o). The King ſends his Queen, diſguiſed like a Country-woman, to conſult the Prophet *Abijah* about the young Prince. *Abaziah* (p), alſo King of *Iſrael*, falling down thro' a Lattice in his Upper-Chamber, ſent Meſſengers to enquire of *Baalzebub*, the God of *Ekron*, whether he ſhould recover. *Hazael*, King of *Damaſcus* (q), conſults the Prophet of the Lord concerning his Illneſs. *Naaman* the Syrian comes from *Damaſcus* to the Land of *Iſrael*, to ſee *Eliſha*, and be cured of his Leproſy. The Son of the Widow, with whom *E-*

(m) xiii. 4. (n) 2 Sam. xiii. (o) 1 Kings, xiv. 1, 5. (p) 2 Kings, i. 2. (q) 2 Kings, viii. 7.

lijah

lijah ſojourn'd, fell ſick and died in his Mother's Arms; ſhe ran to *Elijah*, and got him to raiſe him from the Dead (b). *Foram*, King of *Judab*, was ſmitten with a Diſeaſe in his Bowels, of which in two Years he died (i). *Uzziah* alſo King of *Judab*, was ſtruck with a Leproſy, for offering to burn Incenſe unto the Lord (k). In all theſe Inſtances of Perſons of the high-eſt Rank, there is not the leaſt mention of Remedies and Medicines. There were no Phyſicians among the Officers of the Kings of *Judab*, either under *David* or *Solomon*, or any of their Succeſſors. I don't infer from hence, there were none at that time in the Country; but only that they were very rare, and that their Art hardly extended, as hath been obſerv'd, beyond ſetting of Bones, cloſing up and healing of Wounds.

There were another ſort of Phyſicians among the Hebrews, Enchanters, who took upon them to charm Serpents, and hinder them from ſtinging, or to cure thoſe that were ſtung, by Enchantments and Spells (l). They had then invented no Medicine for the Cure of the Bite of a venomous Beaſt. *I will ſend Serpents, Cockatrices, among you, which will not be charmed,* ſays *Jeremiah* (m). And the *Pſalmiſt* (n), ſpeaking of his Enemies: *Their Poiſon is like the Poiſon of a Serpent, they are like the deaf Adder that ſtoppeth her Ear: which will not hearken to the Voice of Charmers, let them charm never ſo wiſely.* Who, ſays the Author of *Eccleſiaſticus* (o), will pity a Charmer that is bitten with a Serpent?

They praetiſed alſo Magick againſt other bodily Ills. But the uſe of it is not expreſſly aſſerted in Scripture. *Joſephus* (p) informs us, that God inſtructed *Solomon* in the Art of driving away evil Spirits, and of curing the Ills they occaſion to Men. This Prince compoſed Charms againſt Diſtempers, and Forms of Exorcisms to drive away evil Spirits, ſo as to cauſe them never to return into the Bodies they poſſeſſed. And this Method of Cure, adds he, is of great uſe among us at this day; for I ſaw a Jew, named *Eleazer*, in the Preſence of *Velpaſian* and his Sons, and abundance of Officers and Soldiers, cure ſeveral Perſons that were poſſeſſed. And the way he did it, was this: *Eleazer* applied to the Noſtril of the Poſſeſſed a Ring, within which

(b) 1 Kings, xvii. 17. (i) 2 Chr. xxi. 18, 19. (k) 2 Chr. xxvi. 19. (l) See the Author on Pſalm lviii. 5. (m) viii. 17. (n) Pſal. lviii. 4, 5. (o) xii. 13. (p) Antiq. l. 8. c. 2.

was

was a certain Root, a Secret of *Solomon's*. At the same time he recited the Name of *Solomon*, and some Words of his Invention; the *Demoniack* fell down on the Ground, and the Evil Spirit came out of him. And for Proof of the Truth and Power of his Art, the *Jew* ordered a *Basin* of Water to be placed at some distance from the *Demoniack*, which he commanded the Evil Spirit, at his quitting the Body, to overturn. Accordingly the Spirit did so, to the astonishment of the whole Company. I don't take upon me to authorize this Relation of *Josephus*, by attributing to *Solomon* a *Magical* Power against Distempers. I don't at all question but what *Eleazer* did, was by the help of the Devil; and that he made use of the Name of *Solomon* for a Cover only; for *Magicians* of all Ages have done the like. They varnish over their pernicious Art with the Name of some celebrated Person, in order to gain Respect and Veneration among the *Vulgar*.

To these *Magical Remedies*, may be put in opposition other *lawful* ones, made use of upon the like Occasions. *Saul* being seized with a gloomy Melancholy, that, at certain Intervals, caused him to be, or seem'd to be possessed; the Evil Spirit taking the opportunity of the ill Disposition of the *Humours* of his Body, to vex and torment him: for to cure him, *David*, who was a perfect Master of Musick, was sent for. He play'd on his Harp in the Presence of the King, whilst he was in this Condition, and gave him ease. Our Saviour and his Apostles used supernatural and miraculous Means in the same *Case*, which was become very common in their time. These Means, as they come not within the Rules of *Physick*, belong not to the Subject I am upon. But it won't be amiss to observe, that the *Hebrews* in those Days were of opinion, that almost all the unknown and incurable Diseases were inflicted by the Devil. Accordingly we find in the *Gospel*, several *Paralytick*, *Deaf*, *Dumb*, and *Lunatick* Persons, really possessed; and that as soon as our Saviour, or his Apostles, had cast out the Devil, they were healed. Mention is made of a *dumb Devil* (q), of a Woman possessed with a *Spirit of Infirmary* (r). And St. Paul delivering over to *Satan* the incestuous *Corinthian*, says it was for the Destruction of the *Flesh* (s). St. Mark (t), speaking of

(q) Mat. ix. 32.

(r) Luk. xiii. 11.

(s) 1 Cor. v. 5.

(t) iii. 10. *Md. 575*.

Diseases,

Diseases, calls them generally *Scourges* or *Plagues* sent from God.

One can't say that all this was only *Imagination* and *Fancy*; that neither *Saul*, nor the *Paralyticks* and *Lunatics* in the *Gospel*, were possessed. It is probable, God permitted the *Devil* at that time to enter into the Bodies of those that had been guilty of any Crime, for their Punishment in this World, and for a Terror to others. Such was the nature of the ancient Law, rigorous and severe. There was a necessity of dealing with the *Jews* as Slaves, and keeping them to their Duty by visible Punishments, conformable to their Notions and Prejudices. They look'd upon all Diseases as Chastenings from Heaven, and believ'd they were inflicted by evil Spirits. God rectifies not this Opinion, but conforms to it; he sends them *Demons* to punish them, at the same time that he sends them Distempers (u).

But to return to *Magical Remedies*, it must be remark'd that *Physick* in many Places was formerly practis'd by true *Magicians*. *Zoroaster*, who is reckon'd among the Inventors of *Physick*, was a famous *Magician*. *Circe* and *Medea*, who are placed in the number of *Physicians*, and celebrated for their great Cures, are much more noted for their Skill in *Magick*. *Origen* (w) tells us the *Egyptians* acknowledged thirty-six *Demons*, or *Gods of the Air*, that had the care of the thirty-six Parts the *Human Body* is compos'd of. He adds, the *Egyptians* had a Name for each of these Gods in their Language, which they invoked according to the Part that was out of order, and were restored to Health.

Pindar (x) assures us, that *Æsculapius* cured all sorts of *Fevers*, *Ulcers*, *Wounds*, and *Pains*, by soft Spells, lenifying Potions, external Applications, or Incisions. *Homer* (y) says, they stopp'd the Blood of *Ulysses's* Wound by the Means of *Charms*. Diseases were charm'd sometimes by certain *Magical Words* or Verses. We have in *Caro* (z), those made use of to cure a broken Bone. And sometimes they engraved certain Words on something that was applied to the Part, or wore about the Neck. These were call'd *Talismans*, *Amulets*, or *Phylacteries*.

(u) See Jerom in Matt. ix. 4.

(w) Lib. 8. cont. Cels.

(x) Pyth. Ode 3.

(y) Odyss. 19.

(z) De Re Russ. Art. 160.

F

There

There is no doubt but the *Hebrews*, superstitious and ignorant as they were, made use of all these sorts of *Remedies*. I have taken notice of their *Charms* against the Bite of a Serpent, and their *Magical Ring* to cast out the Devil. Some have thought *Moses's* brazen Serpent was a *Talisman*. But all these Methods of curing Diseases, inasmuch as they were accompany'd with the Invocation of *Demons*, are very strictly forbidden in the Law of the Lord (a). *Hezekiah* seeing the Abuse the common People made of the *Brazen Serpent*, order'd it to be broken in pieces (b). And we are told, that it was this Prince also that caused the Books of *Solomon* concerning the *Secrets* of Nature to be burnt, because many had trusted more to the *Vertue* of Herbs, than to the Assistance of the Lord. Musick seems to be a more simple and innocent Remedy. *David* made use of it to dispel *Saul's* Melancholy. Several learned *Physicians* (c) own the Power of Musick to cure Indispositions occasion'd by the Disorder of the Passions in the Mind. *Galen* says he has experienced it often. I have, says he, cured several whose *Passions* had made them sick, by calming their irregular Motions, and bringing their Minds to their natural State. If, continues he, this Method must be supported by Authority, I shall alledge a very considerable one, that of *Æsculapius*, the God of my Country, who was wont to give relief to those, whose disorder'd Minds had made them *feverish*, by Singing and Melody. *Plato* (d) says, the *Athenian* Midwives, by certain *Drugs* and *Charms*, could cause lying-in Women to have an easy and speedy Labour.

The *Hebrews*, as I have observ'd, were, generally speaking, persuaded, that Diseases were the Chastenings of the Lord, and that Evil Spirits were the Executors of God's Vengeance, in this respect. *Adam* had no sooner sinned, but he was condemned to die. *Abimelech* offering to take *Sarah*, whom he believ'd to be Sister, and not Wife to *Abraham*, was stricken of the Lord. The *Egyptians* were punished with several Plagues, for their Disobedience to the Orders of God. *Er* and *Onan*, the Sons of *Judah*, were both slain by the Lord for their Wickedness. *Mary* the Sister of *Moses*, for murmuring against her Bro-

(a) Deut. xviii. 9, 10, 11, &c.

Sax. tuenda, l. i. c. 8. & Le Clerc Hist. Med. l. i. p. 72.

(b) 2 Kings, xviii. 4.

(c) See Galen de

(d) Theophr.

ther,

Dis. VII. Physick and Physicians of the Hebrews.

ther, became a *Leper* (e); as did also *Uzziah*, for taking upon him to offer Incense to the Lord (f). The *Philistines* were smitten with *Emerods* for treating the *Ark* with disrespect (g); and the *Bethshemites* were slain for their Curiosity in looking into it (h); as was *Uzzah* for daring to touch it (i). *David* having numbred the People, was punished for it, in the Death of many thousands of his Subjects (k).

Job's Friends immediately concluded from his Afflictions, that he was guilty of some heinous Crime. King *Foram* was punished with grievous Pains in his Bowels, for his Idolatry and Wickedness. The Cause of the Sickness and *Metamorphosis* of *Nebuchadnezzar*, is attributed to his Pride, and other Sins. In a word, we find at every turn in the Holy Scriptures, these Ways and Manners of Expression. It is the Lord that wounds and heals, that kills and makes alive. Life and Death, Health and Sickness, are in his hands; he commands them with an uncontroll'd Authority. He threatens the *Jews* with incurable Diseases, if they are rebellious; and promises Health and long Life, if they prove obedient.

The Language of the New Testament upon this Head is the same; and our Saviour seems to confirm this Opinion in several Places, where he advises those he had cured, to *sin no more*, insinuating by that, that their Sins were the Cause of their Distemper. When the *Paralytick* was brought to him, he told him, *Son, thy Sins are forgiven thee* (l). At which some being offended, he demands of them, *Whether is easier to say, Thy Sins are forgiven thee? or to say, Arise and walk?* At the same time the *Paralytick* arose, and took up his Bed. After he had healed the Man, that had waited thirty-eight Years to be put into the Pool of *Bethesda*, he told him (m), *Sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee*. And his Disciples seeing a Man that was born blind, say to him (n), *Master, who did sin, this Man or his Parents, that he was born blind?* They supposed therefore, that these Ills were inflicted on Men as a Consequence of some secret Sin of their own, or of their Parents. But our Saviour rectify'd their Mistake, by assuring them, that

(e) Numb. xii. 10.

(f) 2 Sam. vi. 7.

(g) 2 Sam. xxiv.

(h) Jo. ix. 2.

(i) 2 Chr. xxvi. 19.

(k) 2 Sam. xxiv.

(l) Mat. ix. 2, 3.

(m) 1 Sam. v. 6.

(n) 1 Sam. vi. 19.

neither hath this Man sinned, nor his Parents; but that the Works of God should be made manifest in him.

St. Paul (o) attributes the Diseases, and even the Death of many Christians, to their coming to the Lord's Supper in an irreverent manner. Herod King of Judea, having persecuted the Apostles, put St. James to death, and shut up St. Peter in Prison, was punished in a terrible manner (p); for as he was making an Oration to the People from his Throne, they shouted and said, *It is the Voice of a God, and not of a Man*. Immediately the Angel of the Lord smote him, and he was eaten of Worms, because he gave not God the Glory. Josephus (q) says, it is not at all to be doubted, but that the Distemper of Herod the Great was sent, as a Punishment from Heaven, for his great Wickedness and Cruelties.

I am far from denying, that a great many of these Instances were *miraculous* and *supernatural*, and that the Jews very justly thought God was the *first, direct, and immediate* Cause of them. But then I do not believe they were all so. There are several, doubtless, that were the Effects of natural Causes; and, not to multiply Miracles without a necessity, perhaps it may be affirm'd, that when God is said to strike a Man with a Distemper, it means only that he permitted him to fall sick, and that his Disease should be look'd upon as a Punishment of his foregoing Crime. This is my Conjecture, which I willingly submit to the Judgment of others, for fear of breaking in upon that regard which is due to the Holy Scriptures.

As a Consequence of this Principle of Diseases coming immediately from God, all *Plagues*, ordinary and extraordinary, were attributed to Evil Angels. There was, according to the Hebrews, a destroying Angel, an avenging Angel, an Angel of Death. This Angel it was that slew the First-born of the Egyptians, destroy'd the Army of Sennacherib, and smote the People of David with a Pestilence. They were of opinion, and still are so, that there is an Angel of Death, which kills all Men, by striking his Sword into their Heart, which he washes immediately in the Water he finds in the House (r). The Li-

(o) 1 Cor. xi. 30. (p) Acts xii. 23. (q) Antiq. l. 17. c. 8. (r) See Job xxxiii. 23. Psal. xxxv. 5. Prov. xvii. 1. Dan. xiii. 55, 59.

quor

quor that sticks to this murdering Weapon, is a deadly Poison; and therefore they carefully throw away all the Water in the House, when a Man dies.

They attributed to the *Devil*, or to the *Moon*, several Indispositions, which the *Physicians* look'd upon as natural; such was the Distemper of Saul, and of those *Hypocondriacks*, that went for *Possessed* Persons. There were no doubt a great many that were really so, the Gospel puts it beyond dispute; however, it would be very difficult to make appear they were all so. The common People, at this time, take a great many to be *Possessed*, who are only *Mad* or *Lunatick*. They have more occasion for *Hellebore* and *Purging*, than for *Exorcisms* and supernatural Means, which the Church's Intention is never to make use of, but when there is an evident Necessity, or some visible Benefit.

Another very antient Opinion, to be observed in the Lives of the *Patriarchs*, was, that they believed they should die, after having seen an extraordinary *Vision*. Jacob, after his Vision at *Mahanaim*, gave God thanks for having deliver'd him from Death: *I have seen God face to face, and my Life is preserved* (s). The Lord declares to Moses (t), *No Man shall see me and live*. The Hebrews entreat Moses, saying, *Speak thou with us, but let not God speak with us, lest we die* (u). *Manoah*, the Father of *Samson*, having seen a Vision of an Angel, told his Wife, *We shall surely die, because we have seen God* (w).

There are certain Passages in Scripture, that seem to prove, that formerly among the *Hebrews*, as well as among the *Greeks*, Persons of the highest Rank practis'd Physick; and that it was thought a Prince's Duty to be skill'd in that Art. When a Man, says *Isaiab* (x), *shall take hold of his Brother*, saying, *Thou hast Cloathing; be thou our Ruler, and let this Ruin be under thy hand: In that day shall he swear, I will not be an Healer or Physician;—make me not a Ruler of the People*. *Hosea* (y), reproaching the *Israelites* for putting their trust in the *Assyrian*, told them, *When Ephraim saw his Sickness, and Judah his*

(s) Gen. xxxii. 30. (t) Exod. xxxiii. 20. (u) Exod. xx. 19. (w) Judg. xiii. 22. (x) iii. 6. (y) v. 13.

Wound;

Wound; then sent Ephraim to King Jareb: but he could not heal you, nor cure you of your Wound. And Jeremiah (z),—From the Prophet even unto the Priest, every one dealteth falsely. They have healed also the Hurt of the Daughter of my People slightly; saying, Peace, Peace, when there is no Peace. They say, All is well, when the Wound is most dangerous.

Tho' the Jews did, and still do practise Physick with a great deal of Reputation in some Places, especially in the East*; however the Rabbins, by their Writings, show they had no good opinion of them. They place them in the number of those that are excluded from the Royal Dignity; and say, *May the Best of Physicians go down to Hell; for he lives sumptuously; he fears no Disease; he humbles not his Heart before God; he slays the Poor, by refusing him his Assistance.* If we may judge of the Capacity of the Jewish Physicians, by the Rabbins Skill in Anatomy, we shall have but an indifferent Notion of their Knowledge. They believe there is in the Back-bone a small Bone, call'd *Luz*, which is the Root of the whole Human Body; so that the Heart, Liver, Brains, and all the other Parts, spring from this wonderful Bone, whose Vertue is such, that it can neither be burnt, nor ground, nor broken; but continues always the same; being, as it were, the *Bud* of the Resurrection, from whence all the rest of the Body shall sprout out afresh, as Plants do from their Seeds. They reckon up two hundred and forty-eight Bones, and three hundred and sixty-five Veins in a Man's Body.

Were the antient Hebrews more knowing than the modern? This is no easy matter to determine. We find only, that they believed, as the Antients did for the most part, that the Human Body was form'd in the Womb, by *Coagulation*, like the Curdling of a Cheefe (a): That the Lord covered it over with Skin, Nerves, and Tendons: That the Bones, in Health, were moist, and full of Juice; but dried up in Sickness (b); that the Marrow, being corrupted, caused grievous Distempers (c): That all Inflammations were in the Bones (d): That the Oil one rubb'd oneself with, penetrated the Bones (e). In a word, on the

(z) vi. 13, 14.
ring of this Dissertation.
xii. 4. xiv. 30.

* See the Effigies of an Eastern Jewish Physician, in the beginning of this Dissertation.
(a) Job x. 10. (b) Job xx. 11. xxi. 24. (c) Prov. xii. 4. (d) Lament. i. 13. (e) Psal. cix. 18.

good

good or bad Disposition of the Bones, Health and Sickness depended. Solomon seems to think that the Navel had a great Influence over the Health (f), and that it was anointed with a design to cool the Inflammation of the Bowels. They placed the Life in the Blood (g). I meet with nothing in Scripture about Bleeding, or the Veins.

The principal Medicine among the antient Hebrews, was the Balm of Gilead. Physicians are agreed, that the several sorts of Balm are good for Fractures, Contusions, and even Wounds. They had also wholesome Herbs and Plants, which they generally term'd, *Trees of Life* (h), what we call Medicinal Herbs, in opposition to venomous and poisonous ones, which they stiled, *Trees of Death*. The Author of Ecclesiasticus (i) speaks of the Vertue of Plants, and says that the Apothecary makes a Confection of them, which brings Peace and Joy every where. But he takes great care to add, that the sick Man should begin with Prayer to God for his Health, and should leave off from Sin, and offer a Memorial of fine Flower, and a fat Sacrifice, as if he was already out of the World, and in the Presence of his God. Then he should give place to the Physician, for the Lord hath created him, and he will also pray to God to prosper what he gives for Ease and Remedy to prolong Life. In fine, continues he, *Let him that sinneth before his Maker, fall into the hand of the Physician.* And indeed, one of the greatest Misfortunes that God can afflict a Man with, is to deliver him up to Sickness, Physick, and Physicians.

(f) Prov. iii. 8.

(g) Deut. xii. 23.

(h) Prov. iii. 18.

(i) xxxviii. 7.



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- I. The MARRIAGES of the ANTIENT and MODERN JEWS.
II. Concerning DIVORCE, as practised not only by the *Hebrews*, but
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-

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A

DISSERTATION

On the MARRIAGES of the *Jews*.

MY Design in this Dissertation is not to consider Marriage as a civil Appointment, or as an Act of Religion, but only to enquire into the Customs and Practices of the Ancient and Modern *Jews* in this particular.

The *Hebrews* were wont to marry betimes. The Age fix'd <sup>The Hebrews married be-
times.</sup> for the Men of the *Rabbins* was eighteen (a). Whoever did not marry at that Age, sinned, as they pretended, against the Precept which God gave our first Parents, saying, *Increase and Multiply* (b). They might indeed marry sooner, but were not allowed to put it off longer. As for the Women, they are betrothed very young; but the Marriage is seldom consummated till they come to *ripe* Age, that is, twelve Years and a Day (c). Hence these Expressions, *the Wife of thy Youth* (d), that is, who was married in her Youth; and *the Guide of thy Youth* (e), to denote a Husband.

This helps us to discover the reason why remaining unmarried was accounted a Reproach among the *Jews*; and why the greatest Affront that could be offered to any Man, was to upbraid him with not *building the House of his Fathers*,

(a) Leo of Modena, Cerem. des Juifs. p. 3. (b) Gen. i. 28. (c) Selden Uxor. Hebr. l. 2. p. 3. (d) Joel. i. 8. Malac. ii. 14. (e) Prov. ii. 17.

A

and

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and keeping their Name alive in Israel. Hence those Tears of the Daughter of *Jephtha*, who mourn'd for herself as for one Dead (f), because she died unmarried, and before she had brought her Father any Heirs. Hence those threatening Prophecies which *Isaiah* denounced against the *Jews* (g), when he said, the time would come when Men should be so scarce in *Israel*, that there would not be one for every Woman; so that *seven Women* should take hold of one Man, entreating him to marry them, (tho' contrary to the practice of all Nations,) and saying unto him, *we will put you to no charge, we will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel, only let us be your Wives, let us be called by your Name, to take away our reproach*; that we may be able to say we are the Spouses of such a Man, and consequently may no longer be despis'd. And the Spouse addressing herself to her beloved, in the *Song of Solomon* (h), says, *When shall I find thee without? I will kiss thee, yea, I shall not be despised. I will lead thee, and bring thee into my Mother's House.*—That is, when shall I be a Wife, or a Mother; and be free from the reproach of being unmarried and barren? For to bring a Man into her Mother's House, signifies the same thing as to lead him to the nuptial Bed, and into the Chamber of the Bride.

As young Women were confined to their Apartments, without having any Communication with Men, the whole Courtship was transacted by *Proxy*, without either of the Parties seeing one another. Hence a Virgin is called *Alma*, that is, *hidden*; and when the Scriptures (i) would express an universal Consternation, they represent the young Women coming out of their Chambers and running to and fro about the City. *A father waketh for his daughter while she is hidden*, or confined in his House, saith the Son of *Sirach* (k), *and the care for her taketh away sleep: when she is young, lest she pass away the flower of her Age; and being married, lest she should misbehave herself. We have a little Sister*, saith the Spouse in *Solomon's Song* (l), *and she hath no breasts; what shall we do for our Sister, in the day when she shall be spoken for*, or called out to appear before her Lover. As when *Rebekah* was

(f) *Judg.* xi. 37. (g) *Isa.* iv. 1. (h) *Song.* viii. 1. vulg. (i) *2 Macc.* iii. 19.
(k) *Eccles.* xlii. 9. (l) *Song.* viii. 8.

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Dis. VIII. Marriages of the Jews.

sent for, and ask'd, whether she was willing to go along with *Eliezer* and marry *Isaac* (m). *If she be a Wall*, continues the Spouse, *we will build upon her a palace of Silver: and if she be a Door, we will enclose her with boards of Cedar.* That is, we will dress and attire her, that she may appear tall and handsome.

We read that it was *Hamor*, *Shechem's* Father, and even *Shechem* himself, that demanded of *Abraham* his Daughter *Dinah* in Marriage (n). And *Samson* having seen a Woman in *Timnath* of the Daughters of the *Philistines*, desired his Father to get her for him to Wife (o). The Father and Mother of *Samson*, and he himself went down, and talked with the Woman, and concluded the Marriage. But the nuptial Ceremony was not till a good while after, since when *Samson* return'd, the Lion, he had slain in his first Journey thither, was so corrupted; and his Bones so dried up, that a swarm of Bees had had time to settle and make their Honey in his Carcase. This confirms the Opinion of the *Jews*, That the *Betrothing* was commonly perform'd about six Months, or a Year, before the *Wedding* (p). However, this Custom seems not to have prevailed every where, since *Tobias's* Marriage was agreed on, and consummated upon the Spot (q). The *Rabbins* tell us, That a young Woman was no longer at her Father's disposal, when she was once arriv'd at a *Ripe Age*, that is, as I observ'd, twelve Years and a Day old (r). But this is altogether improbable; and the contrary is evident from numberless Passages of Holy Scripture, where we find the Father always disposing of his Daughters in Marriage to whom he pleases. Instances of this are *Rebekah*, and *Sarah*, *Tobias's* Wife, who were undoubtedly above twelve Years old, when they married; neither was *Tamar*, *Onan's* Widow, allow'd to marry, without her Father-in-Law's Consent.

The *Jews* were wont to betroth their Wives either by a *The Manner of Betrothing.* Writing, or by giving them a piece of Money; or else by Co-habitation. The Form of the Writing was as follows; *Such a Day, of such a Month, N. the Son of N. hath said to N. the Daughter of N. be thou my Spouse according to the Law*

(m) *Gen.* xxiv. 57. (n) *Gen.* xxxiv. 4. (o) *Judg.* xiv. 1, 3, &c. (p) *Leo of Modena*, p. 3. (q) *Tobit.* vii. 9. &c. (r) *Maimon. Halach. Isschoth.* p. 3.

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of Moses, and of the Israelites, and I will give thee for thy Dowry the Sum of 200 Zuzim, as is prescribed by the Law. And the said N. hath consented to become his Spouse upon these Conditions, which the said N. hath promised to perform on the Day of Marriage. And this he binds himself to do under the Forfeiture of all his Goods, even to the Cloak that he wears on his Back. And further promises to perform all other Acts and Things, that are usually express'd, in Marriage-Contracts, in favour of the Women. Witnesses N. N. N. Betrothing with a piece of Money was done in this Manner; The Man giving his future Spouse a piece of Money before Witnesses, said to her, *Take this Money for a Pledge that thou wilt become my Spouse.* Lastly, Betrothing by Cohabitation was, as the Rabbins pretend, allowed by the Law (s), but for wife reasons had been prohibited by the ancient Jews, to prevent clandestine Marriages and several other Abuses (t).

When People were once betrothed, they had the Liberty of seeing one another, which was not permitted before, but still they were to take care not to abuse this Freedom (u). If the Woman happened, before the Wedding, to converse too familiarly with any, but her future Husband, she was treated as an Adulteress (w). Some Writers are of Opinion that the Virgin Mary was only betrothed to Joseph, when she was found with Child of Jesus Christ; and if she had been guilty of the Crime, which he had some grounds to suspect her of, he might not only have given her a Bill of Divorce, but have had her punish'd as an Adulteress: For tho' betrothed Persons were permitted to see one another, it was unlawful for them to lie together, before Marriage. These are the Rules which the Jews had laid down upon this point; for they were of Opinion that they were not forbidden conversing one with another by the Law of Moses, but only by the forementioned Injunctions of their Elders; which were design'd for the restraining Licentiousness. If any betroth'd Persons transgress'd these Rules, they were condemn'd to be scourg'd.

The Man purchases his Wife.

It was usual for the Man to purchase his Wife; and accordingly they agreed, before the Wedding, upon the Dowry the

(s) Deut. xxiv. 1. (t) Vid. Seld. loco ante citato.
(w) Selden l. 2. Uxoris Hebraic. p. 1.

(x) Leo of Modena, p. 3.

Husband

Husband was to give his Spouse, and the Presents he was to make her Father and Brothers. This is evident from the Story of Jacob. First, He covenants with Laban to serve him seven Years, for his Daughter Rachel (x). At the end of which, Leah is put upon him, instead of Rachel. Whereupon Jacob engages himself to serve Laban other seven Years for Rachel (y). Jacob's Wives complain that their Father had sold them and devour'd all their Money (z), which how hard or unkind soever they thought it, yet we don't find that they insisted upon having it restored, as if it had been unjustly taken from them. Saul sold his Daughter Michal to David for an hundred Foreskins of the Philistines (a). When Shechem the Son of Hamor desired of Jacob and his Sons, that Dinah might be given him in Marriage, he address'd himself to them thus (b): *Let me find grace in your eyes, and what ye shall say unto me I will give. Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me: but give me the damsel to Wife.* Hosea bought him a Wife for fifteen pieces of silver, and an homer and a half of Barley (c). However, the Father was wont to make his Daughter some Present suitable to his Estate and Ability, to buy her Clothes, and defray the Charges of the Wedding. It was commonly 50 Zuzim. The Zuzim was a piece of Money of no great Value (d). According to the Rabbins it was worth a Silver penny, or the fourth part of a Silver Shekel, that is, about four pence half penny of our Money (e).

The Form of their Contract of Matrimony is as follows (f). *The Form of Such a Day of such a Month, and such a Year, upon such a River, N. the Son of N. hath said to N. the Daughter of N. a Virgin: Be thou my Wife according to the Law of Moses and of the Israelites. And I, with the help of God, will honour, keep, feed and clothe thee, as other Husbands of this Country are wont to do, who honour, feed, keep and clothe their Wives as they ought. I give unto thee for the Price and Dowry of thy Virginity, the Sum of 200 Zuzims (g), which are due to*

(x) Gen. xxix. 18. (y) Ibid. ver. 27. (z) Gen. xxxi. 15. (a) 1 Sam. xviii. 25.
(b) Gen. xxxiv. 11, 12. (c) Hosea iii. 2. (d) Mishna tit. Keruboth, c. 6. vide Selden l. 2. Ux. Hebraic. p. 10. (e) Selden Ux. Hebr. l. 2. (f) Maimon. Halac. Jebom-vechaliza, p. 4. apud Selden l. 2. p. 10. Ux. Hebr. (g) About 50 Shekels of Silver, or 5 l. 12 s. 6 d. of our Money.

thee according to the Law. And besides, I will supply thee with convenient food and raiment; and render thee due Benevolence according to the Custom of all Nations. Whereupon the said N. hath consented to become his Spouse. Moreover, the said Husband has promised to add by way of Augmentation to the Dowry, the Sum of———What the said Spouse hath brought with her, is valued at——Which the said Husband acknowledges to have received, and taken the care of, upon himself, by the following Declaration: "I accept and receive into my custody, whatever hath been mentioned above, as well the Dowry, as any other Goods, that my Spouse hath a title to, or may hereafter get and purchase, as well by the Augmentation of her Dowry, as in any other manner whatsoever; And I bind my self, my Heirs, and Assigns, by giving for Security all my real and personal Estate, as well what I now stand possessed of, as what I may hereafter enjoy, even the Cloak that I wear upon my Back, to be responsible for, and faithfully repay to my said Spouse all her Dowry, and whatever else she brought along with her, in any manner, and under what Name soever, either in my Life-time, or at my death. *This I promise to perform, according to the tenor of the Contracts of Matrimony, in use among the Children of Israel, and according to the Practice and Injunctions of our Rabbins of pious memory. In Witness whereof, we have put our Hands and Seals to this present Contract, the Day and Year above-written.*"

When both Parties had agreed about the Marriage, they appointed a Day for the Wedding. The *Modern Jews* commonly pitch upon a Wednesday, or Friday, if the Bride be a Virgin; and on a Thursday if she is a Widow (b). The Night before, she dips herself all over in Water; and is accompany'd to and from the Bathing-place by several Women, playing upon some *Kitchen-Utensils*, to let all the Neighbourhood know she is going to be married. By comparing what *Selden*, *Buxtorf* and *Leo of Modena* have advanced upon this Head, I have observ'd some difference between them; which makes me think that the Customs of the *Jews* are not every where

(b) *Leo of Modena*, Cer. of the *Jews*, ch. 3.

alike,

alike, but that they conform themselves to the Ways and Manners of those Nations with whom they live. On the Wedding-day, the Bride is dressed as handsomely as her Fortune and Condition will admit of; and she is led for that purpose with a great deal of Ceremony, by the Bride-maids, singing as they go along, into the Dressing-room. The *Rabbins* tell us (i), that God himself vouchsafed to dress *Eve* with his own Hands, before he brought her to *Adam*; and that he presented her to him as a glorious Spouse, adorned with all the most precious Ornaments. The Angels plaid on Instruments, and sung at the Celebration of this first Wedding. The Lord made also the Canopy under which they were married. But these are all ridiculous Fictions of a carnal and sensual People.

A Wedding among the *Jews* is commonly perform'd in the open Air, as in a Yard, a Garden, or a Field (k). And sometimes in a Room, adorned and beautified on purpose, saith *Leo of Modena* (l). The Bride and Bridegroom are led to the Place, under a Canopy supported by four young Batchelors, the Musick playing all the time. The Bride hath on her Head a black Vail, which hangs over her Face, in imitation of that which *Rebekah* covered herself with, when she saw *Isaac* coming to her (m). And the Bridegroom hath also on his Head a Vail of the same Colour, to put 'em in mind, as is said, of the Ruin of the City and Temple of *Jerusalem*. Then a *Tbalet*, which is a square Vail, on the four Corners of which are fastened four Tufts, is spread over the Heads of the Bride and Bridegroom. This, according to the *Rabbins*, is done in memory of what we read in the History of *Ruth* (n): Spread thy skirt over thine Hand-maid, for thou art a near Kinsman; and of these Words of the Prophet *Ezekiel* (o), wherein God addressing himself to the Posterity of *Israel*, which he represents as a Spouse, saith, *When I passed by thee, and looked upon thee, behold, thy time was the time of Love, and I spread my skirt over thee, and covered thy nakedness: Yea, I swore unto thee, and entred into a Covenant with thee, saith the Lord God, and thou becamest mine.*

Then the *Rabbi* belonging to that place, or the chief Singer of the Synagogue, or else the nearest Relation, takes a Cup, or

(i) *Rabbins* in *Thalmud*. See *Buxtorf*, loco citato. (k) *Buxtorf*, ibid. (l) *Leo of Modena*, ch. 3. (m) *Gen.* xxiv. 65. (n) *Ruth* iii. 9. (o) *Ezek.* xvi. 8.

a Glas of Wine; and after he has blessed it in the following manner: *Blessed be thou, O Lord, who hast created Man and Woman, and ordained Matrimony, &c.* he gives the Cup to the Bridegroom, and afterwards to the Bride, who drink a little of it. After that, the Man puts a Ring upon the Woman's Finger, in the presence of two Witnesses, generally two Rabbins; saying, *By this Ring you become my Spouse, according to the Law of Moles and of the Israelites.* Buxtorf affirms that this Ring must be of pure Gold, and have no Stone set in it; and the Man takes the whole Company to witness that it is of good Gold, and of a just value. This Ceremony being over, they read the Contract of Matrimony beforementioned; and after that, the Bridegroom delivers it up to his Spouse's Relations. Then they bring again Wine, either in a Glas, or any other brittle Vessel; and after they have sung six Prayers, which, with *that* mentioned before, make up in all seven, they give it the new married Couple to drink, and fling what they leave on the Ground, as a sign of Joy. The Bridegroom, after this, takes the Glas, and flings it, with all his might, either against a Wall, or the Ground, so as to break it to pieces; and that in remembrance of the Destruction of the Temple of *Jerusalem*. In some places they put Ashes on the Man's Head, for this very reason. But there are Authors that have given a moral, and, in my Opinion, a more rational Account of the Institution of this Ceremony; to wit, That the design of it is, amidst the Mirth and Jollity of the Wedding, to put the new married Persons in mind of Death; and to give them to understand, that the Frame and Constitution of Mankind is as frail and brittle, as the Glas that was broken before their Eyes. The black Vail, which the Bride and Bridegroom wore at that time, had also a Relation to this (p). *Selden* tells us (q), that these Vails were made of Linnen, curiously embroidered, and adorned with precious Stones, Gold and Silver.

The same Author makes several Observations upon the Point now in hand, which it will not be improper to set down here. First then, he says, that when Persons were betrothed, and the Contract of Matrimony was once signed, the Man could mar-

(p) Compare Buxtorf and Leo of *Modena* in the forecited places. (q) *Selden Uxor* Hebr. l. 2. p. 5.

ry,

Dis. VIII. Marriages of the Jews.

ry, and take his Wife home, whenever he thought fit. But this Case admitted of some Exceptions. For if the betrothed Woman was not twelve Years and a Day old, the Man could not take her out of her Father's House, without her own, and her Father's consent. And tho' they should have consented to it, yet she could ask a whole Year to get herself ready; and even if she was come to ripe Age, she was allow'd a Year, if she insisted upon it, before any one could force her to consummate the Marriage. But if the young Woman had been betrothed only a Year after her arriving at a ripe Age, she was allowed no more than three Months. And she could likewise solicit her Husband to consummate the Marriage. But the Man had the same Privileges in this respect, as the Woman hath been observed before to have had. If he neglected to consummate the Marriage, after the appointed time was elapsed, he was condemned to keep and maintain his Spouse, till he had done it. All these Particulars are not exactly set down in Holy Scripture; but 'tis manifest from thence, that some space of time intervened between the Betrothing and Wedding, since we read that after *Jacob* had served *Laban* some time for his Daughter *Rachel*, in pursuance of the Agreement made between them, he said to him (r): *Give me my Wife, (for my days are fulfilled) that I may go in unto her.*

The *Jews* neither marry, nor are betrothed, either on the Sabbath-day, or other Festivals. And some even reckon it unlawful to do it the day before or after the Sabbath (s); which is contrary to what hath been quoted before out of *Leo of Modena*, that a Friday is commonly pitched upon for this Ceremony. But however, the Sabbath was accounted no manner of Obstacle to the Feasting and Rejoicings every Wedding was attended with, and which lasted at least seven days; as is evident from the Instances of *Leah* (t), of *Sarah*, the Wife of *Tobias* (u), and from *that* of *Samson* (w): These Rejoicings were esteemed so absolutely necessary, that the Husband could not any way be exempted from them, but was obliged to have 'em for seven days, even tho' he had married several Wives in one and the same day, say the *Rabbins*.

(r) Gen. xxix. 21. (s) *Selden* ibid. l. 2. p. 12. (t) Gen. xxix. 27. (u) Tobit viii. 19, 20. (w) Judges xiv. 17.

B

Some

Some Authors are of Opinion, that the putting of the Ring upon the Bride's Finger, is a very ancient Ceremony, and essential to a Wedding. They imagine moreover that it is of a long standing. But *Selden* maintains, that tho' it be spoken of in several *Hebrew* Rituals, yet there is no mention of it at all in the *Talmud*; and that the Scripture never speaks of it as of an Ornament commonly used in Marriage; nor of the putting of it on as a Ceremony essential to it. To strengthen his Opinion, he quotes the MS. Treatise of *Leo of Modena*, concerning the *Jewish* Ceremonies, wherein it is said, that this is not done at present among the *Jews*. The printed *Italian* Copy hath it thus, *that it is seldom practised among them*. But in the *French* Translation by *M. Simon*, it is expressly asserted, that the Bridegroom puts the Ring upon the Bride's Finger before two Witnesses. *Selden* adds, that if any such thing is enjoined in the *Rituals*, it is done with a design of supplying an ancient Custom now disused among them; which was, for the Man to give the Woman a Piece of Gold or Silver, as a Pledge of their intended Marriage, which is the reason why, even now, he that manages the Wedding calls out two Witnesses, and asks them, whether the Ring, which he shews them, is worth such a piece of Money: After they have answer'd, Yes; he asks them, whether the two Persons there present have been betrothed; and after he has likewise been answer'd in the Affirmative, he puts the Ring upon the Bride's Finger. The Rings which are shewed in some places, and said to have been the same that were used at the Wedding of *St. Anne* and *Joachim*, or of the *Virgin Mary* and *Joseph* her Husband, are justly look'd upon as False and Counterfeit. When *Tobias* married, *Raguel* his Spouse's Father used no other Formality than this; he took her by the Hand, and joining it with that of *Tobias*, he said, *Let the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob be with you; let him unite you by the sacred Ties of Matrimony, and fill you with his blessings* (x).

The Nuptial Crown is of a greater Antiquity, and better countenanc'd by the sacred Writings. The *Jews* (y) tells us,

(x) *Tobit* vii. 15, vulg. (y) *Selden* *Ux. Hebr.* l. 2. p. 15. *Ex. Gemar. & aliis.*

that

that the Bride and Bridegroom wore formerly Crowns on their Heads, when they were married. The Bride-groom's Crown was made of Gold, Silver, Roses, Myrtle, or Olive-branches. The Bride's, was of Gold or Silver; but shaped at the Top like that which *Cybele* is represented as wearing on her Head, that is, like *Towers*. They add moreover, that since the second destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*, the use of Crowns was forbidden. I find no mention at all of the Bride's Crown in Holy Scripture. The Prophet *Isaiah* speaks only of *that* of the Bridegroom (z), in these words: *I will greatly rejoice in the Lord, my Soul shall be joyful in my God, for he hath clothed me with the garments of Salvation, he hath covered me with the robe of Righteousness, as a Bridegroom decketh himself with a Crown, and as a Bride adorneth herself with her Jewels*. And the Spouse in the *Song of Songs*, says, *Go forth, O ye Daughters of Sion, and behold King Solomon with the Crown wherewith his mother crowned him in the day of his espousals* (a). The Author of the third Book of *Maccabees* relates likewise, that new married Persons had on their Necks Chains instead of nuptial Crowns (b).

The modern *Jews* sling handfuls of Corn on the married Couple, and particularly upon the Bride, crying out at the same time, *Be fruitful, and multiply* (c). In some places they mix pieces of Money with the Corn, which are pick'd up by the Poor. The *Rabbins* affirm that the Bride and Bridegroom were formerly presented with a Basket full of Earth, wherein had been sown a few days before some Barley, that begun to shoot up; and they were admonished to increase and multiply as this Grain, which comes out of the Ground sooner than any other.. This hath a pretty near resemblance to the Gardens of *Adonis*, which were *Osier-baskets*, or *Silver Vessels* made in the shape of *Osier-baskets*, that were full of Herbs just shooting forth out of the Ground (d). They were carried about during the Feast of this God, which begun with a kind of Wedding; but the next day he was bewail'd as dead.

Another very odd Custom in use among the *Jews*, was that when the Bridegroom was come under the Canopy where the

(z) *Isa.* lxi. 10, vulg. (a) *Song.* iii. 11. (b) 3 *Macc.* Βρόχιος ἀντὶ τοῦ στεφάνου τῆς ἀρχιερέως περιστεραιομένης. (c) *Vid.* *Buxtorf* p. 28. *Synag. Jud. & Selden.* l. 2. p. 15. *Ux. Hebr.* (d) *Theocrit.* *Idyl.* 15.

Wedding was to be perform'd, the Bride was led to the same place, and turned three times round the Bridegroom, according to these Words of *Jeremiah* (e), *A Woman shall compass a Man*; and afterwards the Man taking hold of his Spouse, made her go once round the Canopy (f). But this Custom is ridiculous, and the Application of the words of *Jeremiah* to it, is more so. For the Prophet's meaning is only this, that at the return of the Children of *Israel* from the *Babylonish* Captivity, there would be such happy days, and the Number of the Inhabitants would be so vastly multiplied, that no Woman should be ashamed of being in haste to be married, and of becoming a Mother.

We find in the Gospel, that in the *Jewish* Weddings there was generally a Bride-Man, who is called by St. *John* the *Friend of the Bridegroom* (g). There were besides several young Men appointed to wait upon the Bridegroom during the Wedding-feast; as also some young Maidens to keep the Bride company, as long as this Solemnity lasted. There is express mention of the Bridegroom's *Companions* in the History of *Samson* (h), and the *Song of Solomon* (i); and of the Friends of the Bride, in many places of the same Song (k); and in the *xlvth Psalm* ver. 7. and 14. The *Rabbins* (l) affirm, that it was formerly the Custom in *Judea*, but not in *Galilee*, to give the new married Couple a Bride-man, and a Bride-maid, who never went from them, and even staid all Night in the Chamber where the nuptial Bed was, in order to prevent any Fraud or Abuse that could happen between the Bride and Bridegroom upon occasion of the *tokens of Virginity*, mentioned by *Moses* (m). But all this is very improbable, and no less indecent (n). I am rather inclined to believe, and it is, I think, very plain from the *Song of Solomon*, that they did not see one another during the seven Days the Wedding-feast lasted, but privately and by stealth, late at Night, or early in the Morning; as we have shewn in our *Preface* and *Commentary* on that Book. Whoever hath the least Knowledge of the shy and reserved Temper of the *Jewish*

(e) Jerem. xxxi. 22. (f) Buxtorf, p. 28. Synag. Jud. (g) John iii. 29. (h) Judg. xiv. 17. (i) Song v. 1. viii. 13. (k) Song i. 4. ii. 7. iii. 5. viii. 4. (l) Gemar. Jerosol. p. 1. Ita & Gemar. Babylon. ad tit. Cethuboth. p. 1. (m) Deut. xxii. 15—17. (n) Aug. l. 14. p. 18. de Civit. Dei. Remotum ab arbitris cubile conquirat, omnesque famulos, atque ipsos etiam paranympbos & quoscumque ingredi quolibet necessitudo permisit, ante mittit foras, quam vel blandiri conjux conjugi incipiat.

Nation,

Nation, will easily discover the falseness of this *Rabbinical* Assertion: We meet with no such thing in the *Song of Songs*, in the Marriage of *Jacob* with *Leah*, in that of *Tobias* with *Sarah*, nor in that of *Samson*, or any other.

During the nuptial Rejoicings, the young Maidens never left the Bride, nor conversed with the young Men. In the *Song of Solomon* we find them always diverting themselves with her, or watching before her Apartment. And every Morning when the Bridegroom comes out of his Spouse's Chamber, he never fails to charge the *Daughters of Jerusalem*, that is, the Bride-maids, not to stir, nor awake his Love, till she pleases (o). He steals one Night from his Friends and comes to see her (p). She advises him not to speak loud, but only whisper, because his Companions hearken to his Voice (q). In all these Circumstances there is not the least hint of the pretended Bride-man or Maid.

The Bride-man's business was to supply the Bridegroom's place, in receiving and entertaining the Guests. As the Bridegroom could not well take care then of every thing; the former executed his Orders, and took a pleasure in obeying him. He that bath the Bride, is the Bridegroom; saith *John* the Baptist, when speaking of *Jesus Christ*: but the Friend of the Bridegroom, which standeth and heareth (or obeyeth) him, rejoiceth greatly, because of the Bridegroom's Voice (r). Among the *Greeks*, the Bride-man kept the Door of the Chamber wherein the nuptial Bed was, and gave Orders about the Feast, and the like (s). Some are of opinion, that the *Architriclinus* mention'd in St. *John*, was one of the Bridegroom's Friends, that manag'd the Feast, and was to take care that nothing should be wanting. Which seems very probable from what happened at the Marriage in *Cana of Galilee*, where *Jesus* and his Mother were invited. *Gaudentius* (t) Bishop of *Bresse*, relates from an ancient Tradition, that this Governour of the Feast was generally a Priest, as being the fittest Person to take care there should happen no disorder among all the Mirth and Feasting; nothing contrary to the Laws and received Customs. He appointed the several Officers their Employments.

(o) Song ii. 7. iii. 5. v. 8. (p) Ibid. v. 1. (q) Ibid. viii. 13. (r) John iii. 29. (s) Jul. Pollux. (t) Gaudent. Tract. 9.

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The Bride-maids performed almost the same Offices to her, as the Bridegroom's Companions did to him. They waited upon her, dressed her, guarded and diverted her during the Marriage-solemnity; for as hath been observed, it was not the Custom of the Country for young Women to appear at Table, or be seen any where else among Men. The Spouse's Friends sung also the *Epithalamium*, that is, a nuptial Song before her Door, the Night she was married, to wish her a happy Wedding. Hence it is that the xlvth Psalm, which is an *Epithalamium*, is inscrib'd, *A Song of praising by the beloved*. The Ancients had two sorts of nuptial Songs (a), the one for the Morning, and the other for the Evening: The one to awake, and the other to lull the new married Couple asleep. The Bridegroom, in the *Song of Solomon*, seems to desire the Bride-maids not to sing the *Epithalamium* for the Morning, when he charges them not to awake his Beloved, till she pleases (x). *Pindar* speaks of the *Epithalamium* for the Evening (y); and *Theocritus* (z) mentions both.

When the Bride was conducted to the Bridegroom's House, which generally was never done till the seven Days of Feasting in her Father's House were over; the Bride-maids went along with her, and sung all the way Hymns suitable to the Occasion. All this was done with a great deal of Pomp and Magnificence, and most commonly in the Night: Whence it is, that in the *Parable of the Virgins* (a), which are represented in the Gospel as going to meet the Bridegroom, they are said to have all slumbered and slept; but being awaked by the Noise which was made of the Bridegroom's coming, some of them were found unprovided with Oil for their Lamps; and while they went to buy some, the Bridegroom came, and they that were ready went with him to the Marriage-feast, (which was generally prepar'd at such a time in the Bridegroom's House) while the rest were shut out.

We have in the first Book of *Maccabees* the Description of a like Ceremony (b). The Children of *Jambri* having made a great Marriage at *Nadabatha* or *Medaba*, a City on the other side *Jordan*, as they were bringing the Bride home,

(a) Scholiast. in *Theocrit.* Idyll. 18. (x) *Song* ii. 7, &c. (y) *Pindar* Pyth. Ode. 3. (z) *Theocrit.* Idyll. 18. (a) *Matth.* xxv. 1, &c. (b) 1 *Macc.* ix. 37. & *Joseph.* l. xiii. p. 1.

(which

(which had been married to one of them) with a great Train, as being the Daughter of one of the great Princes of *Canaan*; and the Bridegroom was coming forth, with his Friends and Brethren to meet them, with Drums, and Instruments of Music, and many Weapons; the *Maccabees* fell upon them, and made a great slaughter of them. It is very probable that when our Saviour propos'd the Parable of the ten Virgins, he had an Eye to those young Maids that went to meet the Bride, when she was conducted to the Bridegroom's House; and not to those that waited upon her during the Wedding-feast. And it is proper to observe here, that it is plain from the foremention'd Instances of *Jambri's* Children, and of *Samson*, who married one of the Daughters of the *Philistines*, that the Customs of the *Hebrews* in relation to Marriages, were common to them with their Neighbours: And even at this day the Practices of the *Eastern Nations* in this particular, have an exact Agreement with those of the *ancient Jews* recorded in the Holy Scriptures.

We have shew'd before, that the *Jews* draw up the Contract of Matrimony, and agree about the Dowry before the Wedding. And that moreover they read this Contract or Deed over, and then lodge it in the hands of the Bride's Relations, after they put the Ring upon her Finger. But in *Tobias's* Marriage, things were otherwise ordered. For *Raguel* immediately consents to give him his Daughter, and at the same time joins their hands; which is all that is essential to Matrimony. Then he calls for Paper, writes down the Contract, and hath it signed by two Witnesses; after which the Feast begun. All this is pretty different from the Customs of the *modern Jews*; tho' they look upon *Tobias's* Wedding, and the Ceremonies of it, as a Pattern of the happiest, and most regular Marriage.

We shall not enter here into a nice and particular Account of the several Diversions, generally used during the seven Days Feasting. It is well known that the *Jews*, at such times, denied themselves no manner of Liberty that was allowed by the Law. The Riddle which *Samson* propos'd to his Companions (c), hath something in it very extraordinary; it shews the taste of that People, that they affect'd to be smart and wit-

(c) *Judges* xiv. 12.

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ty; and joined the Pleasures of the Mind with those of the Body. In the *Song of Solomon* we may trace out these several Sports and Recreations: 1. Walking in the Fields and Vineyards (*d*); *Come my beloved, let us go forth into the Field;— Let us get up early to the Vineyards.* 2. Hunting (*e*); *Take us the Foxes, the little Foxes, that spoil the Vines.* 3. Feasting (*f*); *Eat, O Friends, drink, yea, drink abundantly, O beloved.* The Bride and Bridegroom treated also one another in Gardens. *Let my beloved come into his Garden, faith the Spouse (g), and eat his pleasant Fruits. I am come into my Garden, my Sister, my Spouse; I have gathered my Myrrh with my Spice, I have eaten my Honey-comb with my Honey, I have drunk my Wine with my Milk:* And elsewhere the Spouse faith that her beloved hath brought her to his Cellar, and the Place where he keeps his Wine and his Fruits (*h*). To be enabled rightly to judge of the Sweetness of these innocent Pleasures, we should banish from our Minds all that Luxury and Magnificence which commonly reigns, upon such an occasion, among us; especially in great Towns. *Here* the Bridegroom comes privately in the Night to meet his Spouse, and withdraws again very early. *She seeks him in the Dark, and is found, sometimes by the Watchmen who smite and wound her, and at other times by the Daughters of Jerusalem.* These several Adventures, and the giving an Account of them, were some of the Diversions Weddings were attended with, during the seven Days the Feast lasted. But it is to be observed, that tho' this was the Time generally appointed for it; yet the Spouse's Parents were at liberty to make it last as long as they thought fit. Thus *Raguel* kept a Feast fourteen Days, when his Daughter *Sarah* was married to *Tobias* (*i*); tho', as she was a Widow, it ought to have continued no longer than three Days, according to the *Rabbins*.

Buxtorf (*k*) tells us, that after the Celebration of the Wedding under the forementioned Canopy, the new-married Persons return home with their Relations, and sit at Table. Then the Bridegroom sings, as well as he can, a long Hymn in *Hebrew*; after which a boil'd Pullet is brought in, with a raw Egg. The

(*d*) Song vii. 11, 12. (*e*) Ibid. ii. 15. (*f*) Song v. 1. (*g*) Ibid. iv. 16. & v. 1.
(*h*) Ibid. ii. 4, 5. (*i*) Tobit viii. 19. (*k*) Buxtorf. Synagog. Jud. p. 28.

Husband

Husband gives his Spouse a piece of the Pullet; then immediately the Guests seize the rest, and tear it to pieces, snatching it out of one another's Hands, and flinging the Egg at one another's Faces. After this, the most honourable Person in the Company takes hold of the Bridegroom's Hand; and all the Men there present do likewise take hold of one another's Hands, and dance in a Ring. The Women rise also from Table, and fall a Dancing; but each of them single, excepting the Bride.

The conducting of the Spouse into the nuptial Chamber, is, in the Opinion of the *Rabbins* (*l*), what consummates the Marriage; for neither the *Blessing*, nor the other Ceremonies that are perform'd before this, can, according to them, bring it to perfection. Neither can the Bride be call'd a compleat Spouse, *Ischa gemurah* (*m*), till she hath been led into this Chamber: This alone makes her be reckon'd a married Woman, even tho' the Marriage had not been consummated; as it happened sometimes not to be, when she was troubled with the Sickness peculiar to her Sex, at which time it would have been death for any Man to have come near her (*n*). If she chanced to be then in this Condition, she was led to her Husband's House, only for Form-sake. But she was again conducted there afterwards in a more solemn Manner, when she came to be well.

Before the Bride and Bridegroom are brought to the nuptial Bed, this Prayer is rehearsed in the presence of ten aged Persons, of a free Condition (*o*): *Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, King of the World, who hast created all things for thy Glory. Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, Creator of Man. Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, who hast created Man after thine own Image and Similitude, and prepared a fit Companion for him for ever. Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, Creator of Man. She that was barren, shall become a joyful Mother of Children. Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, who givest Sion joy by the multitude of her Children. Fill with joy these two Persons, as thou didst the first Man and Woman in the Garden of Eden. Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, who sendest down pleasure upon the Bride and Bridegroom; and*

(*l*) Maimon. Halach Ichoth; & Sculchan aruch & alii, apud Selden Ux. Hebr. l. 2. p. 13. (*m*) נשואה גמורה. (*n*) Lev. xx. 18. (*o*) Talmud ad tit. Ceruboth. vid. Selden Ux. Hebr. l. 2. p. 12.

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hast created for them Joy, Songs, Mirth, Friendship, Peace, and conjugal Affection and Love. Cause, O Lord, to be heard speedily in the Cities of Judah, and in the Streets of Jerusalem, the Voice of Joy, the Voice of the Bridegroom, and the Voice of the Bride; the Voice of their mutual Love, and the Voice of the Children singing. Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, who fillest with joy the Bridegroom and the Bride.

The Rabbins have a great Veneration for these Blessings, pretending that they were compos'd by Ezra (p). But it is very probable that they are of a later date. And from these Words, Cause, O Lord, to be heard speedily in the Cities of Judah, in the Streets of Jerusalem, the Voice of the Bridegroom, &c. 'tis evident that they were made since the Destruction of Jerusalem, and the entire dispersion of the Jews. We have in Holy Scripture other Forms of Blessings of this Nature, which are certainly very ancient; such as are those which the Brothers of Rebekah bestowed upon her, when she was going along with Eliezer, to marry Isaac (q). Thou art our Sister, be thou the Mother of Thousands of Millions, and let thy Seed possess the Gate of those which hate them. And that which all the People that were in the Gate, and the Elders, gave to Booz, after he had married Ruth (r): The Lord make the Woman that is come into thine house, like Rachel and like Leah, which two did build the House of Israel, or brought forth a numerous Posterity to it: let her do worthily in Ephratah, that is, be an example of good Conduct and Oeconomy (s), and be famous in Berthehem. And let thy House be like the House of Pharez (whom Tamar bare unto Judah) of the Seed which the Lord shall give thee of this young Woman.

(p) Maimon. Halach Kiriah Schemai, p. 1. §. 7. (q) Gen. xxiv. 60. (r) Ruth. i. 11, 12. (s) See Proverbs xxxi. 10.



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DISSERTATION
Concerning D I V O R C E.



UCH Persons as have considered Matrimony only as a Political Institution, and a bare Contract between a Man and a Woman, to live together and have the Use of one another's Bodies and Goods, are of Opinion that as it was at first made, so it may likewise be dissolv'd, by the mutual Consent of both Parties; that therefore *Divorce* ought to be practis'd without any Restrictions, as a *natural Right*. They have even carried this Matter so far, as to make it lawful for one of the Parties to separate from the other without his Consent; which is a manifest injustice, unless both Parties have the same Privilege, or it is a *tacit* Condition of their Contract.

But Marriage, consider'd in a religious View, as design'd by our Creator for an indissoluble Bond between a Man and his Wife, being once lawfully contracted, cannot be annull'd; and Divorce, as practis'd by the Heathens, cannot but be deem'd irregular, and a Violation of the Law of our Creator.

However, the Legislator of the Jews having tolerated *Divorce*, because of the hardness of that People's Heart; and our Saviour, in the Gospel, having permitted it in some Cases; I thought it wou'd be proper to lay before the Reader at once what I have to say upon this Head.

Before the Law of Moses, we meet with very few Instances of Divorce. Abraham sent away his Maid *Agar*, or left-hand Wife, upon the account of her insolent Behaviour; and kept *Sarah*, tho' she was barren (b). *Onkelos*, the *Jerusalem Targum*,

(b) Gen. xxi. 14.

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and after them a great number of *Rabbins*, imagined, that what occasioned the murmuring of *Aaron* and *Mary* against *Moses* (c), was his divorcing his Spouse; whom some of them call *Tharbia**, the Daughter of a King of *Ethiopia*, and of whose Marriage with *Moses* we have an Account in *Josephus* (d); others say, *Zippora*. But we may venture to affirm, that *Moses* never divorced his Wife at all. 'Tis true, he sent *Zippora* back to her Father *Jethro* (e); but 'twas only for a time; and he took her again when *Jethro* brought her to him afterwards at the Camp on Mount *Sinai* (f). It is, notwithstanding, unquestionably certain, that Divorce was in use before the Law, and that the *Hebrews* were accusom'd to it; since *Jesus Christ* assures us (g), that *Moses* suffered them to put away their Wives, only because of the hardness of their Hearts, and to prevent greater Inconveniencies.

The Law concerning Divorce was not given by the *Jewish* Legislator till late, towards the End of *Deuteronomy*, in that Speech he made to the Children of *Israel*, a little before his Death (h); *When a Man*, says he, *hath taken a Wife and married her, and it come to pass that she find no favour in his Eyes, because he hath found some uncleanness in her: then let him write her a Bill of Divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his House. And when she is departed out of his House, she may go and be another Man's Wife. And if the latter Husband hate her, and write her a Bill of Divorcement, and giveth it in her Hand, and sendeth her out of his House; or if the latter Husband die, which took her to be his Wife; her former Husband which sent her away, may not take her again to be his Wife, after that she is defiled: for that is abomination before the Lord.*

Ancient and Modern Commentators have been very much puzzled about the meaning of the *Uncleanness* mentioned here. The Original *Hebrew* (i) properly signifies a Word, or Matter of Nakedness, or Shame. Nakedness in the Scripture-language denotes whatever is immodest or indecent. As in these Words (k); *The Nakedness or Shame of thy Mother, or Sister, thou shalt not uncover*, says *Moses*. *Withhold thy Foot*

(c) Numb. xii. 1. * *Tharbit*, according to *Josephus*. (d) *Josephus*. Antiq. l. 2. p. 10. (e) *Exod.* iv. 26. (f) *Ibid.* xviii. 5. (g) *Matt.* xix. 8. (h) *Deut.* xxiv. 1, &c. (i) עֲרֻמָּתָא אִשְׁתִּי אִשְׁתִּי אִשְׁתִּי. Septuag. (k) *Lev.* xviii. 7, 8.

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from Nakedness, saith *Jeremiah* (l). And another Prophet speaks thus to the Inhabitants of *Nineveh* (m); *I will show the Nations thy Nakedness*, saith the Lord, *and the Kingdoms thy Shame*. The Seventy have render'd the Word by a shameful Action; and *Tertullian* by *Impudicum negotium* (n). And this moreover is the Sense that is put upon it by the best Commentators; so that, according to them, Divorce was never allowed the *Jews*, except in case of Adultery, or of some other shameful Action; and it was necessary that this Action should be real and unquestionably true: For if it was no more than a bare Suspicion, God had then appointed another Remedy by the Waters of Jealousy, of which we have given an Account in our Commentary (o).

The Practice of the ancient *Hebrews* was entirely conformable to this Interpretation of the Words. For we have not one express and undeniable Instance of a Divorce under the Law. The *Jews* themselves (p) tell us, that *David* was not suffered to put away any one of his Wives, when he married *Abishag* (q), so that he was forced to take her as a Concubine, for he could have her upon no other Condition; because, as they pretend, he had already 18 Wives, and was not allowed to have any more. But, without insisting upon these Rabbinical Notions, we are assur'd from Scripture, that *David* did not divorce those Wives of his, which *Abselem* had desired in the sight of all *Israel*. He only shut 'em up in his Palace till the Day of their Death, and made them live in a kind of *Widowhood* (r). *Solomon* advises a Man to rejoice with the Wife of his Youth (s); and charges with Folly those that keep an Adulterous Woman in their Houses, as if this was the only Case wherein he thought Divorce was allowable. *Malachi* commends *Abraham* for not having put away *Sarah*, tho' she was barren; and upbraids the *Jews* for dealing treacherously with their Wives in this respect (t): You complain, saith he, that God regardeth not the Offering any more, or receiveth it with good will at your hand: Yet ye say, *Wherefore? Because the Lord hath been Witness between thee and the Wife of*

(l) *Jer.* ii. 25. vulg. (m) *Nahum* iii. 5. (n) *Contra Marcion*. l. 4. (o) On *Numb.* 15, 16, 17, &c. (p) *Rab. Schaman Ben-Abba* in *Gemar. Babil.* ad *Tit. Sanhedrim*, p. 2. (q) *1 Kings* i. 3. (r) *2 Sam.* xx. 3. (s) *Prov.* v. 18. (t) *Malachi.* ii. 13, 14.

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thy Youth, against whom thou hast dealt treacherously: Yet is she thy Companion, and the Wife of thy Covenant. And the Prophet Micah speaks thus (u), *The Women of my People have ye cast out from their pleasant Houses; from their Children have ye taken away my Glory for ever.* In fine, Moses plainly discovers the ill Opinion he entertained of Divorce, when he forbids a Woman's former Husband, which sent her away, to take her again to be his Wife, after the Death of the latter Husband, who had married her; *Because, says he, she is defiled, and that is abomination before the Lord.* He ranks divorced Women among the Profane and Harlots, when he enjoins the Priests not to marry them (w): Whenever the Prophets would represent the casting off of the Jews under the Notion of a Divorce (*), they always point at the Occasion of it, that is, Unfaithfulness and Idolatry, Crimes very common amongst the Israelites. Solomon gives a very shocking Idea of a Woman that hath forsaken her Husband: *Keep thy self, saith he, from the strange Woman, even from the stranger that flattereth with her Words: Which forsaketh the Guide of her Youth, and forgetteth the Covenant of her God. For her House inclineth unto Death, and her Paths unto the Dead. None that go unto her, return again (x).*

The Rabbins, as remits as they are upon the Point of Divorce, are yet forc'd to own, that the wisest and best of their Nation, never took an Advantage of the Liberty which the Law allowed in this particular, or else did it with a great deal of wariness and caution, so that they seldom, or never put away a first Wife, which, in the Scripture Language, they were wont to call the *Wife of their Youth*. Whoever divorces his first Wife, makes even the Altar shed Tears, saith Rabbi Eliezer. This Proverbial Saying is also ascrib'd to Rabbi Ben-sira: *Gnaw the Bone that hath been thrown to you*; that is, abide with the Wife you married at first. A Roman Author speaks also to this purpose: A Man ought either to mend, or bear, his Wife's failings; if he mends them, he renders her more tractable; if he bears them, he renders himself better (y).

(u) Micah ii. 9. (w) Lev. xxi. 7, 14. Ezek. xlv. 22. & Jer. iii. 3. (x) Prov. ii. 10, 17, 18. (y) Varro.

(*) See Isa. l. 1. & liv. 4, 5.

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In short, what manifestly shews that Divorce was not so common among the ancient, as the modern Jews, is, that we find in the Writings of Moses Laws where the contrary is suppos'd: *If any Man, saith he, take a Wife, and bate her; and give occasions of Speech against her, and bring up an evil name upon her, and say, I took this Woman, and when I came to her, I found her not a Maid; Then shall the Father of the Damsel, and her Mother undertake her Defence before the Judges; and if she is found innocent, the Man shall be chastised, and fined an hundred Shekels of Silver, which shall be given to the Father of the Damsel: and she shall be his Wife, he may not put her away all his Days (z).* Now if Divorce had been a thing so common among the Hebrews, why did not the Man divorce his Wife, without any more ado? And so in another Case; when a Man suspected his Wife's Honesty, he was allowed no other Remedy by the Law, but the Trial of the Water of Jealousy (a). From whence it may be inferr'd, that he could not put her away for a bare Suspicion. The same Lawgiver enjoins, that *if a Man had two Wives, one beloved and another hated, and they had both borne him Children: and the first-born Son was hers that was hated; when he made his Sons to inherit that which he had, he could not make the Son of the beloved first-born, before the Son of the hated, which was indeed the first born (b).* If Divorce had been so easy a Matter, why did this Man live with a Wife that he hated? Why did not he rather send her away with her Son. He that was compelled to marry a Woman which he had defiled (c), *could not put her away all his days*; as if after this blemish, which he had cast upon her Reputation, he could not leave her upon any pretence whatsoever.

Towards the Decline of the Common-wealth of Israel, and a little before the coming of Jesus Christ (d), Wickedness and Vice increasing, and Divorce being grown more common and fashionable than before, there arose very warm Disputes among the most famous Jewish Rabbins concerning these Words in the Law of Divorce mentioned before, *because he hath found some Uncleaness in her.* The Disciples of the famous Rabbins

(z) Deut. xxii. 13, 14, &c. (a) Numb. v. 14, &c. (b) Deut. xxi. 15, 16, &c. (c) Deut. xxii. 29. (d) Vid. Selden Uxor Hebr. l. 3. p. 18. & 20.

Hillel

Hillel and *Sammeas*, who flourish'd but a few Years before the Birth of our Saviour, and of whom mention is often made in the Writings of *Josephus* (e) and *St. Jerom* (f), advanc'd very different Notions upon this Matter. *Sammeas* maintain'd, that nothing could be a just occasion of Divorce, except a shameful or immodest Action in a Woman.

But *Hillel*, another very famous *Rabbi*, the Disciple of *Sammeas*, and Head of a very large and considerable School, taught on the contrary, that the least Thing, or the most inconsiderable Fault, was reason enough for divorcing one's Wife; as for instance, her boiling the Victuals too much, or because her Husband could get one that was handsomer, and that suited him better. He understood the Words of *Moses*, as if they had been spoken by way of Disjunction; *because he hath found something, or an Uncleaness in her*. This Opinion, as ill-grounded as it was, and tho' manifestly contrary to the Design of the Legislator, yet found several Abettors. Among whom was *Akiba*, as we find it recorded in the *Mishna*. This *Rabbi* carried the Matter further than *Hillel* had done. He imagined, that to justify a Divorce it was sufficient if the Woman did not find favour in the Eyes of her Husband. And to countenance his Notions, he put this Sense upon the Words of *Moses*; *If a Man hath taken a Wife, and married her, and it come to pass that she find no favour in his Eyes, or else he find some Uncleaness in her: then let him write her a Bill of Divorcement*. So that he fancied there were two justifiable Causes of a Divorce; 1. When a Woman did not find favour in the Eyes of her Husband: 2. When there was some Uncleaness in her.

This Interpretation of the Words of *Moses*, back'd with the Authority of two such great Men, and so agreeable to the generality of Mankind, as flattering their corrupt and vicious Inclinations, came to be so much in vogue, that at last it was universally receiv'd among the *Jewish* Nation, and, even at this day, it is the favourite Opinion of the *Rabbins*.

In our Saviour's time, the Matter seems not to have been yet entirely decided, nor the Opinion of *Sammeas* absolutely forsaken; since we read that the *Pharisees* came and asked

(e) *Joseph. Antiq.* l. xiv. p. 17. And xv. 1. & alibi. (f) *Hieron in Isaïa* cap. 8.

Jesus

Dis. IX. concerning DIVORCE.

Jesus Christ, whether it was lawful for a Man to put away his Wife for every Cause? * But a little after, that is, in the time of *Josephus* and *Philo*, the thing admitted no longer any dispute. For *Philo* puts this Sense upon the Law of *Moses*; *If a Woman, saith he, is divorced for any reason whatsoever, &c. (h).* And *Josephus* speaks to this purpose (i): *If a Man has a mind to part from his Wife, upon what Cause soever; as there are pretences in abundance, let him give it under his Hand that they shall never come together again.* And in the Account of his Life he tells us, that he observed this Rule, by divorcing his Wife, whose Temper he did not like (k).

The modern *Jews* have still the same Notion of this Matter. Tho' a Woman, says *Leo of Modena* (l), should give her Husband no just Cause of Complaint, yet, for the least dislike, he may put her away. But the *Rabbins* have invented so many Restrictions and Obstacles in this point, that it is really impossible for both Parties not to be reconciled, or for their Relations not to make up the Matter, during all the delays which there must needs be.

The *Jews* have a Tradition among them, that when an Army was going upon any Expedition, the Soldiers gave their Wives a Bill of Divorcement, that if they happened to be detain'd Prisoners longer than three Years, they might marry again. In this Sense the *Rabbins* understand these Words of *Jesse* to his Son *David*; *Look how thy Brethren fare, and take their pledge*; that is, their Bills of Divorce. They add moreover, that *Uriah* had given such to his Wife, that she might marry again, in case he should be slain in Battle. The Author of the *Jewish* Traditions on the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, speaks of this as an ancient Custom, which is certainly very doubtful, not to say worse of it.

It is observable that the Law concerning Divorce allows this Liberty only to the Men, and not to the Women. As that Sex hath very little Authority among the *Eastern* Nations, and Wives are look'd upon there no otherwise than as things

* *Matt.* xix. 5. (h) *Philo*, de special. Legib. ad præcept. 6, 7. (i) *Joseph. Antiq.* l. 4. p. 8. Γυναίκας τῆς συνειδήσεως βλαπτομένης διαλειχθήναι, καὶ ἂν διπλοῦν αὐτῆς, πολλὰ δ' ὅτι τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς γίνονται, γραμματὶ μὲν περὶ τῆς μηδὲποτε συνελθεῖν ἐκχωρήσας. (k) *Mt.* ἀπεσπόμενος τοῖς ἡβραίοις. *Joseph.* de vitâ suâ, sub fin. (l) *Leo of Modena*, Part 4. p. 6.

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that

that they cannot well be without, and as part of the Husband's Possessions; little regard is had to them in enacting Laws, or other publick Transactions. But when the *Hebrews* came to converse with the *Greeks* and *Romans*, whose Wives had the same Privilege in this respect as the Men, the *Jewish* Women ventur'd to follow their Example, and to divorce or forsake their Husbands. This they were not indeed allowed by the Law to do, but as it contained no Prohibition against it, 'twas no very difficult Matter to render such a thing fashionable; 'twas but for a Person of Credit and Authority to set the others an Example.

Some Women had indeed been known before to forsake their Husbands; but yet none of those Instances could pass for a true Divorce. *Samson's* Wife married another without staying for a Bill of Divorce (*m*); but as she was one of the Daughters of the *Philistines*, nothing can be inferr'd from what she did, to our present purpose. And then the Punishment which *Samson*, and the *Philistines* inflicted upon her for it, proves manifestly that her Proceeding was look'd upon, at least, as contrary to the Laws of the Land. The *Levite's* Wife, of whom we have an Account in the Book of *Judges* (*n*), and which had like to prove the total Ruin of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, had also left her Husband, and gone away from him to her Father's House. *St. Ambrose* imagin'd that she had actually divorced him: *Remisit claves*, saith he (*o*). But the most common, and indeed the most probable Opinion, is, that she forsook him only for a time, upon the Account of some domestick Jars, which are but too frequent in a married State. It is certain that she did not engage herself to another Man; for as soon as her Husband went to fetch her again, her Father did not deny her to him. And he retained the same Power over her, which he had before. *Saul* gave his Daughter *Michal*, *David's* Spouse, to *Phaltiel* for a Wife; even in *David's* Life-time, and without his consent *. This seems to have been a real Divorce. For *Saul* could not dispose of her in this manner, but in consequence of the Law of Divorce. He look'd upon *David* as a Rebel, a Traitor, and an Outlaw. And therefore thought he had sufficient reason of parting his Daughter from him. But must this Divorce be set to *Michal's*

(*m*) *Judg.* xiv. 20. (*n*) *Judg.* xix. 3. (*o*) *Ambros. Ep.* 6. nov. Edit. * 1 *Sam.* xxv. 44.

account?

account? This is what the Scripture no where says. Neither was *David* consenting, or privy to it; since he demanded, and had her again after *Saul's* Death. This therefore ought not to be reckoned a true and real Divorce, since *Michal* was compelled by her Father to marry *Phaltiel*.

Salome, the Sister of *Herod* the great, was the first that took the liberty of divorcing her Husband. She forsook *Cosmobarus*, who was Governour of *Idumea* and *Gaza*, though (as *Josephus* (*p*) says) this was directly against the Custom and Practice of the Country, and a manifest Usurpation of the Man's Privilege, who has a right to discharge the Woman, and she not to marry again, but with leave of her Husband. *Herodias*, mentioned in the Gospel (*q*), had also divorced her Husband *Philip*, as may be inferr'd from *Josephus* (*r*). The same Historian tells us, that a Woman which he married, when he was a Prisoner at *Jotapata*, upon his being set at Liberty, left him, and went her way (*s*). The three Sisters of *Agrippa the Younger*, who was, first King of *Chalcis*, and afterwards of *Trachonitis* and *Batanea*, divorced their Husbands. *Berenice*, who was the eldest, married at first *Herod*, her Uncle, King of *Chalcis*, and afterwards *Polemo* King of *Pontus*, whom she quickly after parted with (*t*). Her Sister *Mariamne* changed *Archelaus* her first Husband for *Demetrius*, *Alabarcha*, or chief Governour of the *Jews* in *Alexandria* (*u*). And *Drusilla* forsook *Azizus*, King of the *Emesenes*, who had been circumcis'd for her sake, a few Years after their marriage; in order to get *Felix* Governour of *Judea* (*w*).

Some Traces of this Liberty, which the *Jewish* Women then began to take, are to be observed in the *New Testament*. *Jesus Christ* says to his Disciples (*x*), *If a Woman shall put away her Husband, and be married to another, she committeth Adultery*; intimating that such a thing might sometimes happen. *Grotius* concludes from these Words of *Christ* to the Woman of *Samaria*, *Thou hast had five Husbands, and he whom thou now hast, is not thy Husband* (*y*); that the Woman had divorced her five first Husbands, and that her Marriage with the first being still in force, he, whom she then cohabit-

(*p*) *Joseph. Antiq.* l. xv. p. 11. (*q*) *Matt.* xiv. 3. *Mark* vi. 17. (*r*) *Joseph. Antiq.* l. xviii. p. 7. (*s*) *Joseph. Antiq.* l. xx. c. 5. (*t*) *Joseph. ibid.* (*u*) *Joseph. ibid.* (*w*) *Idem. ibid.* (*x*) *Mark* x. 10. (*y*) *John* iv. 18. & *Grot.* in locum.

ed with, could not be her lawful Husband. St. Paul advises Christian Women, not to depart, even from their unbelieving Husbands, if they lik'd to dwell with them (z); which supposes that otherwise this was allowed them: And we read that *Thecla*, a Disciple of this Apostle (a), left her Husband after she had embraced the *Christian Religion*, which was then look'd upon as a *Reformation* of the *Jewish*.

The *Mahometans*, who, as is well known, have borrowed several of their Customs from the *Jews*, allow both Men and Women to divorce one another (b): But they are not quite so indulgent in this respect to the Women, as to the Men. To leave one's Wife, is with them almost the same thing, as it is with us to change Maid Servants. They may take again, even *twice*, a Woman they have put away: but it is unlawful for them to take her a *third time*, unless she hath been married, since her Divorce, to some body else. And she cannot marry, till three Months after her being put away. The Judge takes cognizance of the Causes of every Divorce; which are generally the Wife's ill-temper, or her being barren.

The *Greeks* and *Romans*, took a much greater liberty in putting away their Wives, than any other Nation. As they had receiv'd no Law from Heaven upon this point, they thought themselves authorized to leave one another, and to marry whom they would, without using much Formality, and without troubling themselves whether they had sufficient reason for it, or not. Their Manner of Divorcing was, either by sending a Bill of Divorcement, or using a Form of Words directly contrary to that which was observed at the Celebration of Matrimony; or else these, *Conditione tuâ non utar* (c); *Res tuas tibi habeto* (d). Take what belongs to you, or, Go about your business. Sometimes the Husband took the Keys from his Wife; or she sent them to him, if she left him of her own accord. At other times they tore to pieces the Contract of Matrimony.

As for the Causes and Occasions of Divorce, sometimes it was done with the consent of both Parties, and sometimes by the mere will and pleasure of one of them. It is well known

(z) 1 Cor. vii. 10--13. (a) Epiphanius. Hæres. 78. (b) Vide Alcoran. Azoar 2 & 4 & Anton. Goufr. l. 2. de Turcis; & Bellon. Observ. l. 3. & alios. (c) L. 1. π. de divort. (d) L. 2. §. π. de divort. *Ἀνὴρ, ἢ γυνὴ ἀπαρτίζου ἑαυτὴν.*

what

what Answer *Paulus Emilius* gave those that wondered he had put away *Papiria* (e). Shewing them a Shoe; You see, said he, that this Shoe is handsome and well made; yet it pinches me, and none of you know whereabouts.

Tho' Divorce was allowed the *Romans* by the Laws of the *twelve Tables*, yet there is not the least Instance of any one before the Year 511 (f) or 520 (g) from the building of the City. *Spurius Carvilius Ruga* was the first that put away his Wife, because she was barren. But afterwards they run into an excessive licentiousness in this respect: Divorce was look'd upon, in a manner, as the fruit of Matrimony, to use *Tertullian's* smart Expression *. The Abuse of it, in short, went so far, that the Emperor *Augustus* was oblig'd to put some restraints to it (h); accordingly he decreed that a Divorce should be null and void, unless it was done in the presence of seven Witnesses that were of a full Age, and Citizens of Rome. But tho' too frequent Divorces were generally disallow'd by all good and honest Men, and tho' the *Censors* had turn'd out of the Senate one of the Members of it for having put away his Wife, without having first consulted her Relations (i); yet still Divorce continued very much in fashion. Can any Woman now-a-days, says *Seneca* (j), be ask'd of leaving her Husband, when Persons of Quality reckon their Age, not by the Number of Consuls, but of the Husbands they have had? They divorce their Husbands only that they may marry again, and they marry with a design of making Divorce. The Satirical Writers make very severe Reflections upon the *Romans*, for having such frequent Divorces among them (m).

Matters stood thus among the *Hebrews*, *Greeks* and *Romans*, at the time of our Saviour's Appearance; but he restor'd Matrimony to its first and original Institution, shew'd what Duties were incumbent on married Persons, and declar'd that Divorce was unlawful except in case of Adultery; and that even in this Case, the Bond of Matrimony was not dissolv'd. Moreover, that Man and Woman had the same Liberty in this respect. It hath been said, says he (n), *whosoever*

(e) Plutarch. in Æmil. (f) Aulus Gellius, l. 16. p. ult. (g) Valer. Max. l. 2. p. 1. * Tertul. advers. Gentes, p. 6. (h) Sueton. in Augusto. (i) Valer. Maxim. 2. c. 4. (j) Seneca de Benefic. l. 3. p. 26. (m) Vide Juvenal. Satir. 6. (n) Matth. v. 31, 32.

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put away his Wife, let him give her a Writing of Divorcement. But I say unto you, That whosoever shall put away his Wife, saving for the Cause of Fornication, causeth her to commit Adultery: And whosoever shall marry her that is divorced, committeth Adultery. And at another time, the Pharisees having asked him whether it was lawful for a Man to put away his Wife for every Cause (o)? He answer'd, He that made Mankind at the Beginning, made them Male and Female. For this cause shall a Man leave Father and Mother, and shall cleave to his Wife, and they twain shall be one Flesh. Wherefore they are no more twain, but one Flesh: What therefore God hath joined together, let no Man put asunder. He repeats afterwards what he said before concerning Divorce; and allows it only for the reasons, and under the restrictions already set down.

But as Jesus Christ address'd himself upon this Occasion only to the Jews, he took no notice of another Case which renders Divorce lawful; that is, when either the Husband or the Wife embraced Christianity, whilst the other remained in Idolatry. But St. Paul hath determin'd what is to be done upon such an Occasion (p). *Unto the married I command, saith he, yet not I, but the Lord, Let not the Wife depart from her Husband: But and if she depart, let her remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her Husband.* Hitherto the Apostle hath only explain'd Jesus Christ's Directions concerning Divorce, viz. That a Man ought not to put away his Wife, except in case of Adultery, and that a Woman which is divorced ought not to marry again. *But to the rest speak I,* continues St. Paul, *not the Lord, If any Brother hath a Wife that believeth not, and she be pleas'd to dwell with him, let him not put her away. And the Woman which hath an Husband that believeth not, and if he be pleas'd to dwell with her, let her not leave him.— But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart. A Brother or a Sister is not under Bondage in such Cases.*

Though all these Texts are so very plain as to need no manner of Explanation, yet several Difficulties and Disputes have been rais'd about the true meaning of them; either, because Divorce being a thing so common among the Jews and Heathens, the abstaining from it could not but be a great Ob-

(o) Matt. xix. 3, &c. (p) 1 Cor. vii. 10, &c.

stacle

stacle to their embracing Christianity; or else because the Words of Jesus Christ were thought to relate only to the Jews, to whom they were spoken, and not to the Christian Church, which was supposed to have a right to greater Liberties; or else, in short, because the Word *Fornication* was deemed ambiguous. However it be, 'tis certain that there arose very different Opinions in the Church about the meaning of this Precept of Christ.

As in the Scripture-language the Words *Fornication* and *Adultery* have two different Senses; signifying literally, a shameful and immodest Action; and figuratively, Idolatry, Wickedness, and a Creature's rebelling against its Almighty Creator: Hence some ancient Fathers of the Church took an Occasion of putting both those Senses on the Words of Jesus Christ, and of acting according to that Interpretation.

Origen seems to be persuaded that when Moses allowed a Man to put away his Wife, for some uncleanness that befell in her, he included in this Expression all the Crimes and Faults that a Woman may happen to be guilty of (r). But, continues he, our Saviour hath given us stricter Laws in this respect, declaring that Divorce is utterly unlawful, except in case of Fornication. He enquires after that, whether the Word *Fornication* doth not signify other enormous Crimes, as well as Adultery; if, for instance, a Woman poisons any one, if she destroys her own Children, if she is a Murderer, or robs her Husband; how absurd and ridiculous would it be for him to bear and tolerate these Grievances, and to put her away only for committing Adultery. It is therefore my Opinion, saith Origen, that when the Son of God said, it is lawful for a Man to divorce his Wife for the Cause of Fornication, his design was not thereby to limit and restrain it to this Case only; but he brings this one Instance, out of many, wherein Divorce is justifiable in a Man; so as that he shall be clear from the several Faults, which his Wife may commit afterwards.

The same Author observes, that some Bishops in his time suffered divorced Persons to marry again; but herein, saith he, they act against the express Words of Scripture: However, he dares not condemn them absolutely, since they may have particular Reasons for so doing, viz. that they may prevent the

(r) Origen. Homil. 7. in Matt. Vide Grot. in hunc loc.

greater Evil of Incontinency. In the Laws made by Christian Emperors, we find several Cases set down, besides Adultery, wherein Divorce is allowed: And venerable *Bede* owns (*s*), that several have put away their Wives, not only for being guilty of Adultery, but also upon a *religious Account*, for fear of losing the Shipwreck of their Faith and Piety. *St. Augustine* in his *City of God* (*t*), shews, that in his time People were distinguished by the meaning of Jesus Christ's Words, and that the Majority of Men put the same Sense upon them, as *Origen* did.

But the most universal, and indeed the most probable Opinion, is that which takes the Words of Christ in their strict and literal Sense. Most of the Fathers, as well as the best part of Commentators, have explain'd them in this manner; and have not scrupled to affirm, that tho' the Laws of any Prince, and even those of *Moses*, have allowed, or tolerated Divorce, for any other cause, but Adultery; yet they have not, in the least, render'd it thereby the more lawful (*u*).

It remains that we should now examine, whether in case of a Divorce upon the Account of Adultery, both Parties may marry again? This was no way forbidden by the Law of *Moses*; the first Christian Emperors allow'd of it; and it was practis'd for several Ages by abundance of Christians; as it is still at this day in the *Greek Church*, and other *Eastern Churches* (*w*); which all hold Christian Marriages to be indissoluble, and look upon this one thing as the Characteristick whereby they are distinguished from those of the *Jews*, and what restores 'em to their first Institution: But they are however persuaded, that in case of Adultery, any Man is permitted by Christ, to put away his Wife, and marry another. The *Coptic*, *Syrian*, and other *Eastern Christians*, entertain the same Notions of this Matter. And even among the *Latins*, we find *Lactantius* (*x*), and *Tertullian* (*y*), maintaining, that a Marriage is render'd null and void by Divorce. *Tertullian* in particular says, That God does not break the Bond of Matrimony, except in case of Adultery (*z*). But he thought it un-

(*s*) Bede in Marc. v. (*t*) Aug. Retraſat. l. 1. p. 9. (*u*) Hil. in Matt. iv. 22. (*w*) Renaudot Perpetuité de la Foy, p. 5. l. 6. p. 7. p. 447. & ſuiv. (*x*) Lactant. l. 6. p. 23. (*y*) Tertull. de Monogamia. (*z*) Tertull. l. 4. contra Marc. Vide & lib. 2. ad uxorem.

lawful

lawful for divorced Persons to marry again (*a*): *Lactantius* was more indulgent in this point.

Origen, as hath been already shewn, observes that in his time, some Bishops suffered divorced Persons to marry again. The Council of *Elvira* (*b*) supposes the same thing; but disapproves and condemns it as a Crime. *Let the Women, which, without a lawful Cause, have forsaken their Husbands, and married others, not be admitted into Communion, even at the Hour of Death.* And elsewhere, *If a Woman, that is a Christian, leaves her Husband, who professes the same Religion, because he is guilty of Adultery, and goes to marry another, let her be hindered from proceeding. If she marries, then let her be debar'd the Communion, till after the death of her first Husband, or unless in case of Sickneſs.* The first Council of *Arles* requires such Men as marry Young, and happen to find their Wives guilty of Adultery, not to marry again, while she is alive (*c*). *St. Ambrose* addressing himself to married Men, and exhorting them not to take an Advantage of the Liberty of putting away their Wives, which was then allowed by the Civil Law; speaks thus to them (*d*): *To leave one's Wife, except for Adultery, is not only to transgress the Precept of Christ, but also to destroy the Work of God. Can you be so hard-hearted, as to commit your Children, while you are alive, to a Father in Law; or, in their Mother's Life-time, to put 'em in the power of a Step-Mother? But let us suppose that the Wife, which you divorce, does not marry again, can you have a dislike for a Person that continues faithful to you, how unworthy soever you render yourself of it by an unlawful Marriage? And if she marries another, does not the blame of her being an Adulteress fall upon you, since by your unjust dealing you compel her thus to act.* Several Councils (*e*), and especially those of the *Gallican Church*, are quoted; wherein the Custom of marrying again, after a Divorce, is taken for granted, and seems to be approved of.

But such Opinions, and Practices as these, were never universally receiv'd; and it may easily be proved that in all Ages, and most Churches, they have been discountenanc'd and disal-

(*a*) Vide de Monogam. p. 9, 10. (*b*) Concil. Eliber. p. 8, & 9. (*c*) Concil. Arelat. 1. can. 10. (*d*) Ambros. in Luc. l. 8. (*e*) Vid. Concil. Aurelian. 2. c. 11. Concil. Vermer. c. 5, & 6, & 11, & 17, & 20. Concil. Comp. c. 16. Synod. Hibernica S. Patricii an. 314. c. 16.

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low'd by several learned Prelates. In the Canons, commonly stil'd *Apostolical* (*f*), there is an exprefs Prohibition to him that has put away his Wife, not to marry another, while the first was alive. The Popes *Siricius*, *Innocent*, *Leo*, *Stephen*, and *Zachary*, in their Decretal Letters, strenuously condemn these kinds of Marriages, and give them the Name of Adultery. The Church of *Rome* hath constantly adhered to the Rules laid down by these holy Popes; and never allowed of Marriages contracted after Divorce, while both Parties remained alive: and ever since the 8th Century, the *Gallican* Church hath been in the same Sentiments upon this point (*m*). Pope *Gregory II.* when writing to *Boniface* Bishop of *Utrecht*, said, that if a Woman was afflicted with any natural Weakness or Indisposition, her Husband might marry another; but so as to be ready to assist his former Wife (*n*). But *Gratian* observes (*o*), that in this respect *Gregory* runs counter to the *Canons*, and even to the Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles. And it is, in short, the Opinion of the *Latin Church*, that the Band of Matrimony subsists notwithstanding the most lawful Divorce. At the Council of *Florence*, the *Latin* Bishops having asked the *Greek* ones, why they allowed divorced Persons to marry again; the latter could give no good or pertinent Answer. This however occasion'd no manner of Contention or Dispute; only they were advised to correct this Abuse. The Council of *Trent* had drawn up a Canon upon this point, wherein they anathematized all those that thought Matrimony was dissolved by Divorce, and that it was lawful to marry again.

It is indeed related in the History of this Council (*p*), that the *Venetian* Ambassadors having represented, that as their Commonwealth was in Possession of the Isles of *Cyprus*, *Crete*, *Corcyra*, *Zante*, and *Cephalonia*, which were all inhabited by *Greeks*, who had been us'd for several Ages to put away their Wives in case of Adultery, and to marry others; it was therefore hard and unjust to condemn these People in their absence, especially since they had not been called to the Council; and therefore they desir'd, that the Canon should be so worded, as not to

(*f*) Can. 48. (*m*) Concil. Compend. ann. 744. Can. 18. Session. c. 9. Forojul. an. 797. can. 10. Capitular. Ludovici Pii. p. 3. de his quæ pro lege habenda sunt. (*n*) Greg. II. ep. 13. ad Bonif. art. 2. tom. 6. Concil. (*o*) Grat. 32. qu. 7. p. 18. Quod propostum fuit. (*p*) Fra. Paulo, Hist. Concil. Trident. l. 8.

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affect those Persons. Accordingly, it was thought proper to comply with their request; and the more, because this Council was assembled, not with a design to censure the Errors or Practices of the *Greek Church*, but the erroneous Opinion of Protestants: Some of the Divines there present, having therefore observ'd, that most of the ancient Fathers had allowed divorced Persons to marry again; the Method they took, was to word one of their Canons thus (*q*): *We anathematize all those who dare say, that the Church errs, when she teaches, according to the Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, that a Marriage is not rendered null and void by the Man or the Woman's committing of Adultery; and that either of them, even the innocent Person, is obliged to remain unmarried as long as the other lives; and that whoever marries after Divorce, commits Adultery.* Which shews that the Church of *Rome* had no design of recommending, or approving of the Opinions and Practices of the *Greeks*, and other *Eastern Nations* in this particular.

Tho' it be agreed that Adultery is as great a Fault in a Man as in a Woman; and the Privilege which the Son of God hath allowed Mankind in this respect be designed equally for the Advantage of both Sexes; yet the Practice of all Churches hath not been every where alike. In some places, Women were not allowed to forsake their Husbands, tho' they were guilty of Adultery; and *St. Basil* in his Canonical Epistle to *Amphilochius*, says (*r*), that the Law of Divorce is very strictly observed against Women that commit Adultery: but that Custom hath made it impossible for a Woman to forsake her Husband, tho' guilty of the same Fault. He adds, that if a Man, who hath been thus forsaken by his Wife, marries again; it is a question, whether his second Wife is to be charged with Adultery; since the Fault of this Marriage ought rather to be laid upon his first Wife that left him, than on that which he hath taken to Wife, after that Divorce. And, if upon this occasion the Husband has some Indulgence shewn him, much more should the Woman whom he has married. But if the Man hath put away his Wife, and afterwards marries again, he cannot be

(*q*) Acta Concil. Trident. p. 526. Can. 6. (*r*) Epist. canon. Basil. ad Amphiloch. c. 9.

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charged

charged with Adultery; no more than a Woman, which after she hath left her Husband, marries another. The *Greek Commentators* on the *Apostolical Canons* (s), assert, that it hath been a Custom generally receiv'd in the Christian Church, for a Woman not to leave her Husband on account of Adultery only (r).

But it may easily be prov'd that the contrary was practis'd in the *Western Church*. *Justin Martyr* relates in his first *Apology* (u), how a Christian Woman having, before she was converted, liv'd with her Husband, in a loose and debauched manner, endeavour'd, after her Conversion, to persuade him to forsake his vicious and irregular Course of Life. But not being able to prevail upon him, she went about to divorce him; till she was hinder'd from doing it by the Prayers and Entreaties of her Relations, so that she found herself obliged to continue with him, tho' there was very little hopes of his becoming better. At last he undertook a Journey to *Alexandria*, and his Wife being informed, that, instead of mending, he indulged himself more and more, in all manner of Licentiousness, sent him a Bill of Divorcement. We have seen before, that *Thecla* forsook her Husband. *St. Jerom* (w) gives us a long account of *Fabiola's* leaving hers, for his Lasciviousness, and marrying another while the first was alive. It was easy indeed for this Author to justify *Fabiola's* Divorce; but as for her marrying again, he is forced to own, that she acted in it against the Laws of the Church, which she was not well acquainted with; and the *Penance* which she perform'd at the Door of the Church of *Latran*, did as much edify and confirm the Faithful, as her second Marriage had offended them. From all these Instances it appears, that Women were used to take the same liberty of divorcing their Husbands, as Men took of putting away their Wives; and that in all likelihood the Custom before-mention'd, which the *Greek Writers* speak of, was never practis'd any where else but among the *Eastern Nations*.

Upon the Advice which *St. Paul* gives the believing Wife, of not leaving her unbelieving Husband; or the unbelieving Hus-

(r) In can. 48. Apostol. polog. 1. ad Sen. Rom.

(s) Vide Grot. ad Matt. c. 5.

(w) Hieron. ad Ocean. ep. 30.

(u) Justin Martyr. A-

band,

band, of not putting away his believing Wife, if they can agree, and their dwelling together, proves no obstacle to the furtherance of true Religion and Piety: it may be observ'd, 1. That the Advice which the Apostle gives here, relates only to those that should be converted to Christianity after their Marriage; for, as for such as remain in unbelief, Christians have been ever forbidden to marry them, and such Marriages have been constantly declared null and void. 2. To render a Divorce lawful, the Apostle requires there should be a manifest Danger of the Woman's apostatizing, and making shipwreck of her Faith. 3. A Divorce between a Christian, whether Man or Woman, and a Heathen, not only separates them from Bed and Board, but also breaks the Band of Matrimony, and gives them liberty of marrying whom they please; the Marriage, which they had contracted, not being a *Sacrament*, but only a simple Contract, ought not to be consider'd as indissoluble (y), but of the same Nature as the Marriages of Unbelievers. But either Party's being guilty of Heresy, can be no good ground for rendering a Marriage void; tho' it be sufficient to authorize a Divorce (z).

As for the Permission which several ancient Authors have given divorced Persons of marrying again, there is some variety in their Opinions about it. Some, allowing Women the very same Freedom as the Men; and others, not. *Ambrosiaster* (a) asserts, that whoever hath put away his Wife for being guilty of Adultery, may marry another; but, according to him, a Woman which hath forsaken her Husband, upon the same account, cannot marry again. The Council of *Elvira* (b) countenances this Opinion; for, it forbids a Woman that hath left her Husband, for being an Adulterer, to marry again; and if she hath, it enjoins that she should be kept out of the Pale of the Church, till the death of her first Husband. *Cajetan*, in his Comment on *Matt. xix. 11.* and *Catharinus* on 1 Ep. to the *Corinth. ch. vii. ver. 11.* advance the same Notion.

But, on the other hand, several Writers have put a Woman upon the same foot, in this respect, with the Man. *St. Epiphanius* (c) expressly says, that a Woman which hath forsaken

(y) Ambros. in Luc. l. 8. art. 2. & 3. ubi est impar conjugium, lex Dei non est.

(z) Vid. Interpret. ad 1 Cor. v. 12.

(a) Ambrosiaster in 1 Cor. vii. 10. (b) Concil. Eliberit. can. 9.

(c) Epiph. hæres. 59.

her Husband, because he was guilty of Adultery, may marry another. To prove this Opinion, the Apostolical Constitutions are quoted (*d*), and also *Origen* (*e*), *Pollentius*, as cited by *St. Augustin* (*f*), an ancient *Roman Penitential*, *Photius* (*g*) and the Council of *Vermeria* (*h*).

Some Authors have imagined, that in case of Adultery, the Husband should no longer co-habit with his Wife, nor the Wife with her Husband; but the Innocent Person ought to put away the other, that hath defiled the Marriage-Bed. This they ground on these Words (*i*): *He that keeps an Adulteress in his House, is foolish and impious*. The Council of *Neocæsarea* (*k*) enjoins Priests to put away their Wives, if they commit Adultery, after their Husbands have been ordained; and *St. Augustin* (*l*) seems to have imagin'd that the Words of *Solomon* before cited, order a Man to put away his Wife, when found guilty of Adultery. *St. Jerom*, in his Comment on *Matthew*, seems to be of the same Opinion. But the Apostle plainly shews, what was the design of Jesus Christ, in permitting Divorce, when he saith, *If a Wife depart from her Husband, let her remain unmarried, or be reconciled to him* (*m*). And the greatest part of the Fathers have as clearly proved, that Divorce was only a Toleration and Connivance, and by no means a Precept. Accordingly they have always dissuaded Men from it, and never considered it otherwise than as a Remedy to a greater Evil; and an Extremity which Men ought never to come to, without the greatest Reluctance; and therefore they have constantly advised married Persons to be reconciled one to another. This hath been the universal Practice and Doctrine of the Christian Church.

After having briefly given an Account of the Precepts and Directions of *Moses*, *Jesus Christ* and his *Apostles*, and of the *Fathers* in relation to Divorce; it may not be improper to set down here the Laws and Edicts of the *Roman Emperors*, upon the same Matter. It must be own'd, that nothing hath so much altered the true Discipline of the Church in this particular, as the *Imperial Laws*. For they are generally so con-

(*d*) Constit. Apostol. l. 5. c. 1. (*e*) Origen in Matth. xix. 8. (*f*) Pollent. apud Aug. l. 1. de Adulter. Conjug. c. 6. (*g*) Photius Ep. 1. (*h*) Concil. Vermer. can. 18. (*i*) Prov. xviii. 22. vulg. (*j*) Can. 8. (*k*) Aug. l. 1. Retract. c. 19. (*l*) 1 Cor. vii. 10, 11.

trary

trary to the Gospel-Rule, that it cannot well be conceiv'd, how the Bishops, without whose Advice such things were seldom acted, could ever be brought to consent to them.

Either, this Abuse was then grown so very common, that it must have been next to impossible to root it out; so that the Bishops were forced, even against their Wills, to consent to it: or else, that these Laws being made for the *Heathens*, who were very numerous in the *Roman Empire*, as well as for the Christians, whose Numbers daily increased; they were obliged to express them in such a manner, as that they should be agreeable to both; so as to leave, at the same time, the Bishops a full Power and Authority of governing their Flocks according to the Laws, and approved Rites of the Christian Church; the Princes, when they passed such Edicts, laying down only the Rules they desired to have observed in their Civil Courts. Accordingly, one may observe in the *Greek Church*, even after the making of these Laws, Opinions and Practices exactly conformable to the Precepts of Christ, and the Rules of the Gospel (*n*). But to come to our point.

In the Year 331, *Constantine the Great* decreed, that it should be unlawful for Women to forsake their Husbands upon every trifling occasion (*o*), by accusing them of being Drunkards, Gamblers, or addicted to Women; and that Husbands should not be allowed to put away their Wives for every cause. That a Woman should not request to be separated from her Husband, unless he was a Murderer, a Poisoner, or a Robber of Graves; and that a Man should not divorce his Wife, unless she was found guilty of Adultery, poisoning, or corrupting of Youth. About six Years after, the same Emperor decreed, that if a Soldier happened to be gone four Years together upon an Expedition, and his Wife had no News from him all that time, that then she might lawfully marry again. The first Edict of *Constantine* was ratified by *Honorius*, *Theodosius* the Younger, and *Constantinus* in 421. But in 429, the same *Theodosius*, and *Valentinian III* abrogated it, and brought in again the ancient Liberty of Divorce. Their Constitution was as follows; *Imper. Theodos. & Valent. Augg. Florentio*

(*n*) Vid. Chrysostom. in Matth. Theophylact. Oecumen. cæteros. (*o*) Placuit Constantino Aug. ad Ablavium Præf. Prætor. tit. 16. de repud. Codice Theod.

P.

P. F. P. *Consensu licita Matrimonia posse contrahi, contracta non nisi misso repudio dissolvi præcipimus. Solutionem enim Matrimonii difficultiorem debere esse favor imporat liberorum. Sed in repudio culpaque divortii perquirendâ, durum est legum veterum moderamen excedere. Illud Constitutionibus abrogatis, quæ nunc maritum, nunc mulierem, matrimonio soluto, præcipiunt pænis gravissimis coerceri, hac constitutione repudii, culpas, culparumque coercitiones ad veteres leges, responsaque prudentum revocari censuimus.*

But the Inconveniency of such an extreme Licentiousness was soon discover'd. Therefore a few Years after, in 449, the same Emperors put some Restraint to it, (p) by ordering that a Woman should not depart from her Husband, unless he was an Adulterer, a Murderer, Poisoner, or plotted something against the State; unless he was perjured; a Robber of Churches and Church-yards; a Receiver of Thieves; a Pilferer, and Plagiary; except he conversed too familiarly with any other Woman, in the presence of his Wife; or unless he misused her, and attempted to take away her Life by Poison, Sword, or the like. The Causes for which a Woman was allowed to leave her Husband, were nearly the same as those already set down. Such Persons as had divorced one another upon any of those Accounts, were suffer'd to marry again at a Year's End after the Divorce; but if the Woman had left her Husband without any of these Reasons, she lost her Dowry, and the Presents that had been made to her before her Wedding; and could not marry again till five Years after.

The Emperor *Anastasius*, in 497, confirmed the first Decree of *Theodosius the Younger* concerning Divorce, and repealed the Restriction which the said Emperor had made to it in his second Edict. He enjoined, That when Divorces were made with the mutual Consent of both Parties, the Wife should not be obliged to stay five Years before she married again; but might lawfully do it within one. Such was the true State of Divorce from the Time of *Constantine the Great*, till *Justinian*.

This last Emperor added to the Causes of it, already mentioned, that of Impotency, (q) after a two Years Marriage; and also the Wife's bathing among Men; making herself miscarry; or endeavouring to get another Husband while the first is alive. He lays it down as a Maxim, That in human Affairs there is nothing lasting or permanent, and that consequently Marriages may be annull'd; sometimes with the Consent of both Parties; or upon some reasonable Account: or else, for no Cause at all; or for a just Cause. He confines the Liberty of Divorcing to some particular Cases (r); and repeals all the Laws that allow'd of it, when done without a sufficient Reason, or by mutual Consent; for this last Pretence is of no weight, unless either Party is willing to embrace a monastick Life, or make a Vow of Chastity.

Justin, the Grandson of *Justinian*, (s) brought in again the Custom of Divorcing one another, by mutual Consent. Things remained in this condition for near 340 Years; that is, till the Reign of *Leo the Philosopher*, which happen'd about the 900th Year after Christ. This Emperor made a Collection of the Laws, which he named *Basilicæ*, but did not place among them the Edict of *Justin*.

(p) L. Consensu 8. cum suis §. 55. Cod. de repudiis. (q) Ann. 528. Tit. de repud. L. 10. Novell. 22. c. 3. & 18. (r) Novell. 117. & 134. (s) Ann. 556. Novell. 140.

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The Practice of the modern Greek Church is exactly conformable to this Disposition of the Civil Laws. But it cannot exactly be determin'd, when she begun to follow a Discipline so contrary to the Gospel, and the Doctrine of the ancient Greek Fathers: For, notwithstanding all the Endeavours of *Acadius* to vindicate her in this Particular, notwithstanding all his Attempts to make out that the Fathers were of this Opinion (t), still it is plain, that tho' Divorces were common in the Primitive Times, yet they were look'd upon as contrary to the Law; far were Men from approving of them, tho' they were tolerated out of respect to the Emperor's Decrees. Whoever married again, after a Divorce, was look'd upon as guilty of a Crime; but a greater Remissness ensued, and at last Men allowed themselves an unlimited Liberty in this respect.

The same Custom is still observed among the greatest Part of such Nations as adhere to the Greek Church. The *Russians*, or *Muscovites*, for instance, divorce one another for a very slight Cause (u); and even their Bishop gives them a Bill of Divorcement. It was usual, not long since, in such Places as were too remote from the Bishop, for the Man and the Woman who had a mind to part, to go in a Place where two Ways met, and there to pull a Napkin between them, till they tore it asunder; by which means they fancied their Marriage was dissolved. We find notwithstanding, among the Canons of one *John*, their Metropolitan, whom they call a Prophet, that those who marry after Divorce are to be suspended from Communion. Divorce was very common among the *Ethiopians*, especially the *Laics*, before our Missionaries had persuaded them to forsake that Custom (w).

The Laws of the Western Nations have not been uniform upon this Point; some having been extremely strict, and others, on the contrary, as remiss: few there are but what have varied, according to the difference of Times and Circumstances; till at last the Council of *Trent* fixed all those that belonged to the Church of *Rome*, whilst others that have separated from it, have framed Laws and Edicts as their Fancy led them.

The ancient *Franks* were wont to put away their Wives, or rather married Persons, among them, agreed to part; and such Divorces were generally reckon'd lawful: much more, therefore, such as were done for just Reasons. We have Forms of Letters of this kind of Divorce, viz. (that which was done by Consent) in *Marculfus*, (x) who lived about the middle of the Seventh Century. And from them it appears, that Persons who had left one another, might marry again whom they would.

Tho' the Roman Laws were receiv'd in France under the Reigns of *Charles the Great*, and *Lewis le Debonnaire* (y), yet Divorce became neither more common, nor more fashionable; because the Ecclesiastical Canons of the Councils of *Africa*, and the Decretals of the Popes, wherein Divorce was expressly forbidden, except in case of Adultery, were follow'd in this Particular. By this means, the Liberty of the ancient *Franks* was

(t) Arcad. de Concord. Eccles. Oriental. & Occident. L. 7. c. 7, 8. (u) Vide Gaguin. in Descript. Sarmat. Europ. (w) See Les Relations des Missionnaires d'Ethiopie. (x) Lib. 2. Formul. 20. (y) Capitul. Caroli & Ludovici, L. 1. c. 43. & L. 6. c. 63. & L. 7. c. 55.

F

restrain'd

restrained in *France*; and they did not receive the Laws of the ancient *Romans* mention'd above.

The Marriages of Christian Slaves in *France*, as well as other Places, could be annul'd by their Masters, if they had been done without their Consent. Whenever a Slave was set at liberty, he put away the Wife which he had married during his Slavery, and took another: Such also as had married Slaves, whom they thought to be free, might, when they found out their Mistake, forsake them, and marry free Persons (z). Tho' it had been forbidden by the Ecclesiastical Laws, (a) to separate Slaves after their Marriage, yet this Custom was still very common, even after the 9th Century.

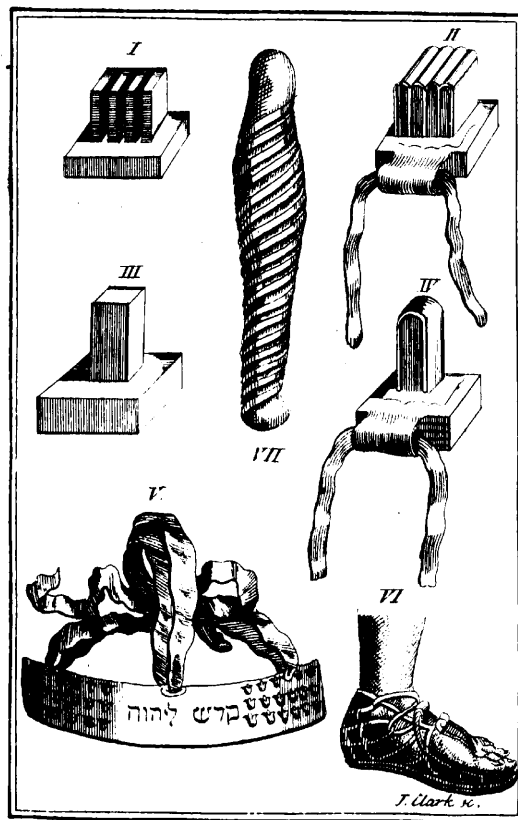
Selden (b) is of opinion, That those Parts of *Great Britain* which were subject to the *Romans*, and complied with their Laws, retained Divorce, even after their Conversion to Christianity. This he proves from the ancient Laws of King *Howel-dha*, whereby a Man is allow'd to put away his Wife, if she converses too familiarly with another Man, and to marry again afterwards. But it appears from the Letters of *Pope Gregory the Great* (c), to *Austin*, who is commonly call'd the *Apostle of Britain*; and also from the Laws of the Kings of the *Anglo-Saxons*, that the Discipline and Decrees of the Church of *Rome* upon this Point, were then receiv'd in *England*, where they have been observed ever since.

In *Italy* King *Theodoric* ratified an old *Saxon Law* (d), exactly the same with that of the Emperor *Constantine*, spoken of before. The *Visigoths*, that inhabited part of *Spain* (e), had very strict Laws about Divorce. Those of King *Euricus* expressly forbid it, except for Adultery. The *Burgundians* (f) never allowed their Wives to forsake their Husbands upon any Pretence whatsoever; and the Men were not suffer'd among them to put away their Wives, except for the Reasons expressed in the Edict of *Constantine*.

The *Germans* were allowed by their Laws to divorce their Wives, if they had taken them without the Marriage Solemnity; only by declaring before seven Advocates, and any other five Persons (g), that they did not do it for any Vice or Failing they had found in them, but because they liked some other better. These Laws bear Date in the Sixth Century, and consequently before those Nations had embraced the Christian Faith.

By Canon 26. of the 2d *Synod of Ireland*; a Man that hath put away his Wife, upon account of Adultery, is permitted to marry another, as if the first were actually dead. The great Liberty which that Nation was wont to take in this Particular, is well known by the Letters sent from *Pope Gregory VII.* to *Lanfranc* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; from those of the same *Lanfranc* to *Goiric* and *Terdevald* Kings of *Ireland*; and those of *Anselm* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, to *Muriardac*, King of the said Country. They upbraid them for having frequent Divorces among them, and tell them that it is as easy a matter with them to dissolve a Marriage, as 'tis to make it up. At this day the *Irish* are pretty near the same, in this respect, as they formerly were, as *Mr. Camden* hath observ'd (h).

(z) Concil. Vermer. c. 6. & 20. (a) Cauf. 29. q. 2. (b) *Selden* Uxor. Heb. l. 3. (c) *Gregor. Registr.* l. 12. Fp. 32. Vide & *Bedæ* Hist. Eccl. l. 2. (d) Cap. 54. (e) *Leges Visigot.* l. 3. tit. 6. c. 1. (f) *Leges Burgund.* c. 34. (g) *Leges Alaman.* cap. 53. (h) *Camden Britan. Customs of the Irish.*



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A DISSERTATION on the Habits of the antient *Hebrews*.



THE antient *Hebrews*, properly speaking, had but ^{The Hebrews} two sorts of Garments, the *Chetoneh* or *Tunick*, ^{but two Sorts} which they wore next their Bodies, and the *Mehil* ^{of Garments.} or *Cloak*, which came over it. The *Egyptians*, *Persians*, *Babylonians*, *Grecians*, and the *Eastern Nations* in general had no other Garments. They were common to both *Sexes*, only the Women's, especially the *Mehil*, was somewhat different from the Men's; which the Women seldom wearing, made *Herodotus* say of the *Egyptian Women*, that they had but one Garment, whereas the Men had two (a).

The *Chetoneh* and *Mehil* together, made what the Scriptures ^{Changes of} call a *Change of Raiment*, or a complete Suit of Clothes. For ^{Raiment} instance, *Naaman* brings *Elisha* ten *Changes of Raiment*, ^{what.} that is, ten *Chetonehs* and ten *Mehils* (b). As their Clothes in those Days were neither cut out, nor sew'd as ours are, nor in danger of being out of Fashion, People of Condition kept several *Suits* or *Changes* by them, which they made Presents of. The *Turks*, at this time, present *Ambassadors* when they take their Audience of Leave, with rich *Vests*. The *double Garments* mention'd in *Scripture* (c), are not to be understood of Garments that are lin'd, for the *Antients* never lin'd their Clothes as we do; but of *Changes of Raiment*, or, of Garments so large as to double round them.

Moses tells us, our first Parents cover'd themselves at first with large Girdles of Fig-leaves, but that afterwards, God made them Coats of Skins (d). Such was the cloathing of Mankind,

(a) Herod. l. 2. c. 36.
Vulg.

(b) 2 Kings v. 5.

(c) Prov. xxxi. 21. Margin. &

(d) Gen. iii. 7, 21.

till the use of *Flax*, *Wool*, and *Cotton* was found out. *Naamah*, the Sister of *Tubal-cain*, apparently the *Minerva* of the *Fable*, is thought to have invented before the *Flood*, spinning and making linnen and woollen Cloth; however, *Furs* and *Skins* were very much made use of for wearing Apparel, as appears from the Laws of *Moses* (c). They were the usual clothing of the Prophets (f). The *Persians*, *Gauls*, *Scythians*, *Ethiopians*, *Egyptians*, *Arabians* (g), wore them generally, and it is the common Habit of the *Arabians* at this very time.

Whattie Chetoneth was made of.

The *Chetoneth* or *Tunick* was usually made of *Flax* or *Cotton*; we find both sorts in *Moses's* Description of the Garments of the *Priests* and *Levites*. He speaks of the *Chetoneth Rad*, or *linnen Tunicks*, and the *Chetoneth Sheb*, or *Tunicks of fine Linnen* (h), which I am apt to believe were *Cotton* ones, as I have endeavour'd to prove in my *Commentary* (i). I don't question but they also wore sometimes Woollen ones, tho' rarely.

The Coat of many Colours what.

There is mention in *Genesis* of *Joseph's* Coat, and in *Samuel* of *Tamar's*, in terms that have very much puzzled the *Commentators*. The *Hebrew* Expression is, *Chetoneth Passim*, or a *Tunick of Passim* (k). The *Seventy* and *St. Jerom* understand it of a Linnen made with various colour'd Threads; others think the *Tunick* was made of pieces of Stuff of different Colours; some again, imagine it was embroider'd. *Moses* remarks, that *Jacob* made this Coat for *Joseph*, because he loved him more than all his Children. And the Author of the Books of *Samuel* says, that *Tamar's* Garment was such as the King's Daughters wore, whilst Virgins.

It is very probable, these *Chetoneth Passim* were such as Persons of Condition of both Sexes wear at this day in the *East*. These are a kind of *Shifts* of striped Linnen, and often adorn'd with Embroidery. The Men's come no lower than their Knees, and the Sleeves reach but to their Elbows. The Women's are longer, and the Sleeves exceeding large, and grow wider and wider from the Shoulders to their Fingers-ends. *Aquila* translates *Chetoneth Passim* by a Robe with a long Train; and *Symmachus* by a *Tunick with large Sleeves*. *Herodotus* (l) speak-

(c) Levit. ii. 32. xiii. 48, 49, &c. (f) Heb. xi. 37. 2 Kings i. 8. (g) Cæf. Com. l. 6. Justin. l. 2. (h) Levit. xvi. 4. (i) Exod. xxv. (k) Gen. xxxvii. 3. 2 Sam. xiii. 18. (l) Lib. 2. c. 81.

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ing of the *Egyptian Tunicks*, says, they were made of Linnen with Lace or Fringes round the bottom.

Moses mentions another sort of *Tunicks* peculiar to the *Priests*: he calls them, *Chetoneth Tashbets* (m), or a close *Tunick*. The *Commentators* are very much divided about the meaning of this Expression; some understand it of a *Tunick* laced and fringed; others, of a Robe embroider'd or deck'd with precious Stones or Pearls; some again will have it to be a Vest of divers Colours, representing *Eyes* like a *Peacock's-Tail*; and others, a striped *Tunick*, wove so artificially, that every other stripe was rais'd like Emboss-work. I have endeavour'd in my *Commentary* to show that it was a *Tunick* wove closer and stronger than ordinary, and in all appearance of different Colours.

The Women's *Tunicks* were much the same with the Men's; they only differ'd in Length and Ornaments. They were both laced and had Sleeves; but the Women's were larger, finer, and richer. What Travellers tell us upon this Head comes pretty near the accounts of the Antients. The Heat of the Climate requir'd that their Garments should be loose and light.

Et Syriæ gentes, & laxo Persis amictu
Vestibus ipsa suis barens.

Manil. Astron. l. 4.

Herodian speaking of a Sacrifice, *Antoninus* the Son of *Mes* offer'd to his God *Heliogabalus*, says, they who bore the Entrails of the Victims, were cloath'd in *Tunicks* trailing on the Ground, with Sleeves after the manner of the *Phanicians*, and Girdles of Purple round their Waists.

They pull'd off these long *Tunicks* and their Girdles in their Houses; but when they went into the Country, or were oblig'd to walk, or do any thing, they girded themselves, and tuck'd up their *Tunicks*. Our Saviour, when going to wash the Apostles Feet, takes off his upper Garment, and girds his *Tunick* with a Napkin (n). An Angel appears to *St. Peter* in Prison, bids him gird himself, put on his Sandals and follow him (o). Our Saviour reproaches the *Pharisees* for affecting to walk in long Robes. Their view in it was to attract Respect, and give themselves an air of Gravity, which gratified their Pride. They

(m) Exod. xxviii. 4. (n) John xiii. 4. (o) Acts xii. 8.

some-

sometimes wore two *Tunicks*, especially in cold Weather; and St. Mark says expressly, the High-Priest *Caiphas*, upon hearing the pretended Blasphemy of Jesus Christ, *rent his Tunicks* (p). In a Journey they always carried a spare *Tunick*, to shift themselves. Our Saviour forbids the Apostles to provide themselves with two Coats or *Tunicks*, meaning they shou'd entirely depend on divine Providence (q).

The *Tunick* was generally White. Solomon in *Ecclesiastes* (r) advises him, that had a mind to pass his Days agreeably, to have his Garments always white. This Prince, the most Magnificent of all the Kings of *Judah*, rid generally in his Chariot clad in a white Robe (s). Our Saviour says, that Solomon in all his Glory was not to be compar'd with the Lilly; which, every one knows is of a very bright White: Angels commonly appear in white Garments (t). The *Essenes*, in *Philo*, celebrate their Festivals cloath'd in white (u). Moses orders the People to wash their Clothes, and cleanse themselves, when they are to appear before the Lord. The *Egyptians*, *Babylonians*, *Grecians*, in their remotest Antiquity, and even the *Romans* themselves were thus clad on their Feast-Days.

*Ille repotia, natales, aliosve Deorum
Festos albatu celebret.*

Horat. l. 2. Sat. 2.

The Hebrew
Tunicks without
Seam.

They slept
naked.

Their Girdles.

The *Tunicks* of the *Hebrews* were often wove, and without a Seam: Such were the Priests, and our Saviour's *Tunicks*. Plato (w) would have the Priests *Tunicks* to be wove and without Seam, and plain and not costly, such as a Woman could make in a Month's time. The *Hebrews* pull'd off their *Tunicks* when they went to bed, and slept naked; a Custom practis'd by all Nations in general in old Time. The *Tunick* had only a hole on the top to put the Head thro', without ever a slit before on the Breast, or below on the Sides.

When in Action or on a Journey, they wore a Girdle round their *Tunicks*. The great and the rich, especially Women of Quality, wore very showy and costly ones. The Priests were large and long, of a costly and partly colour'd Stuff, like those

(p) Mark xiv. 63. Χιτῶνας.

(q) Mat. x. 10. (r) Dan. vii. 9. John xx. 12. Acts i. 10.

(w) De legib. l. 12.

(s) Mat. x. 10.

(t) ix. 8.

(u) Jos. Antiq. l. 8.

(v) Phil. in vit. Contempl.

they

they wear now in the *East*. The Princes were much the same, only, it may be, somewhat richer; they stuck their Swords, or Cutlaces, between the *Tunick* and the Girdle. The good Wife, who made an Advantage of her own and her Servants Work, sold rich Girdles to the *Phanicians* (x). They were made of Linnen, and adorn'd with Embroidery and Fringes of Gold. The *Son of Man* and the *Seven Angels* in the *Revelations* (y), appear with gold Girdles. They very often kept their Money in their Girdles instead of a Purse, as is evident from several Places in Scripture (z), and also from the Practice of other Nations.

The *Prophets* and poor People wore Leather-Girdles, as we find by *Elias* and St. *John Baptist*. When in Mourning, they were girded sometimes with a Cord: *Instead of a Girdle there shall be a Rope* (a). says *Isaiab*, to the Daughter of *Sion*. In Misfortunes and Disgrace they wore Sack-cloth round them. The Lord orders *Isaiab* (b) to loose the Sackcloth from off his Loins, and to walk bare-foot, to typify the future Captivity of *Egypt*; the false Prophets imitated the true ones in this Particular, in order to gain a Reputation among the People. After all, in these hot *Climates*, it was no great Mortification to the Poor, and the Country People, to go quite, or almost naked, especially within Doors and in the Fields. The Slaves and Captives of both Sexes were not allow'd usually any Clothes; this exceedingly humbled Women of Condition, taken Prisoners in War, and the Prophets often threaten them with being thus expos'd as a Punishment for their Pride and Sensuality (c).

The *Eastern* People, both Men and Women, are said to wear Drawers at this day: but I find nothing of that kind among the antient *Hebrews*. Moses orders the Priests that were to go up to the Altar, to have Drawers on, for decency sake (d): but generally when they rid on Horseback, or work'd naked in the Country, they had a sort of Breeches or Girdle which came over their Loins and Thighs. *Jeremiab* (e) is commanded by the Lord to go and hide his Girdle or Drawers in the hollow of a Rock near the *Euphrates*. Of somewhat of this kind are

(x) Prov. xxxi. 24. (y) i. 13. xv. 6. (z) Mat. x. 9. Ζώνας. (a) Isa. iii. 24. Vulg. (b) xx. 2. (c) Isa. iii. 17. xx. 4. Jer. xlii. 26. Lament. iv. 21. Ezr. xvi. 37. (d) Exod. xxviii. 42. (e) xlii. 6.

to be understood perhaps the *Soudaria* or *Simikin'bia* mention'd in the *Aets* (f), which were brought to St. Paul for him to touch, that the Owners of them might be heal'd of their Diseases. They were generally made of Flax, and in its natural Colour.

The young Damsels had a Ribbon or Girdle round their Breasts, the Matter and Form whereof is unknown. The *Hebrew* Term, *Petigil*, is render'd by *Symmachus* and St. *Jerom*, *Fascia Pectoralis* (g); by the *Septuagint*, a *Tunick with a purple Swathe*; by *Aquila*, a *Girdle of Joy*. The other Term, or the *Kosburim*, in *Jeremiah* (h) signifies a *Necklace of Ribbons*, which I take to be the same, the *Antients* call'd *Redimiculum*, or *Sulcrinforium*, such as we see in the Picture of *Uis*. It is a Ribbon, or a sort of *Scarf*, which descending from behind the Neck under the Arms, comes and crosses itself before under the Breasts; then the ends being join'd round the Loins, form a Girdle, which keeps up a Petticoat that reaches down to the Feet (i).

The *Mehil*, or upper Garment of the *Hebrews*, was the same as that of other Nations, and belong'd chiefly to the Men: It was usually made of Wool or Skins; the Colour was various; the richest were *Scarlet*, *Purple*, or *Crimson*. The Author of the Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, to express the highest and lowest Degree of them, says, *From him that weareth Purple and a Crown*, to him that is *cloath'd in a linnen Frock*.

It is not agreed upon, what was the shape of the *Mehil* or *Hebrew Cloak*. The Lord willing, that his *chosen* People should be distinguish'd by their Habits, orders the *Hebrews* to wear, at the corners of their Cloaks, *Tufts* of a purple Colour, and along the Borders, a Fringe or Lace; but of what colour, is not said (k), to put them in mind of their being the *People* and *Children* of the Lord. Our Saviour wore *Fringes*, as appears from St. *Matthew* (l), where the Woman that had an Issue of Blood, was cur'd by touching the *Fringe* of his Garment. The *Pharisees*, in order to distinguish themselves from other People, wore them larger than ordinary; for which they were upbraided by

(f) xix. 12. Handkerchiefs or Aprons, Eng. Bible. (g) Isa. iii. 24. (h) ii. 32. Attire, Eng. Bible. (i) See the Author's Comment. Exod. xxv. 7. (k) Numb. xv. 38. Deut. xxii. 12. (l) ix. 20. Hem. Eng. Bible.

our

our Saviour (m). This Distinction of Habits, was not look'd upon by the *Jews* as a thing Indifferent. The Lord threatens to punish *all such as were cloath'd in strange Apparel* (n).

In all appearance, what the Scriptures term the *Wings* or *Skirts of the Garment*, are no other than the Corners, to which the above-mention'd Tufts were fasten'd. *Saul* having laid hold of *Samuel's Skirt* to detain him, he pull'd it off, and the Border remain'd in his Hand (o). *David* cut off the Skirt or Corner of *Saul's* Garment in the Cave (p), without his perceiving it. The High-Priest's Garment was open at the top, for the Head to come out: There were holes on the sides for the Arms, but round the Bottom there was no slit. Instead of the four *Tufts* which the *Jews* wore at the Corners of their upper Garment, the High-Priest had all round the Border of his, Tufts in the shape of *Pomegranates*, intermixed with Bells of Gold (q).

The *Jews*, at this day, under their Clothes wear something that supplies the Place of their antient *Mehil*, viz. a square Piece of Linnen or Silk, with four Tufts hanging at the four Corners. It is double, one Part comes before, and the other behind, the two Pieces are tied together with a Ribbon on the Shoulders. This is what they call *Harba Canephut*, that is, *the four Corners* or *Wings* (r). It may be said to be the antient *Mehil* or Cloak in *Miniature*; and consequently, much the same shape with our *Dalmaticks*, which hang down before and behind, with an opening for the Head to come out at. They differ'd from them in nothing but the Tufts at the four Corners below, and the Fringe or Lace upon the Borders.

(m) Mat. xxiii. 5. He upbraids them also for enlarging their Philacteries, consisting of Pieces of Parchment, wherein were written Texts of Scripture, which they bound on their Foreheads and Arms: The Head Philacteries were thus made. They cut in a square Bit of Wood three Clits, as at Fig. I. Over this they put a piece of Skin dress'd moist, and turn'd it into every one of the Clits. When dry, they took it out, and then it had four little Hollows, which they fill'd with small Rolls of Parchment, wherein were written some Words of the Law. Then they tied this Skin, which was in the shape of Fig. II. to the Forehead with Strings. As for those for the Arms, a moist Skin was bound over a square bit of Wood in the form of Fig. III. without any Clit, which when taken off, was shap'd like Fig. IV. Into the Hollow of which they put a piece of Parchment, with four Passages of Scripture on it, and then tied the Skin to their Arms. The *Jews* call them at this day Tephillin or Prayers, because they wear them chiefly when they pray. By enlarging them, is meant, writing on them a greater Number of Words than usual. This Custom proceeded from mistaking the meaning of Deuteronomy vi. 8.

(n) Zeph. i. 8. (o) 1 Sam. xv. 27, &c. (p) 1 Sam. xxiv. 4. (q) Exod. xxviii. 34. (r) Buxt. Syn. c. 4.

B

I

I am in some doubt however about the Truth of this Description: for, 1. The *Eastern Cloak* is an Oblong, which they turn any way; they wrap themselves up in it, above and below the Shoulders; they fold it round their Head when in Mourning, or to defend themselves against the Sun or Rain, it is fastened below the Neck, or on the Breast, or Shoulder, with a Clasp. 2. The Scriptures speaking of the Cloak, say, he wraps his whole Body in it, he covers himself with it, he hides his Face in it, he puts it off and puts it on immediately, without any more ado; all which Expressions, plainly show it was not fasten'd about him. 3. The *Thalet*, the *Jews* wear in their Synagogues when at Prayers (r), and which seems to be their ancient Cloak, very much resembles the modern Eastern ones; they have no opening for the Head. They throw them over their Shoulders or Heads, and put them before their Eyes, to prevent their Thoughts from being diverted by any Objects. So that I should think, this to be the true Shape of the ancient *Hebrew Mohil* or upper Garment, rather than the *Harba Cane-phot* above described.

The Women's
Cloak or Vail.

The Women's *Mohil* or Vail, which they cover'd themselves with when they went abroad, was very different from the Men's. *Rebecca* seeing *Isaac*, who was come out to meet her, cover'd herself with her Vail (t). *Tamar* was so wrapped up in a Vail, that *Judah* did not know her (u). *St Paul* speaks of the Vail Women wore on their Heads, without which he would not have them come into the Church (w). This Vail must have been very large, since *Ruth* carried in her's to her Mother-in-law the six Measures of Barley, *Boaz* had given her (x). Travellers remark, that at this Day throughout all the East, the Women of Fashion are generally cover'd with a great Vail or Scarf. The *Arabian* Women entirely hide their Faces, and have only two small Holes to look thro', which are so woven with Horse-hair that they can see without being seen. These Vails were rich and magnificent, since the Scriptures frequently exclaim against the Finery of the Women, and the Richness of their Clothes (y), which must be understood of these Cloaks or Vails I am speaking of.

(r) *Leo de Mod. Cer. des Juifs*, p. 1.

(t) *Gen. xxiv. 65.*

(u) *Gen. xxxviii. 14.*

(w) *1 Cor. xi. 5, 6.*

(x) *Ruth iii. 15.*

(y) *1 Sam. i. 24. Jer. iv. 30, &c.*

The

The *Hebrews* generally went bare-headed: There is no term ^{Hebrews no} in their Language that signifies a *Bonnet* or *Hat*. ^{Hatt.} There is mention indeed of the Priests Bonnets, but they were only of Linnen, and tied with a Ribbon. The High-Priest's was richer and more adorn'd; instead of a plain Ribbon, it had a Plate of Gold to it, which hung on the Forehead, and was tied behind with two Ribbons (z). * The Kings had also their Crowns, which were nothing but Rolls of white or strip'd Linnen, tied behind (a). Instead of a Bonnet or Hat, it is thought the *Hebrews* wore a sort of Tire on their Heads; *Ezekiel* (b) expressly mentions them: *Make no Mourning for the Dead, bind on the Tire of thine Head*. Some Commentators understand the *Soudaria* of *St. Paul* before-mention'd, which were sent to the Sick, in order for their Recovery, of certain linnen or woollen Rolls, the Apostle wove round his Head.

But what makes me doubt of this Matter, is this, the Passage in *Ezekiel* relates to himself: and being a Priest, and wearing no Hair, only a Bonnet tied with a Ribbon, as hath been observ'd; nothing can be infer'd from thence with regard to the *Israelites* in general, who wore their Hair, and had not the same Privilege, or, if you will, the same Occasion as the Priests for a Bonnet, to defend them from the Heat or Cold. As for the *Soudaria* in the *Acts*, they might be *Handkerchiefs* to wipe off the Sweat from the Hands or Face, as the *Etymology* of the Word seems to intimate.

I am therefore still of Opinion, that the *Hebrews* wore no-^{They made} thing on their Heads. If at any time upon a Journey they ^{use of their} were annoy'd by too great Heat or Cold, or by the Rain, they ^{Cloaks instead} cover'd their Heads with their Cloak. They cover'd their Heads ^{of Hatts.} also in Mourning and at Prayers, out of Respect; as we find *Moses* did when he approached the *Burning Bush*. *David* so wrapped his Head in his Cloak, when he fled from *Abisalom*. *Human*, after having been oblig'd to conduct *Mordecai* thro' the City of *Shushan*, return'd to his House mourning, and having his Head cover'd. *Jeremiah* (c) represents the Husband-

(z) *Exod. xxviii. 36, &c.* It had these Words engraven on it, *Kodesh la Jehovah, (i. e.) Holy to the Lord, with 3 Rows of Henna Buds on each side of the Words: See Fig. V. which is done according to Braunius.*

(a) *2 Sam. i. 10.*

(b) *xxiv. 17.*

(c) *xiv. 4.*

B 2

men

men in a time of *Famine* and *Barrenness* with their Heads cover'd.

In times of Mirth and Rejoicing, and at Weddings, they wore Wreaths of Flowers (*d*). Except upon such Occasions, the *Hebrews* went bare-headed, all but the Priests, who wore Bonnets, because they were shorn. St. Paul says, the Man that covers his Head, dishonours it (*e*). The Spouse in the *Canticles* having passed the Evening in the Garden (*f*), says, *My Head is filled with Dew, and my Locks with the Drops of the Night*. Absalom would not have been entangled in the Boughs by the Hair, had he had a Hat on. The Custom of going bare-headed was not peculiar to the *Jews*, several *Eastern* Nations did the same; and they, who now wear *Turbants*, cut off their Hair: whereas the *Israelites* wore long Hair, but without any thing on their Heads.

The Women
had Coverings
for the Head.

It was not the same with respect to the Women. They had several sorts of Ornaments for the Head. St. Paul (*g*) says, a Woman that prays or speaks in the Church with her Head uncover'd, dishonours it: it is the same as if they were shaven. Jezebel hearing Jehu was entred *Samaria* (*h*), *She painted her Eyes *, and tired her Head*; that is, she put on a *Mitre* or *Bonnet* on her Head, with all the Ornaments of the Neck, Nose, Ears, and Forehead, so often mentioned in Scripture; she blacken'd her Eyes with *Antimony*, to make them look larger and finer. *Judith*, before she went to *Holofernes* (*i*), painted herself, braided her Hair, put on a rich *Mitre* or *Bonnet*, which was tied round her Head with Ribbons adorn'd with Gold, Embroidery, or Pearls. *Baruch* (*k*) says, the Lord will adorn *Jerusalem*, with a Garment of Righteousness, and a *Diadem* or *Mitre* of Glory. This Garment is no other than the Vail, Women of Condition appear'd in abroad, spoken of before.

Their Orna-
ments.

Isaiah (*l*) gives a long List of the Womens Ornaments in his Time; Necklaces, Bracelets for the Legs and Arms, Rings, Jewels, Ear-rings, Crispin-Irons, Mitres, Gold-Chains, Pearls that hung on their Foreheads, Looking-Glasses, fine Linnen, Ribbons, and Nose-Jewels, which hung either between the two

(d) Wisd. ii. 8.

(e) 2 Kings ix. 30.

(f) iii. 18.

(g) 1 Cor. xi.

* Face, Eng. Bible.

(h) v. 2.

(i) Jud. x. 3.

(j) 1 Cor. xi. 5.

(k) v. 2.

Nostrils;

Nostrils, or at one of them, or upon the Nose, where Spectacles are worn. Black Hair was the most esteem'd (*m*); and very careful they were to perfume their Hair with precious Oils. Not only the Women, but the Men anointed their Heads and Hair; and the Woman in the Gospel, that had been a Sinner, is commended for doing that Office to our Saviour (*n*). *Josephus* (*o*) says, the young Men that attended *Solomon*, when he appear'd in Publick, perfumed their Hair with sweet-scented Oils, then powder'd them with gold Dust, which made them shine in the Rays of the Sun, with great Lustre.

The *Hebrew* Mourning-Habit, was black or brown. Usual-ly upon these Occasions, they wore *Sack* or *Hair-Cloth*, that is, coarse, ill-made, Garments of coarse Wool, or rather of Camel's or Goat's Hair, which were never wore but in Mourning, or by the poorest sort of People. The *Hebrew Text* says, that in Mourning they girded themselves with *Sackcloth*, undoubtedly to denote their wearing these coarse black Garments, as a Girdle over their *Tunicks*. These outward Marks of Sorrow were common to both Sexes, as well as the renting their Garments in a Transport of Grief.

The Widows had also their peculiar Habits. There is mention of them in the Stories of *Tamar*, *Judith*, and the Widow *Joab* got to speak to *David* in the Behalf of *Absalom* (*p*). These were the same, that were worn in Mourning. *Judith* girded herself with *Sackcloth*, and fasted all the Days of her Widowhood, except the Sabbaths and other solemn Days (*q*). Such was the Habit and Behaviour of a *Widow* indeed. I am apt to believe that the Men in Mourning wore no Cloaks, but only coarse, brown, hair-cloth *Tunicks*, with a Leather or Sackcloth Girdle. Such were the Habits of *Elias* and St. *John Baptist*, and those that imitated the *Prophets*: *Neither shall they wear a Garment of * Hair to deceive* (*r*). The *Septuagint*, the *Syriack*, and *Arabick*, read in this Place: *They shall not be clothed with hairy Skins to deceive*. These Coats of Skins are also mentioned in Scripture, as worn by way of Penance: *They wandered about in Sheep-Skins and Goat-Skins* (*s*).

(m) Cant. v. 11.

(n) Luke vii. 37.

(o) Zech. xiii. 4.

(p) Antiq. l. 8. c. 2.

(q) Jud. viii. 5.

(r) Heb. xl. 37.

(s) Gen. xxxviii. * Rough, Eng. Bible.

The

A DISSERTATION on the Book III.

The *Learned* are not agreed whether the *Hebrews* wore any Shoes or not. *Bochart* (t) is positive for their going bare-footed, unless upon a Journey. He grounds his Opinion upon *Moses's* ordering the *Israelites* to eat the *Passover*, with *Shoes* on their Feet, as ready for a Journey (u). He quotes this Passage of *Jucenal*, where the *Jews* are said to celebrate their Festivals bare-footed.

Observant ubi Festa, macro pede Sabbathæ Reges.

He remarks also that *Berenice*, *Agrippa's* Sister, appear'd thus before *Festus's* Tribunal (w), to interceed for the *Jews*.

But *Byneus* (x) maintains, that the *Hebrews* usually had Shoes on, unless upon extraordinary Occasions, as in Mourning and the like. Thus we find *David* flying from *Absalom*, mourning with his Head and Feet bare (y). Thus the *Jews* on the day of *Atonement*, and at *Funerals* sit upon the Ground bare-footed, in token of their Grief (z). God commands *Ezekiel* (a) not to pull off his Shoes, nor to mourn for his Wife, as was usual upon such an Occasion. *Isaiah* (b), by God's order walk'd naked and bare-foot, to prefigure the future Captivity of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*. It was customary therefore, to go shod and cloth'd. When *Moses* beheld the *burning Bush*, and *Jehoiua* saw the Angel near *Jericho*, they had both Shoes on, as is evident from the Angel bidding them to take off their Shoes, because the Place whereon they stood was Holy Ground. The Lord told the *Israelites*, neither your Clothes nor your Shoes are waxen old. *Moses* in his Blessings of the twelve Tribes, foretels of *Asher* that his Shoes should be Iron and Brass. Our Saviour forbids the Apostles to carry any Shoes with them. The *Hebrews*, to express the going over a River dry-shod, say, a Man goes over in his Shoes (c).

It may be objected, these Passages prove only that the *Hebrews*, like other Nations, wore Shoes Abroad, in the Country, or on a Journey, which no one denies. But there are other Passages, which make appear that they were generally shod, not only Abroad, but also at Home. *Ezekiel* (d), among the

(t) Jerozic. p. 1. l. 2. c. 50.

(u) Exod. xii. 11.

(w) Jof. 1. 2. c. 15.

(x) De Cal. Heb. l. 11. c. 1.

(y) 2 Sam. xv. 30.

(z) Eux. Syn. c. 35.

(a) xxiv. 17.

(b) xx. 2.

(c) Isa. xl. 15. Margin.

(d) xvi. 10.

Benefits

Dif. X. Habits of the Antient Hebrews.

Benefits God had done for his People, represented there under the Image of a *Bride*, forgets not to reckon her being shod with a pair of rich Shoes. The *Prodigal Son*, at his return to his Father's House, had given him a new Robe, a Ring on his Finger, and Shoes on his Feet (e). And St. *Peter* sleeping in Prison, had his Shoes lying by him. In the Ceremony of a Man's refusing to marry his Brother's Widow, she was to pull off his Shoe in the Presence of the Elders, and spit in his Face (f). It was a common way of expressing their high Opinion of a Person, by saying, I am not worthy to carry or loose his Shoes (g). They used also to denote a Trifle, or Thing of no Value, by a Shoe (h). *Amos* (i) to exasperate the Cruelty of the Men of *Damascus* and *Samaria*, says, They sold the Poor for a Pair of Shoes; that is, they sold them for Slaves, for little or nothing.

From all these Circumstances, it seems evident to me, that the *Hebrews* usually wore Shoes in their Houses and in Towns. I am not ignorant, some Antients (k), and several Moderns, have asserted that our Saviour always went bare-footed. It must be confess'd, the Gospels no where mention his wearing any Shoes, unless St. *John Baptist's* saying, I am not worthy to carry his Shoes, may be thought to intimate as if he did. But St. *Crysostom* (l), St. *Augustin* (m), *Paul de Burgos*, *Thomas Cajetan*, *Tolet*, *Barradius*, *Baldwin*, and *Byneus* maintain the contrary. It is very improbable, that our Saviour should run contrary to the Custom of his Country in so indifferent a Thing: and St. *Mark* (n) says expressly, he allowed the Apostles to carry with them one pair of Shoes or Sandals, but not two, as appears by the other Evangelists.

I would not, however, be thought to affirm that they always wore Shoes within Doors. It is well known, that in hot Countries, as *Egypt* and *Judea*, they generally go bare-foot in their Houses. It is certain the Priests were always without Shoes in the Temple (o), as were also Slaves and Captives, even without Doors and in the Fields (p): St. *Peter* had pull'd off his Shoes in Prison. The *Bride* in the Canticles (q) excuses her not rising,

(e) Luke xv. 21.

(f) Deut. xxv. 9.

(g) Mat. iii. 11, &c.

(h) Eccl. xvi. 19.

(i) ii. 6.

(k) Jeron. ad Eustoc.

(l) Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. 6.

(m) Serm. 101. p. 532. new Edit.

(n) vi. 9.

(o) Exod. xxx. 15.

(p) Isa. xx. 2, 4.

(q) v. 3.

because

because she had wash'd her Feet. I say nothing of their Custom of sitting at Table without Shoes, because in those days, they reclin'd on Beds at their Meals. But the very antient Custom of washing the Feet of Travellers, is a clear Evidence that they took off their Shoes or Sandals when they came into the House (r). It was customary, for a long time, to go bare-foot within Doors, and even in the City, at *Lacedemonia*, *Athens*, *Rome*, and almost every where in the *East*. Some of the *Antient Fathers*, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* (s) and *Tertullian* (t), are great Friends to this Custom. It appears by *Lucian* (u), that it was practis'd by many of the Primitive Christians.

The *Hebrew Shoes* were made of *Leather*, if we may believe *Bynæus* (w). He endeavours to prove it from the *clouted Shoes* of the *Gibeonites* (x), which he affirms were made of *Leather*: he further proves his Opinion from the frequent use of *Skins* among the *Antients*; and lastly, from their being of so little Value, as hath been observ'd: These Proofs are not unanswerable. The Passage concerning the *Gibeonites* is not express for their Shoes being of *Leather*, but only for their being piec'd or patch'd. *Geierus* (y) infers from the Passage in *Amos*, cited by *Bynæus* for the Cheapness of their Shoes, that they were of a great Price; and at this day tho' Shoes are made of *Leather*, they are not look'd upon as nothing worth. We say indeed, *this is not worth an old Shoe*, but not simply a Shoe. It is certain the Scriptures no where mention expressly what the *Mens Shoes* were made of. In *Egypt* they were made of a Bulrush, call'd *Papyrus*; in *Spain*, of *Genet*. *Herodian* (z) says, that they who prophesied in *Syria* and *Phanicia*, wore *Flaxen-Shoes*.

I should therefore make no scruple to own, that the *Hebrews* made use of *Flax*, *Rushes*, *Skins*, *Wood*, and the like, according as was most convenient, for Shoes or Sandals; for 'tis my Opinion, that *Sandals* were very common among them, because of the frequent mention of *Latchets*, and Ribbons that tied them over their Feet.* The Soldiers wore Shoes fortified with Iron or Brass, as we see by what *Moses* said of the *Tribe of Asher* before-mentioned. *Goliath* had *Buskins* of Brass, that cover'd his Feet, and the fore Part of his Leg. The *Greeks*, at

(r) Gen. xxiv. 32.

(s) Pedag. l. 6. c. 11.

(t) De Pallio.

(u) In Philop.

(w) De Calc. Heb. l. 1. c. 2.

(x) Josh. ix. 5.

(y) De Luâ. Heb. p. 295.

(z) Lib. 5. c. 13.

the

the Siege of *Troy*, wore *Brass-Boots* (z). *Hesiod* (a), among the Arms of *Hercules*, gives him a Pair of shining ones of the same Metal.

The *Womens Shoes* or *Sandals* were generally richer and neater than the *Mens*. *Ezekiel* (b) in his *Allegorical Enumeration* of the Presents of the Lord to the *Jews*, as of a *Bridegroom* to his *Bride*, says, among other Things, I Shod thee with *Purple*, or according to others, with *Badger's-Skin*. But I am of opinion, the meaning of the Original, is, with Shoes of a purple Colour, whether made of *Leather*, *Wool*, *Cotton*, or even *Flax*. This sort of Shoes was very much used formerly, and the Emperors wore *Purple Buskins*, as a Mark of their Dignity. The *Rabbins* hold (c), that the *Israelites* of Condition appear'd in the Temple on solemn Days, with *crimson Shoes*. And *Virgil* describes *Venus*, in the Drefs of a *Phanician Damsel*, with *Buskins of Purple*:

Purpureoque alæ Suras vincire Coturno.

The *Bride's Sandals* in the *Canticles* (d) were in all appearance of this Colour; *How beautiful are thy Feet with Shoes, O Prince's Daughter!* Their Shoes did not hide their Feet as ours do, but were like the *Phanician Buskins*, which cover'd not the Foot, and part of the Leg, the Whiteness whereof was set off by the Lustre of the Purple. *Judith* in all probability had a pair of these *Buskins* on, when she appeared before *Holofernes*, for the Scriptures observe, that *her Sandals ravish'd his Eyes* (e). *Plutarch* (f) says, the *High-Priests* of the *Jews*, wore on Festival Days in the Temple, magnificent *Buskins*; but in this he contradicts the Scriptures, which never mention *Sandals* or Shoes among the *Priests Habits*; and also the *Rabbins* and *Fathers*, who unanimously assure us, the *Priests* ministr'd in the Temple always bare-footed.

The *Hebrews* are thought not to have used any *Stockings*. This Opinion is grounded chiefly on their constant Custom of washing the Feet of their Guests, because tho' they wore *Sandals*, which defended the Soles of their Feet from Stones, and

(z) Hom. passim. Χαλκονχιμῖδες.

(a) Herc. Scut. v. 122.

(b) xvi. 10.

(c) Chald. Paraphr.

(d) Cant. vii. 1.

(e) Jud. xvi. 9.

(f) Sympos. l. 4.

C

what

what else might hurt them, yet this did not hinder their Feet and Legs from being covered with Dust as they walked. Besides, it is remarked, that as soon as they had pulled off their Sandals, they were bare-footed. 'Twas in this manner that they sat at Table in the latter Ages; that they went into the *Temple*, and that they remained during their Mourning. It was the general Custom all over the *East*, to go bare-foot, and to put on their Shoes or Sandals without any thing under them. As for the Women, they went in the same manner, only with this difference, that they wore round their Legs *Carkanets*, or Chains of precious Stones, Gold and Silver, and their Feet and Legs were visible through the Strings of their *Sandals*.



A



A DISSERTATION on the Funerals and Burials of the *Hebrews*.



ALL civiliz'd Nations have ever taken particular Care about burying their *Dead*. None but such barbarous People as the *Scythians*, *Thracians*, *Hiricanians*, neglected this last Office to their Friends.

All but barbarous Nations took care of their Dead.

The *Hebrews*, with regard to their *Dead*, were as scrupulous almost as the *Egyptians* themselves, who, of all Men living, were the most superstitious in this Point. The Ground of their being so, was the same in both Nations, namely, the *Belief of the Immortality of the Soul* (a). Hence, says *Tacitus*, proceeds the *Hebrews* Contempt of Death. *Abraham* purchased the Cave of *Macpelah* for a Burying Place for himself and Family. *Joseph* made his Brethren swear not to leave his Body in *Egypt*, but to carry it with them, when they should return to the *Land of Promise*. The Scriptures acquaint us with the Sepulchres of the most famous Men, and of some illustrious Women; and threaten the Wicked with being deprived of Burial as with the greatest Misfortune. It was the sacred Office of the most Religious to bury the Dead, to perform their *Obsequies*, and to carry to their Tombs Provisions for the Poor.

Upon any Person's dying, all that were present in the Room, and all the open Vessels, became *Unclean* for seven Days. He that touched or came nigh a dead Body, or a Grave, or the Bones of a Man, was in the same Condition. The manner of purify-

The way of purifying those who had approached a dead Body.

(a) Herod. l. 2. Tacit. de Jud. c. 5.

ing themselves in this Case, was thus : They took the Ashes of a red Heifer, that had been burnt by the High-Priest on the Day of *Atonement*, and put them in a Vessel full of Spring Water ; then a *clean* Person dipped some *Hyssop* in the Water, and sprinkled with it the Room, the Vessels, and the Parties that were *unclean*. This Ceremony was performed on the third and seventh Days, and on the seventh, the unclean Persons bathed themselves, washed their Clothes, and then were purified (b). The *Rabbins* (c) tell us, that a Man was not unclean for touching the Corps of any but a *Jew* ; for the *Gentiles*, say they, render all that come near them unclean, whilst alive ; but after their Death their *Bodies* are *clean*, and consequently cannot impart any Uncleaness. On the contrary, the Bodies of the *Israelites*, during their Lives, exhale an *Odour of Purity*, which *sanctifies* those that approach them ; but after they are dead, their *Soul*, and the *Holy Spirit* having taken their Flight, their Carcasses are fit only to spread Uncleaness and Corruption. There are a hundred such Niceties in the Writings of the *Jewish* Doctors ; but they are all now out of date, seeing these Ceremonies have been disused ever since the Destruction of the *Temple*.

The Ceremonies before and after Death.

The Scriptures say but little concerning the Ceremonies before and after Death, but the *Rabbins* make us ample amends for their Silence (d). When an *Israelite* is dangerously ill, he sends for ten Persons with a *Rabbin*, before whom he *confesses* aloud. The common Form of confessing their Sins, is composed in an *Alphabetical* Order ; one of those Sins that are the most usually committed, being placed under each Letter. This *Form* is designed only for illiterate People. Others confess their Sins in much the same manner as is practis'd in the *Church of Rome*. They examine the sick Man concerning his Belief ; above all, they ask him, whether he is in expectation of the *Messiah*. He prays God to restore him to his Health, and to hear him as he did *Hezekiah* ; but if my Hour is come, continues he, *I beseech thee, O Lord, that my Death may serve as an Atonement for the Sins I have committed knowingly, or ignorantly, from the Day of my Birth until now. Grant me a Portion in thy Pa-*

(b) Numb. xix. 14 — 18.

(c) Bafn. Hist. des Juifs, l. 7. Jud. c. 35.

(d) See Leo de Mod. c. 8. Buxtorf Synag.

radise,

radise and in the World to come, reserved for the Righteous ; and teach me the way of Life that is to endure for ever. After this Petition, the Friends of the sick Man go to the *Synagogue*, and offer up their Prayers to God for him under another Name ; intimating thereby, that he was no longer the same Man, but had entered upon a new Life.

They reckon it an Act of Devotion, to be present at the Death of *Good* and *Learned* Men ; and hope by it greatly to promote their Sanctification, because it is written (e), *He shall not see Death, who beholds the Wise going out of this World.* The Application of these Words is very wrong ; but I am only taking notice of what is practised among them. Some kiss the dying Person, in order to catch his last Breath. This is an ancient Usage ; for *Philo* (f) relating the Complaints of *Jacob* for the unexpected Death of *Joseph*, makes him say, that he should not have the Consolation of closing his Eyes, and of giving him the *last Kiss*. *Joseph* fell upon his dying Father's Face, and kissed him (g). This Custom was taken up by the Heathens. They received the last Breath of their expiring Friends, as a Mark of their Love and Affection.

*Herentemque animam non tristis in ora Mariti
Transulit.*

Statius.

The *Primitive* Christians, and even the Priests, formerly kiss'd the Dead by way of Ceremony ; but it was afterwards prohibited by the *Council of Auxerre*. The Moment the sick Person expires, all the Standers-by rend their Clothes in token of Grief, according to the very ancient Custom of the *Hebrews*. But this is done now out of pure Ceremony. They take care to rend nothing that is valuable, but generally tear the bottom of their Garment about a hand's breadth. The *Rabbins* say, the Rent may be sewed up again after 30 Days, if the dead Person is no Relation ; but if a Relation, it must never be mended. It is also a Practice of a long standing, to throw all the Water in the House, and in the Neighbourhood, into the Street, either as a sign of Grief, or only to give notice there is somebody dead in that Quarter, that the Neighbours may condole with the Parties concerned. The *Rabbins*

(e) Psal. xlviii. 10. vulg.

(f) Phil. de Jos.

(g) Gen. l. 1.

fancy

fancy (*b*), the *Angel of Death*, which strikes the Fatal Blow, poisons the Water, by washing his Sword in it, and give that as a Reason of its being thrown away. After this, they spread a Cloath on the Floor, and laying the Corps on it, cover the Face with a Napkin, for it is not lawful to look upon it after Death. The Reason they alledge for this, is, that the Poor, whose Visages are usually extremely altered, on account of the Hunger and hard Labour they have endured, may not be covered with Confusion. They bend the dead Man's Thumb within his Hand, and tie it there with the Tufts of his *Tbalet*. They manage it so, that the Thumb thus bent, represents in some measure, the Name *Shaddai*. The Fingers remain extended, as they are wont to do in a dead Corps, to show, say the *Rabbins*, that we abandon all things when we die; whereas Children are born with their Fists clinch'd, to denote they are come to take Possession of the Riches of the Earth, which God hath delivered into their Hands. They light up a Wax-Taper at the Head or Feet of the dead Person, whilst he lies on the Floor. This Custom is not uniform, and their Reasons for it are very odd and out of the way. The *Jews* were accused at a Conference held before the Pope in 1412, of saying, that this Taper was designed to light the *Soul* back again to the Body, in case it should be desirous of re-entering; a common Notion at this time among the *Turks*, who believe the *Soul* hovers for seven days together over the Grave of the Deceased. But the *Jews* denied the matter, and affirm'd they did it in defiance of the *Sorcerers*, who maintain, that a Taper thus lighted near a dead Body, will cause the *Soul* to be in violent Pain. Lastly, they wash the Corps with hot Water, wherein they infuse odoriferous Herbs and Spices. This is a very antient Practice among the *Jews* (*i*), and also among the *Heathens*. The Women generally perform this Office, as well as put on the Drawers and Linnen Frock. Some affirm (*k*), the Men washed and buried the Men, and the Women did the like for the Women. But it is thought there are Proofs to the contrary, in the Writings of the *Jews*, as well as *Heathens*. *Socrates* washed himself before he drank the Poison, to save the Women the trouble of doing it after he was dead (*l*). Over the *Frock* or

(*b*) Buxtorf. Synagog. c. 35.

(*i*) Plat. in Phæd.

(*j*) Aḡs ix. 37.

(*k*) Bar. an. 34.

Shirts,

Shirt, they put a kind of a fine *Rochet*, or the *White Habit* the Deceased was wont to wear on the Day of the solemn *Attonement*. To this were added his *Tbalet* and a white *Bonnet* on his Head. In this Dress he was put into the Coffin, with a Linnen Cloth under and over him. Some (*m*) will have it, that before the Corps was buried, the Hair was cut off.

There is some difference as to the *Coffins*, and Ornaments about it. On the Coffin of a Man of Letters, are placed a good many Books. A Person of Distinction has his Coffin painted. Sometimes it is covered with black Cloath. We are told, that formerly the Dead were dressed out in all they had, that was rich or magnificent; so that the Poor were often forced to go out of the way, not being in a Condition to bear these vain Expences. But *Gamaliel the Elder* reformed these extravagant Doings, and ordered that the Corps should be covered only with a Linnen Vail; which was so strictly observed afterwards, that the Kings themselves were buried only in a Sheet. However, there is some Diversity of Opinions in this Matter, and the first is the most generally received. *Schikardus* says, they buried with the King his Crown and Sceptre, and burnt all his Clothes, it being unlawful for any Person to make use of them after his Death. It will be very proper to bear in mind, that this is grounded on the Authority of the *Rabbins*, which is very doubtful in Matters of Antiquity. *Josephus* says, a great quantity of Gold was buried with *David*. But this Fact is very questionable. In his Description of *Herod's* Funeral, *Josephus* (*n*) acquaints us, that no Cost or Care was spared to render it magnificent. All the Ensigns of Royalty were made use of upon this occasion. The *Herse* was covered over with an Embroidery of Gold and precious Stones, and an Intermixture of Purple. Upon this was the Body laid, clothed also in Purple; a Diadem on the Head, and over it a Crown of Gold, with a Sceptre in his Hand. It is said in the *Chronicles* (*o*), that King *Asa* being dead, his Body was laid in a Bed filled with Spices. The antient *Romans* and *Greeks* made use also of *Beds*, or *Litters*, to put their Dead in. At the Funerals of *Great Men*, there were several carried for Show. The *Rabbins* call a Coffin by the Name of *Bed*.

(*m*) Geier. de Luſu, c. 5.

(*n*) De Bell. Jud. l. 1. c. 21.

(*o*) 2 Chr. xvi. 14.

The

The *Jewish* Writers pretend, that heretofore the same Ceremonies were used at the Funeral of a famous *Doctor*, as of a King; his *Clothes*, *Beds*, and *Movables* were all burnt; his Body was wrapped in Silk; in a word, they exhausted their Treasures in Pomp and Magnificence: but this is far from being certain. We find no Footsteps of these Things in Antiquity. *Abarbanel* (p), and some others are of Opinion, *Samuel* was buried in his *Mantle*, because he appeared in that Habit to *Saul*. Others maintain the contrary, because, say they, it was not lawful to bury in *Woollen*. This last Reason is much of the same Stamp with the former, for the Prophet's being buried in his *Cloak* or *Mantle*. It is not known for certain, how the antient *Jews* dressed their *Dead*, though it is very probable they wrapped them in *Linnea*, as did the *Egyptians* and most other Nations. Of the *Rabbins*, some are of Opinion, the *Dead* were buried in *Linnea* and *Woollen*; others deny it. The Law forbids the *Living* to use any such Habits, but possibly the *Dead* may be dispensed with in this Particular.

Embalming.

We have a few Instances of embalming dead Bodies among the *Hebrews*; but this Custom was never general, nor very common. *Joseph* ordered the Body of his Father to be embalmed after the *Egyptian* manner. It is very likely, he himself and the other *Patriarchs* that died in *Egypt*, were also embalmed. Some affirm, that they generally embalmed the Kings of *Judah*, founding their Opinion upon what is said of *Asa's* Body being burnt with a great quantity of *Odours* and *Spices* (q), and that *Jeioram*, his Grandson, had not the same Honour done him. *The People made no burning for him like the burning of his Fathers* (r). It is presum'd these Bodies were not burnt, till after they were embalmed and rubb'd with Odoriferous Herbs. Our Saviour's Body was also served in that manner, and he foretold his being thus embalmed, when *Mary* anointed his Head. *Nicodemus* brought a Mixture of *Myrrh* and *Aloes* about an Hundred Weight, for his Burial (s); and the Holy Women, who went first to his Sepulchre, apparently supposed, that they had not had time on the Even of the *Sabbath* to perform this Office, since they brought with them the

(p) Ad 1 Sam. xi. 19.

(q) 2 Chron. xvi. 14.

(r) 1 Chr. xxi. 19.

(s) John xix. 39.

Spices

Spices they had prepared for his Embalming (t). In fine, St. *John* (u) intimates, that it was a common Custom; *Joseph of Arimathea* and *Nicodemus*, says he, wrapped the Body of *Jesus* in *Linnea* Cloaths with the Spices, as the manner of the *Jews* is to bury. *Antonius Margarita* says, when they come to the Burying-Place, the Corps is laid in a little sort of Chappel, and rub'd with an Egg beaten up with some Wine; and then wrapped again in *Linnea* Cloaths. *Buxtorf* says, they rub only the Head with the Egg, after they have cut off the Hair, and before they put the Corps in the Coffin. This Mixture of Egg and Wine, is, perhaps, a Relick of the antient Custom of Embalming; and, as I think, peculiar to some *Jews* of *Germany*.

The Embalming mentioned in the *Gospel*, is very different from that of the *Egyptians*, described by *Herodotus* (w). Our Saviour's Body was only anointed with Oyl, and liquid Spices, and wrapped in *Linnea* Swaths dip'd in the same. This was not sufficient to prevent Corruption, and Rottenness; but only to preserve the Body some time longer, and hinder the Stench from being so loathsome. *Lazarus's* Body perhaps was not anointed, since they were apprehensive of its stinking in four Days (x). They wrapped the whole Body, from Head to Foot, with *Swaths*, like those of Children in *Swaddling-clothes*; and covered the Head with a *Linnea* Cloath, in the shape of a Handkerchief *. All this is plain from the Burial of our Saviour, and the Resurrection of *Lazarus*. It is said, that besides these Swaths and Handkerchief, *Jesus Christ* was wrapped in a large *Linnea* Cloath like a Sheet, which the *Evangelists* term *Sindon*, and which is known now by the Name of the *Holy Handkerchief*, *Patterns* whereof are preserved in several of our Churches.

* Fig. VII.

The *Jewish* manner of burying at present, is somewhat different from what has been just described, as will appear by comparing it with what was said before. Sometimes when the rich and costly *Bands* or *Fillets* they bind up the Volumes or *Rolls* of the *Law* with, are grown old, they make use of them to wrap their Dead in. But this is seldom done, and the use of *Swaths* is now lain aside, at least in this part of the World.

(t) Luk. xxiv. 1.

(u) xix. 40.

(w) Lib. 2.

(x) John xi. 39.

* See the Cut of a *Jewish* Corps, Fig. VII. p. 225.

D

The

The *Jews* have varied their Customs very much in this Particular, and at present conform in a great measure to the usages of the Places where they live.

*The Corps lay
some time un-
buried.*

The Corps remained some time above Ground before it was interred. *Abraham* mourned for *Sarah*, and bought a Cave of the Sons of *Heth*, before she was laid in it. The Body of *Jacob* remained seventy Days before it was carried into the Land of *Canaan*, and buried in the Sepulchre of his Fathers. Their *Lamentations* and *Mournings*, so frequently mentioned in Scripture, were chiefly made before the Body was interred. The near Relations of the deceased, express'd their Sorrow by *Cries*, *Tears*, *renting their Clothes*, *scratching and cutting their Flesh*, *beating their Breasts*, *tearing their Hair*, *sitting in*, and *covering their Heads with Dust and Ashes*. *Jacob* having been falsely alarmed with the News of *Joseph's* Death, *rent his Clothes*, *put Sackcloth on his Loins*, and *mourned for his Son many Days*. *Moses* forbids the High-Priest to rent his Clothes or mourn for any Person; and the other Priests he prohibits from shaving their Heads and Beards, and from cutting their Flesh, upon account of the Death of their nearest Relations. As for the rest of the *Israelites*, they are not forbid any of these Things, unless in the profane Ceremonies of *Adonis*, whom *Moses* by way of Derision, calls, *the Dead (y)*: *Ye shall not make any Cuttings in your Flesh for the Dead*. Upon all other occasions, they gave themselves up to their Grief, and showed the most sensible Marks of it. *Jeremiah (z)* threatens the *Jews*, *that they shall not be buried, neither shall Men lament for them, nor cut themselves, nor make themselves bald for them*. These Ceremonies were common among the *Antients*, and practis'd by the *Mobites* and *Ammonites* as well as by the *Hebrews*. *Every Head shall be bald, and every Beard clipt*, says *Jeremiah (a)* to *Moab*, *upon all the Hands shall be Cuttings, and upon the Loins Sackcloth*. The *Jews* at this day believe all Incisions are forbidden, on account of the Death of their near Relations, by the Words of *Moses* above cited. *Herodotus (b)* describes the same Marks of Grief among the *Egyptians*. When a Person of Figure dies in *Egypt*, the Women belonging to his Family, throw Dust on their Heads and Faces, and run

(y) Lev. xix. 28.

(z) xvi. 6.

(a) xlvi. 37.

(b) Lib. 2. c. 85.

through

through the City, making hideous Lamentation: their Heads and Bosoms are bare, and they go beating their Breasts, and attended with their Relations. The Men in another Part of the City walk along beating their bare Breasts, and deploring with loud Voice the Misfortune happen'd to their Family. This Ceremony continues till the Deceased is laid in his Coffin.

When the time of interring the Body is come, the Relations and Friends of the Deceased accompany him to his Grave. Thus *Jacob's* Funeral was attended not only by his own Family, but also by the Servants of *Pharaoh*, and all the *Elders* of *Egypt*, as far as the Land of *Canaan (c)*. At *Abner's* Death, *David* ordered *Joab* and all the Army, to rent their Clothes, put on Sackcloth, mourn for their General, and to follow his Bier (d), which he himself likewise did, and pronounced his Funeral Oration. He compos'd also a Funeral Hymn in honour of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, and praised the Men of *Jabesh Gilead* for their Courage, in bringing off the Bodies of these two Princes, and giving them an honourable Burial near their City. The Widow of *Nain* was accompanied with a great Company of People at her Son's Funeral. The *Rabbins* exclude the Enemies of the deceased, from being present at his Funeral; and the *Talmudists* inform us, that *Jacob* on his Death-bed order'd his Sons not to suffer any *Gentile* to approach his Corps, lest the Lord should withdraw his Presence from it. As for the Enemies, they were excluded, for fear they should insult the *Manes* of the deceased. The Dead were carried with their Feet foremost, according to the *Rabbins*.

As soon as the Corps is carried forth (e), they double the Cloath on the Floor, fold up his Bed-clothes which they leave on the Matt, and place a lighted Lamp on the Head-board, which continues burning during the seven days of Mourning. They take down also all the Beds in the House. Some maintain this is to be done the moment the Corps is carried out: Others will have it deferred till the Grave is filled up. *Buxtorf* says, in some places they throw an Earthen Vessel after the Corps, which they break to pieces against the Pavement, as an Emblem of Death, or for some such Reason.

(c) Gen. 50. 7.

(e) Leo. de Mod. part 4. c. 9.

(d) 2 Sam. iii. 31.

D 2

They

They look upon the accompanying a *Funeral Pomp*, and carrying the Corps, as a meritorious Action, and therefore strive to carry the Bier by turns on their Shoulders. This Act of Devotion is attributed to the *Patriarchs* and *Jewish Saints*. There are some Footsteps of this *pious* or *respectful* Office among the *Primitive Christians*; and also among the *Heathens*. Besides, the Friends and Relations of the deceased, who never fail'd of showing all the Signs of Grief by their Lamentations, there were likewise Women hired on purpose to mourn. *Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, call for the Mourning-Women, that they may come. Let them make haste and take up a Wailing for us (f). Wailing shall be in all Streets, says Amos (g), and they shall call such as are skilful of Lamentation to wailing.* And *Ezekiel (h)*, representing the Fall of *Tyre*, says, the Mariners and Pilots shall leave their Ships and come ashore, to lament the Destruction of that powerful City. *They shall cry bitterly and cast up Dust on their Heads, they shall gird themselves with Sackcloth, and shall weep for thee with bitterness of Heart, saying, What City is like Tyre, like the destroy'd in the midst of the Sea? &c. Josephus (i) says, when it was fallly given out he was slain, all Jerusalem mourn'd for him 30 days, and that Players on Flutes were hired to celebrate his Funeral Pomp.*

In the Gospel, we find a Company of *Minstrels* or Players on Flutes at the Funeral of the Ruler's Daughter; a Practice borrow'd from the *Heathens*, and of which there are no Footsteps in the *Old Testament*. The *Greeks* and *Romans* spread this Custom over the *East*. *Ovid* says,

— *Cantabat mæstis Tibia Funeribus.*

Aged Persons were carried to their Graves with the Sound of the Trumpet, says *Servius*, and young ones with the Sound of the Flute. The *Romans* allow'd but ten Players on the Flute at a Funeral. Among the *Hebrews*, a Man was oblig'd to have two at least at the Funeral of his Wife, besides one hired to mourn, which was never omitted (k). In other respects, regard was had to the Custom of the Place, and Condition of the Person, in such manner however, that if a Woman of Distinction had married beneath her, her Funeral Pomp was to be according to

(f) Jer. ix. 17, 18. (g) v. 16. (h) xxvii. 29, 30, 31. (i) De bello Jud. l. 3. c. 15. (k) Misna. tit. Cethuboth. c. 4.

her

her own, and not according to her Husband's Quality; for the *Jews* have a Maxim, that *the Wife rises with her Husband, but descends not with him, even in Death (l).*

Formerly in time of publick Mourning, the *Hebrews* went up on their House-Tops to lament their Misfortunes. In all the Cities of *Moab*, says *Isaiab (m)*, on the Tops of their Houses shall every one howl. And again, speaking of *Jerusalem*, he says (n), *What aileth thee now, that thou art wholly gone up to the House-Tops?* On these Occasions, and when any Person of Figure died in the City, or in some Quarter of it, they shut their Doors and Shops. *Philo (o)* says, That at the Death of *Drusilla*, the *Jews* of *Alexandria* shut up their Shops. *St. Epiphanius (p)* quotes, as out of the Law, these Words: *If a dead Man pass by your House, shut your Doors and Windows, lest the House be unclean.* *Jeremiab (q)*, lamenting the Evils befallen *Jerusalem*, says, — *Teach your Daughters Wailing, and every one her Neighbour Lamentation, for Death is come up into our Windows, and is entred into our Houses, to cut off the Children from without, and the young Men from the Streets.* This Passage seems to me to allude to what *Epiphanius* says above.

All who chanc'd to meet a Funeral, says *Josephus (r)*, were oblig'd out of respect to join the Company, and lament with those that mourn'd. Perhaps *St. Paul* alludes to this, when he uses this *Proverbial* Saying, *Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep (s).* And our Saviour in the Gospel, more plainly: *We have mourn'd unto you, and ye have not lamented.* As they were leading our Saviour to his Crucifixion, a great Company of People and of Women follow'd him, making Lamentations. *Jepthah's* Daughter, before her Father did with her according to his Vow, went with her Companions and bewail'd her own Death. *Maimonides* says, the poorest *Jew* was oblig'd to hire two Men and one Woman, to mourn at the Funeral of his Wife, and that the rich ones were to encrease the Number in proportion to their Estate.

In some Places, *Leo of Modena* says, they carry lighted Tapers or Flambeaus after the Corps: but this must be a mo-

(l) Gemar. tit. Cethub. c. 4. (m) xv. 3. (n) xxii. 1. (o) In Flacc. p. 953. (p) Hæc. 9. quæ est Samarit. (q) ix. 20, 21. (r) Cont. App. (s) Rom. xii. 15.

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dern Custom; for there are no Traces of it in Scripture; neither is it very common among the *Jews*: in many Places they have no such thing, and are not even allow'd to do so, if they have a mind to it. The *Council of Narbonne*, held in the *Sixth Century*, says, that formerly the *Jews* had no *Musick* at their Funerals; and upbraids them with having introduced the Custom of Playing and Singing of late Years. They are forbid the having any for the future under the Penalty of Six Ounces of Silver, payable to the Lord of the Place. The *Jews* might imitate the Christians in their Tapers and Wax-Candles, which have been in use ever since the Church has been at peace. We find at the Burial of St. Paul, the Priests held Lamps and Wax-Lights in their Hands. The same was practis'd in the Greek Church in St. Chrysostom's Time. Usually Funerals were celebrated in the Day-time; and when the Deceas'd was distinguish'd by his Birth or Learning, the Corps was carried thro' the publick and most frequented Streets. The Jewish Doctors describe the Funeral Poms of their Rabbins in a most magnificent manner. The Instance of Tobir's burying the Dead by Night (x), makes nothing against what has been said, since what he did, was done in Time of Persecution, when it was Death to do that Office to a Jew.

The Graves.

There were several sorts of Graves among the *Jews*. They were generally on level Ground, and in the Fields; some were in Rocks in the Mountains. These last were Caves hollow'd on purpose, wherein were contriv'd several Niches, in which the dead Bodies were laid; some had room only for one Corps: in fine, the Situation, Form, and Ornaments of these sort of Graves were infinite, according to the Fancy, Qualities and Dignity of the Persons, and according to the Situation of the Place, and Form of the Rocks. Abraham bought a double Cave near Hebron, where Sarah was buried (u). He himself, Isaac and Jacob, were also buried there; but Jacob's Sons, according to St. Stephen, were interr'd at Sychem (w). The Cave Abraham purchas'd, was, in all probability, dug out of a Rock, and consist'd of two Rooms with several Niches in them. Aaron died, and was buried on mount Hor in Arabia, apparently in a Cave. Moses was laid by the Angels in a

(x) Tob. ii. 9. (u) Gen. xxiii. 9. Vulg. *Macpelab*. Eng. Bib. (w) Acts vii. 16.

Cave

Cave at the foot of Mount Pisgab. The Grave of Elifsha was evidently in a Cave or Niche in a Rock, since they let down into it a dead Man that came to life again by touching the Prophet's Bones (x). The Graves of the Kings of Judah were also in Rocks, and Travellers are shewn at this day Caves cut out of the solid Rock with admirable Art and prodigious Labour. In fine, our Saviour's Sepulchre was hewn out of a Rock by Nicodemus for himself, wherein no Person had ever been laid. Lazarus's also must have been in a Rock, since it had a Stone before the Mouth of it, upon the Removal of which, Lazarus came forth.

These Sepulchres were sometimes in Towns, as those of the Kings of Judah, which were in Jerusalem, and in the Palace-Garden (y). Ezekiel (z) insinuates, the Kings were buried on the Mount of the Temple, or very near the Sanctuary; since God says, they shall defile no more the Holy Mountain with the Carcases of their Kings. Sometimes the Bodies were buried in the Gardens adjoining to the City. The common Burying Places for the People were without the City, of which there were several sorts. Some were for the Citizens, where each Family had its Place assign'd; others, for Jewish Strangers, and others for the Gentiles, who were not buried among the Hebrews. They took particular Care not to bury in High-ways, for fear of defiling themselves by walking over the Graves of the Dead. However, they made the Sepulchres very near the Roads, especially when they distinguish'd them so, as every one might know them. As for the Sepulchres that were not distinguish'd, particularly when they were on even Ground, they whiten'd them without, as is said, every Year in February, that they might be discern'd at a distance. Our Saviour alludes to this Custom, when he compares the Pharisees to whited Sepulchres, which are clean without, but within are full of Rottenness and Deadmen's Bones. Elsewhere he likens them to Graves that appear not, and which Men walk over without being aware of it (a).

The most famous Sepulchres in Palestine, were in Caves, and all their Beauty lay within; if a Cave hewn out of a Rock with a great deal of Pains and Charge, and which never saw

(x) 2 King. xlii. 21. (y) 2 King. xxi. 18. (z) xliii. 7, 9. (a) Luke xi. 44.

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the Light, may be termed beautiful. The *Hebrews* had too much Sense to amuse themselves with erecting superb Monuments. However, there were some remarkable ones: but by the Descriptions of them, their Structure is modern, or else the pure Effect of Imagination. The Scriptures (b) tell us, *Jacob* erected a *Pillar* or *Monument* over *Rachel's* Grave. *Benjamin Tudelensis* says, it was to be seen in his Time: it was composed of twelve Stones, according to the Number of the *twelve Tribes of Israel*, and neatly built in the form of a little *Dome*, supported by four Pillars. There is mention also of the Tombs or Sepulchres of *Sampson*, *Asabel*, and *Absalom* (c). The *Sacred Text* calls it *the Hand of Absalom*, either to denote it was his Work, or that it was intended for his Burying-Place. The Sepulchre of the *Maccabees* at *Modin*, was adorned with *Armour* and *the Figures of Ships* (d), like the *Monuments* of *Warriours*; and this is the only one whose Form is exactly known. *Simon*, who erected it, made it after the Model of the *Greeks*, who ruled then in *Syria*. The *Rabbins* lay down several Rules for the making Sepulchres hewn out of Rocks; but they differ among themselves about the Largeness and Situation of the Cave, and the number of the *Niches* it ought to have. In short, 'tis ridiculous to give Instructions in things of this Nature, which must necessarily be various, according to the different Situation of Places and People's Abilities, some being unwilling, and others unable to go to the Expence.

The *Jews*, since their *Dispersion*, have all along been extremely desirous of being buried in *Palestine*. It is an *Article* of their *Creed*, that there is a necessity for all the *Hebrews*, who are willing to have a Part in the Resurrection, to be interred in the *Holy Land*. Hence many aged Persons among them undertake a Journey thither, in order to be buried there. They have a Notion, that the Bodies of those, who go not to the *Holy-Land* whilst living, will rowl thither after Death through certain subterraneous Passages. One should hardly believe it possible, that People could entertain in good earnest such a Thought, if the *Jewish* Writers did not positively assure us it is Fact (e). This Returning of the Dead to the *Land of Promise*,

(b) Gen. xxxv. 20.
(d) 1 Macc. xiii. 29.

(c) Judg. xvi. 31. 2 Sam. ii. 32. xviii. 18.
(e) Rab. Salom. in Gen. 48. Abarban, and others.

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is term'd, *the Rowling of the Dead*, or, *of the Caves*. They maintain, that none but *Jews* are to rise again at the last Day. They tell us a thousand whimsical Stories about this *Subterraneous Rowling*, which are not worth our Notice.

There was no Place fixed for the burying the *Dead*. They had Sepulchres in the City, in their Gardens, in the Country, on Mountains, near the Roads, under Trees. The Sepulchres of the Kings of *Judab*, were in *Jerusalem*, and of *Israel* in *Samaria* (f). Some of the Kings were interred in their Gardens, *Samuel* in his House, that is to say, in a Garden adjoining. *Aaron*, *Eleazar*, *Joshua*, our Saviour, on Mountains. *Deborah*, *Rebecca's* Nurse, and *Saul*, under Trees. *Rachael* in the Road to *Bethlehem*. The *Strangers* that died at *Jerusalem*, were buried, as is said, in the *Valley of Hinnom*, or of *Kedron*. Here lay the *Potters Field* bought with the thirty pieces of Silver *Judas* had for betraying his Master. In the same Place was the Burying-Place also of the *Poor* of *Jerusalem*. They erected sometimes, not on the Sepulchre, but near it, a *Pillar*, or *Stone*.

King *Josiab* beholding one of these *Stones*, among the Sepulchres of the *Idolatrous* Priests, ask'd what it was. They told him, it was the Sepulchre of the *Man of God*, who came from *Judab*, and had foretold his burning on the Altar of *Berbel*, the Bones of the *Idolatrous* Priests (g). The common Form of their *Epitaphs* runs thus: *This Stone is placed at the Head of such a one, who was buried on such a Day of such a Year. May his Soul rest in the Garden of Eden, with all the Just, who have been there from the beginning. Amen, amen, amen, Selah.* Or thus: *May his Soul be bound in the Garden of Eden, Amen, &c.* Otherwise: *This Monument or Statue is erected at the Head of the most illustrious, most holy, and most pure Virgin Rebecca, the Daughter of Holy Samuel the Levite, who died in good Reputation the seventh Day of the Month Thebet, in the Year 135. May her Soul be bound in the Garden of Eden. Amen, amen, amen, Selah.* But these Forms are Modern, and not always uniform. We don't find the Antients had any *Epitaphs*. The Monument served instead of one. They knew by Tradition, that such a Cave was

(f) 1 King. ii. 10. xvi. 28.

(g) 2 King. xxiii. 17. 1 King. xiii. 2.

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the Sepulchre of such a one. *Benjamin Tudelensis* travelling in *Palestine*, observed this Inscription on the Cave where *Abraham* was buried: *This is the Sepulchre of Abraham our Blessed Father*. But it is visible this *Epitaph* is of a recent Date.

The *Jews* call their Burying-Place, *the House of the Living* (b), to denote their Belief of the *Resurrection*; and when they come there with a *Corps*, they address themselves to the Dead, as if they were alive, saying (i): *Blessed be the Lord, who hath created, sustained, educated, and taken you out of the World by his Justice. He knows the number of you all, and will raise you up again in his good time. Blessed be the Lord who kills and makes alive*. They have a very great Respect for Sepulchres: they teach, that it is unlawful to make an Aqueduct, or High-way cross them; or to gather the Wood that grows on them, or to let the Cattle feed upon them, or to inter two Bodies over one another in the same Grave. They build *Synagogues* and *Houses of Prayer* near the Graves of the *Saints* and great Men of their Nation. There is a *Synagogue* near the Graves of *Ezekiel* and *Zechariah*, of *Mordecai* and *Esther*. They are wont to pray at these Sepulchres, being persuaded of the Efficacy of the Prayers and Intercessions of the *Saints*, as the *Roman Catholics* are (k).

Whether they
ever burned
their Dead.

Commentators are not agreed, whether the Bodies were not burnt in old times, at least on some extraordinary occasions. There are several Instances, which seem to prove that the Bodies of some of their Kings were served so before they were laid in their Graves. The Men of *Jabesh-Gilead* burnt the Bodies of *Saul* and of his Sons (l). *Asa*, King of *Judah*, had a large Funeral Pile made to burn his Body, and it is remarked *Jehoram* his Grandson had not the same Honour paid him. *Jeremiah* (m) foretels *Zedekiah*, that he should die in Peace, and his *Obsequies* should be performed, particularly the burning of his Body, as had been done to his Predecessors. But notwithstanding these Instances, several maintain that the *Hebrews* seldom or never burnt their dead Bodies, and that the Examples above, are to be understood of the burning of *Spices*, or perhaps of *Clothes* and *Moveables* on or near the Body, and not of

(b) Leo of Modena, p. 5. c. 8.
Hist. of the Jews, l. 7. c. 24. n. 24.

(i) Buxt. Synag. c. 35.

(l) 1 Sam. xxxii. 12.

(k) See Basnage
(m) xxxiv. 5.

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the Body itself. The *Chaldee Paraphrast*, and the *Rabbins*, are cited, as being of this Opinion. But these *Texts* seem to me too express, absolutely to deny that the dead Bodies were frequently burnt; not indeed to Ashes, but so as to consume the Flesh, after which the Bones and Ashes were laid in the Sepulchre.

The *Funeral Pomp* being come to the Burying-Place, the Prayer above-mentioned is rehearsed, wherein the Dead are ^{Funeral Ora-} addressed as if they were *Living*. Then the Body is laid in the Ground, and if the Deceased was famous upon any account, one of the Company made his *Funeral Oration*; a very antient Custom, mentioned in the Scriptures, and by *Ecclesiastical* and *Profane* Writers. Among the *Egyptians*, the deceased King had a Judgment passed upon him before he was buried. Every one had the Privilege of praising or blaming, what Good or Ill they had remarked during his Reign. Private Persons were treated in the same manner. The Custom of making Funeral Orations, is of an antient standing in the *Christian Church*. There are several recorded in the Scriptures, as those of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, of *Abner*, of *Josiah*, and *Judas Maccabeus*. After the Oration is over, the *Jews* take a turn round the Grave, reciting a pretty long Prayer, which they call the *Justice of the Judgment*, because they give God thanks in it, for having pronounced so just a Sentence on the Deceased. It begins with these Words of *Deuteronomy* (n): *God is the Rock, his Work is perfect, all his Ways are Judgment*. They place a Pillar of Earth under the Head of the deceased, and nail up his Coffin. If it is a Man, ten Persons take ten Turns round the Coffin, rehearsing a Prayer for his Soul. The nearest Relation rends a Corner of his Garment. But these Ceremonies are not exactly the same every where. After this, the Body is laid in the Grave, with the Face towards Heaven, and they cry out, *Go in Peace*, or, according to the *Talmudists*, *Go to Peace*. Some have the Superstition to turn the Face towards the *East*; but in this Particular the Practice is various. The Relations throw the Earth first on the Corps, then each of the standers-by cast in Handfuls or Shovels full, till the Grave is filled up. After which, they retire, walking backwards; and

(n) xxxiii. 4.

before they are out of the Burying-Place, each plucks some Grass three times, and throwing it over his Head, says, *They shall flourish as the Green Herb*, to express their Hopes of a Resurrection, and to denote, that *all Flesh is Grass, and all the Goodliness thereof, as the Flower of the Field*. They cast Dust also on their Heads, in Remembrance that *they are but Dust, and to Dust they must return*. Some add, as a sort of a Farewell to the deceased: *We shall all follow you, according to the Course of Nature*. Antonius Margarita (o), a German Jew, that was converted, says, that as soon as they have rent their Garments, they go out of the Burying-Place making a great Noise, for fear they should hear the Cries of the deceased, when being covered with Earth, the Rats come and eat off the tip of his Nose. They are verily persuaded, that whoever hears this Cry, will assuredly die within thirty Days. Gerson (p) says, as they return from the Burying-Place, they sit down seven times by the way, that the Devils, who have so far followed the Company, may fly away.

At their Return, they go to the Synagogue. It has been already remark'd, that they observe not now what is order'd by the Law, concerning the Uncleanneſs contracted at Funerals. Before they enter, they wash their Hands, saying (q), *The Lord will swallow up Death in Victory, and will wipe away Tears from off all Faces, and the Rebuke of his People shall be taken away from off the Earth, for the Lord hath spoken it*. Being enter'd, they sit down, and change Places nine or seven Times: They leap, and recite the Prayer they call *Holy* for the deceased, and some consolatory Sentences for themselves; as, *He that dwelleth in the secret Place of the most High, shall abide under the Shadow of the Almighty, &c.* The Relations of the deceased, at their return Home, sit down on the Ground, and after their Shoes are taken off, some Bread, Wine, and hard Eggs are set before them. They eat and drink according to the Proverb: *Give strong Drink to the Miserable, and Wine to the Heavy-hearted*. He that craves a Blessing, adds some Words of Consolation. In the East, and several other Places, the Relations and Friends are wont to send in for seven Days together, Morning and Evening, to the next of Kin, wherewithal

(o) Ap. Guier. de Luc. Heb. c. 6. (p) P. 1. Talm. Jud. c. 36. (q) Isai. xxv. 8.

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to make sumptuous Repasts, and even come and eat with them in order to comfort them.

Formerly the Food that was eaten during the Mourning was reckon'd unclean; but at present it is not so. *Their Sacrifices*, says Hosea (r), *shall be as the Bread of Mourners, all that eat thereof shall be polluted*. And the Israelites, in the Form made use of at their offering the First-Fruits, say (s), *Lord I have not transgress'd thy Commandments; I have not eaten thereof in my Mourning*—. At their Repasts for the Dead, nothing but Lamentations were heard. *They roar and cry before their Gods, as Men do at the Feast when one is dead* (t). And the Lord speaking to Jeremias (u): *Enter not into the House of the Mourning-Feast, neither go to lament nor bemoan them — Neither shall Men give them the Cup of Consolation to drink for their Father or for their Mother*.

The Custom of visiting the Relations in order to comfort them for their Loss, appears from what is said of the Sons of Jacob, who all rose up to comfort their Father for the Death of Joseph, whom he thought some wild Beast had devour'd. And from the Example of Ephraim's Brethren, who came to console with him for the Loss of his Sons (w). David sent Ambassadors to the King of the Ammonites, to comfort him for the Death of his Father. Job's Friends came to visit him in his Disgrace. The Friends and Relations of Lazarus came to Bethany to comfort Mary and Martha for the Loss of their Brother.

Josephus (x) relates, that Archelaus, after he had mourn'd seven Days for Herod the Great, feasted the People magnificently: and adds, it was the Custom on such Occasions to make splendid Entertainments for the Relations of the deceased, to the great detriment of many People, who were not rich enough to be at the Expence.

Another Custom among the Antients was, to place Victuals and Drink on the Sepulchres of the Dead. The Author of Ecclesiasticus (y) says: *Delicates poured upon a Mouth shut, are as Messes of Meat set upon a Grave. The Offerings set before Idols, are as Meat before dead Men* (z). It is well known this

(r) ix. 4. (s) Deut. xxvi. 14. (t) Baruch. vi. 32. (u) xvi. 5. See Margin Eng. Bib. (w) 1 Chron. vii. 22. (x) Lib. 2. de bell. c. 1. (y) xxx. 16. (z) Bar. vi. 27.

was

was a common Practice among the *Heathens*, as it was also among the *Christians*. Among the *Christians*, and even among the *Jews*, these Repasts were Charity-Feasts, design'd principally for the Poor. *St. Augustin* abolish'd this Custom in *Africa*.

During the whole Time of *Mourning*, the Father, Mother, Children, Husband, Wife, Brother or Sister, of the deceas'd, stay at Home, sitting and eating on the Ground, with their Faces cover'd; neither are they to do any Work, nor read the *Book of the Law*, nor say their *Prayers*, nor mind any Business at all; they don't so much as make their Beds, or warm themselves, or uncover their Heads: the Husband goes not near his Wife; they neither shave nor cut their Nails; they salute no body, they bath not, neither may they put on a new or white Garment; they are not spoke to before they first speak, because it is written, *Job* open'd his Mouth before his Friends. If they shake their Heads, 'tis a sign they are comforted; but if they sit still, their Friends endeavour to comfort them. They who come to condole, sit on the Ground also. Every Morning and Evening, ten Persons at least come and say the usual *Prayers*, and rehearse the 49th *Psalms*, to the Mourners, who stir not abroad unless on the Sabbath-day. Then they go to the *Synagogue*, accompany'd by their Friends. They are more visited and condol'd with that day, than any other.

The Mourning Habit is according to the Custom of the Country where they live. The most usual Colours are a Black and a dark Brown. At the end of seven Days they go to the *Synagogue*, where they light up Lamps, put up *Prayers*, and do Acts of Charity for the Soul of the deceas'd. This is repeated at the End of the Month and Year. If the deceas'd was a *Rabbin* or Person of Distinction, on these Days they speak an Oration in his Praise. The Son says Morning and Evening in the *Synagogue* the Prayer of *Jadek*, for the Soul of his Father or Mother, and that eleven times together. Some fast every Year on the Day their Parents died.

Tho' the usual Term for Mourning was seven Days, yet they seem sometimes to shorten that time. My Son, says the Author of *Ecclesiasticus* (a), *Let Tears fall down over the Dead—Weep bitterly, and make great Moan a Day or two, lest thou*

(a) xxviii. 16, 17.

be

be evil spoken of: and then comfort thy self. But this Author says in another Place (b), *Seven Days do Men mourn for him that is Dead*; and only condemns those, who during that time deliver themselves up to their Grief, so as to refuse all comfort: As if he had said, Let Nature prevail for a day or two, it is no way unbecoming a wise Man; it is a difficult thing to suppress the Sentiments of Grief at first; but moderate your Sorrow, and call in Reason and Religion to your aid.

The *Rabbins* themselves allow'd and approv'd of divers Degrees of Mourning. The three first days they allot to Grief and Tears. In the seven following ones, the Sorrow is to be somewhat abated. In fine, they allow 30 Days for Mourning, but not all with the same Sentiments of Grief. The Scriptures furnish us with Instances of Mournings of a long tho' very unequal Duration. *Jacob* mourn'd for *Joseph* several Years, and resolv'd to have done so till he died, had he not heard of his being alive. He himself was mourned for seventy Days in *Egypt*, besides the seven Days at the Floor of *Atad*, in the Land of *Canaan*. They mourn'd for *Moses* and *Aaron* 30 Days. *Joseph* (c) says, that 30 Days Mourning is sufficient for the wisest Man, at the Loss of his nearest and dearest Friends. Sometimes the Scriptures say, without determining the Time, that such a one was mourn'd for many Days. The Mournings for *Saul*, *Judith*, and *Herod the Great*, lasted but seven Days. As for the Heathens, *Simonides* would have none mourn above a Day. *Ovid* says however, that *Orpheus* mourn'd for his Wife seven Days.

The Relations of the deceas'd went sometimes to lament over him at the Grave. *Mary* the Sister of *Lazarus*, being gone out to meet our Saviour, they thought she was gone to weep at her Brother's Grave (d). The Women of *Syria* at this day, are wont to go, attended with several Persons, to the Sepulchres of their near Relations, where they make hideous Lamentations. Throughout almost all the *East*, in *Greece*, *Dalmatia*, *Bulgaria*, *Croatia*, *Servia*, *Walachia*, *Illyria*, the ancient Custom of publicly and solemnly mourning for the Dead, is still kept up. In *Turkey* and *Persia*, the same Ceremonies are observed.

(b) xxii. 17.

(c) Antiq. l. 17, c. 10.

(d) Joh. xi. 31.

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The *Jews* believe a *Paradise*, a *Hell*, and a *Purgatory*. The First, which they call *the Garden of Eden*, is the Inheritance of the *Jult*, who enjoy there the glorious *Vision* of God. The Second, term'd *Gehenna*, is the place of *Torments* for the wicked. Some, tho' very few, will remain there for ever; the others will be there only for some time; and in respect of them, Hell is call'd *Purgatory*, which differs from *Hell* in nothing but Duration. Their Opinion is, that every *Jew*, who is not a *Heretick*, and denies no fundamental *Article* laid down by the *Rabbins*, is not detain'd above a Year in *Purgatory*. *Buxtorf* says, the *Talmudists* believe that Souls in their State of Separation, know all that passes in this World, because it is generally a whole Year before they go to Heaven. During that time, they pay frequent Visits to their Sepulchres, and run over the World when they behold what is doing. In a word, they believe the Soul does not enter *Paradise*, before the Body is reduced to Dust, according to these Words of *Solomon* (c): *Till the Body return to the Dust from whence it was taken, and the Spirit to the Lord who gave it.* They say also, that when a *Jew* is buried, the *Angel of Death* goes and sits over the Grave, and at the same time the Soul comes, and uniting itself again to the Body, raises it up. Then the *Angel* taking an Iron-Chain, whereof the one half is *cold* and the other *red hot*, strikes the Body with it, and disperses all the Members. With a second Blow he does the same by the Bones; and with a third, he reduces all to Dust. After which, the good Angels come, and joining all the Parts, replace them in the Grave. They say, pious and charitable Persons are exempted from this painful Operation. The *Turks* believe somewhat of this nature. They hold, there are two *Evil Spirits*, black and blue, that come to the Grave after a Corps is interr'd. They make the dead Person sit up in his Coffin, and put him to his Tryal. If he comes off innocent, they lay him down in peace; but if he is guilty, they give him terrible Blows on the Ears with a Hammer, which make him cry out most lamentably.

(c) Eccles. xii. 7. Vulg.



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A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

SCHOOLS of the *HEBREWS*.



SCHOOLS have all along been deem'd among civiliz'd Nations, as the principal Support of the State. In the *Schools* it is, that the *Priests*, the *Judges*, the *Magistrates* are bred: Here it is that *Divinity*, *Law*, *History*, *Languages*, *Sciences*, Things of the greatest moment to the Common-weal, and of the greatest Benefit to Life, are taught. For which reason, the wisest Princes and Law-givers, always look'd upon the establishing and preserving publick *Schools*, as what best deserv'd their Care; they bestow'd their Pains in the first Place in

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crect-

erecting *Academies*, in chusing able Professors and Teachers, and in promoting the Education of Youth. I shall not launch out here in proving This by the Examples of other Nations, but shall confine myself at present to the *Hebrews*. Accordingly I am now going to show that there was among them an uninterrupted Succession of *Schools* and *Prophets* from *Moses* to *Jesus Christ*; after which, I shall examine what they relate of their *Schools* and *Studies*, from their Dispersion by the *Romans*, down to our own Time.

The Antient *Hebrews* have above other Nations a double Advantage with regard to their *Schools*. The first arises from the excellency and Dignity of the *Doctors*; these were almost all *Prophets* or *Priests* of the Lord. The second proceeds from the Object of their *Studies*; which were almost wholly confin'd to the Study of the *Law* of God and of *Prophecies*. Among other Nations, *Philosophy*, *Astronomy*, *Geometry*, *Musick*, *Rhetorick* were in great Repute. But these *Sciences* were pretty much neglected among the *Hebrews*. They bent their Minds almost entirely to Religious Matters. Hence their steady Adherence to their *Rites* and *Customs*, their scrupulous Exactness in the Practice of their *Laws*, their great Diligence in educating their Youth, and their unfeigned Love of their Country. The *Patriarchs*, *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, were Men full of the *Holy Spirit* of God, who took care themselves to train up their Families in the Knowledge and Fear of the *Almighty*. This Knowledge continued among them pure and unmixt, not handed down in *Writing*, but preserv'd in the *Memories* of Men, till *Moses*, who committed to Writing the *Law* by the Command of God. During his Life, he was the Instrument thro' whom the *Will* of the *Most High* was made known, and who found the Means by his Wisdom, Steadiness and Zeal, to cause it to be observ'd. Never was seen a *Teacher* more Knowing, more Diligent, more Indefatigable. He ceas'd not, during the whole Course of his Life, instructing, Exhorting, Reproving, Correcting the numerous *People* committed to his Charge.

Moses divided the Labour of instructing *Israel* with *Aaron* his Brother, who was in the Language of the *Scriptures*, His *Prophet* (a). He communicated likewise Part of his Authority to a certain Number of chosen Men, whom he established as

(a) Exod. vii. 1.

Judges

Judges and Governors over *Israel*, in Matters which he could not attend to himself (b). In fine, the Lord in the *Wilderness* imparted of the Spirit of his Servant to Seventy-six Elders (c), who prophesied ever after, and continued to instruct the People. God had, as it were, oblig'd himself to furnish his Chosen People with a Succession of *Prophets*, to train them up in Knowledge, till the coming of That Prophet, so call'd by way of eminence, who was to turn the Children into the Ways of their Fathers, and the Disobedient to the Wisdom of the Just. And indeed, from *Moses* to the *Babylonish Captivity*, we meet with an uninterrupted Succession of *Inspir'd Persons*. The *Jews* close this Succession with *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, and the rest that compos'd the *Sanhedrim* at that Time, and who settled the *Canon* of the Old Testament; tho' the * *Christian Church* ranks also among the *Prophets*, the Authors of the Books of *Maccabees*, of *Wisdom*, and of *Ecclesiasticus*, who liv'd a considerable Time after *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*; and we see even in the *Gospel*, that at the Birth of our Saviour, the Spirit of Prophecy was not ceas'd in *Israel*, since *Zachariah* Father of St. *John*, St. *Elizabeth*, St. *John Baptist*, Ann the *Prophetess*, *Simeon the Just*, were true *Prophets*. *Josephus* (d) himself speaks of the High-Priest *Hircanus* as of a *Prophet*, and of one *Jesus* who foretold so long before-hand the Destruction of *Jerusalem* (e).

To *Moses* succeeded *Joshua* in the *Prophetick Office*, that is, in the Employ of *Master* and *Doctor* in *Israel*. He kept the Nation in the Obedience and Practice of the Law of the Lord by his Instructions, his Miracles, his Example. A little before his death, he assembled the People, and renew'd with them the Covenant of the Lord. He even ventur'd to leave it to their Choice, whether they would serve the God of their Fathers or the Gods of the *Amorites*. Choose you this day, says he, whom you will serve: But as for me, continues he, and my House, we will serve the Lord (f). The Elders who had seen *Moses*, and been instructed by *Joshua*, kept their Faith and Religion pure and undefiled. But alter their death, the Hearts of the People were by

(b) Ibid. xviii. 25.

(c) Num. xi. 17.

* That is, the Roman Church.

(d) Lib. 1. De Bello. c. 3.

(e) Id. Lib. 7. De Bel. c. 11.

(f) Jos. xxiv. 31.

degrees

degrees corrupted; and tho' the Lord raised them up from Time to Time, *Prophets* and *Deliverers*, they were unstable in all their Ways, till the Time of *Samuel*, who reform'd the State by erecting the *Schools* of the *Prophets* among whom he liv'd himself.

It was properly at this time that these famous *Seminaries* were set on foot, from whence issued so many great Men and *Prophets*. There was one at *Naiots* in *Ramah* under *Samuel*; and two others in the Plain of *Jericho* and at *Bethel* under *Elias* and *Elisba*; besides a great many more in the Kingdom of *Israel*. The *Rabbins* affirm, there was one in every City. *Lightfoot* thinks *Elias* had one on Mount *Carmel*. But we admit of none but what are plainly mention'd in the *Holy Scriptures*. They came and consulted them about things to come, as when *Saul* went to enquire of *Samuel* about his Father's Ailes (a). They consulted them also in case of Sickness, as did *Jeroboam* about his Son's Illness, and *Ahaziah* concerning his Fall (b). They went to hear them on the *Sabbath* Days and *New Moons*, for Instruction, as we are inform'd by *Elisba's* Hostels (c). These *Prophets* were a Barrier against *Idolatry*, *Ignorance*, and *Libertinism*. They boldly withstood the wicked Kings, and reprov'd the Sins of the People. They even dar'd to threaten Princes on their Thrones, and forewarn them of the terrible Effects of the Vengeance of the Lord. They sometimes caus'd Fire to descend from Heaven upon the Heads of impious and abandon'd Men. Their Instructions and Words were follow'd with marvellous Effects. The Elements were obedient to their Commands, and the most savage Creatures were at their Beck. And yet neither the Holiness of their Lives, nor the Power of their Miracles, nor the Force of their Words, nor their Ascendant and Authority over the People, were able to screen them from Persecutions. They were seen to wander up and down, Fugitives, persecuted, reduced to hide themselves in the Holes of Rocks, and in frightful Dens and Caves; and the greatest Part of them suffer'd violent Deaths in the Defence of the Truth.

Such was the Succession of *Doctors* and *Schools* among the *Hebrews*. *Doctors*! who could not but preserve in its utmost

(a) 1 Sam. ix.

(b) 2 King. i.

(c) 2 King. iv. 23.

Purity

Purity the Tradition of Doctrine deriv'd from God himself. Accordingly we find among the ancient *Hebrews* neither that Diversity of Opinions, so remarkable in other Nations, nor those Doubts about the Things of Religion, nor those Disputes and Controversies among their *Doctors*. All speak the same Language, all have the same Belief, because animated and inlightened by the same Spirit. The Division of the learned Men into different *Sects* happen'd not till long after the *Captivity*.

The *Pharisees*, *Sadducees*, *Essenes* were not heard of till after the time of the *Maccabees*, when *Prophecy* was become much more rare than formerly in *Israel*. Each of these *Sects* had their *School* and their *Disciples* apart; but God permitted not their Division to go so far as to break the Unity of *Faith* and *Communion*. They assembled all in the same Temple and in the same *Synagogues*; had the same *Ceremonies*, read the same *Scriptures*, and agreed all in this Principle, that the *Messiah*, the *Mediator*, the *Prophet*, the *Doctor* promised by *Moses*, would resolve all their Doubts, and unite all their Hearts and all their Minds; they all liv'd in this Belief and Expectation: In this thing they were divided neither in their Opinions, nor in their Hearts and Minds.

Another Channel through which the *Traditions* and *Doctrines* of the *Hebrews* were convey'd, was their *Priests*. *Moses* committed to their Charge, not only the Affairs of Religion, but likewise the Government of the State. They were to be the standing *Masters* and *Judges* of *Israel*. If there arise a Matter too hard for thee in Judgment, between Blood and Blood, between Plea and Plea, and between Stroke and Stroke, being Matter of Controversy within thy Gates: then shalt thou arise and get thee up into the Place, which the Lord thy God shall chuse; and thou shalt come to the *Priests*, the *Levites*, and unto the Judge that shall be in those days, and inquire; and they shall shew thee the Sentence of the Judgment. And thou shalt do according to the Sentence which they of that Place (which the Lord shall chuse) shall shew thee, and thou shalt observe to do according to all that they inform thee. Thou shalt not incline from their Sentence to the Right nor to the Left (a).

The Business of the *Priests* was the Study and Instruction of the Law; they were to be always prepar'd to resolve all Que-

(a) Deut. xviii.

tions

tions relating to the Law. The Lord declar'd by *Malachi* (a). *The Priests Lips should keep Knowledge, and they should seek the Law at his Mouth.* The Priests, says *Josephus* (b), apply themselves continually to the Study of the Law and other Matters, because Judgment is committed to them, and it is their Duty to correct the Evils in the State. These then were the *Maſters* and *Depoſitaries* of *Doctrine* among the *Hebrews*. They were either Persons, inspir'd in an extraordinary manner with the Spirit of God, or *Priests*, Men of a grave and serious Deportment, entirely taken up in the Study of the Law, and the Service of the most High.

The Place where they taught, was the Temple of the Lord. As the People assembled there three times a Year, the *Priests* and *Prophets* never fail'd at those Times to make known to them the Will of the Lord. Here the Law was read and explain'd to the People (c). Here the Prophets preach'd, and reprov'd the Disorders which were crept into the Nation, either with regard to Idolatry, or other Abuses. The Houses of the Priests, and the Assembly and Council-Rooms, were so many Schools always open to all that had a mind to consult about the different Observances, and other Cases which occur'd; for, as hath been said, the chief and almost sole Study of the antient *Hebrews* was their Law and their Ceremonies. 'Tis believ'd they had Schools, not only in the Temple and at *Jerusalem*; but likewise in all the Cities of the *Levites*.

The *Prophets* had also their Schools apart. These were Societies where the *Sons* or *Disciples* of the *Prophets* met together. These Societies were frequent and famous, especially under *Samuel*, and afterwards under *Elias* and *Elisha*. Their Places of Abode were in the Country. They liv'd in common, after a plain, and laborious Manner; but however had leisure enough for Contemplation and Study; because their Frugality was satisfy'd with a little, and as they busied not themselves in useless Employments, they found time enough after their bodily Labours, for the Exercises of the Mind. To them the People apply'd for the clearing their Doubts, and to be inform'd in their Duty. They found in the *Prophets*, Examples of a good

(a) Mal. ii. 7.

(b) Lib. 2. cont. Ap.

(c) 2 Esd. viii. 9.

Life,

Life, and Instruction for the time present and to come. These were the surest and the best Interpreters of the Law. Every thing about them carried Instruction; their Discourses, their Predictions, their Threatnings, their Life, their outward Appearance.

Their Disciples were either Prophets like themselves, or only their Pupils and Imitators of their Virtues and Way of living: For Prophecy is not an Art to be learn'd in the Schools of Men; 'tis a Gift which the Holy Spirit bestows gratis on such as are design'd for that Employ. *Grotius* (a) affirms from the *Rabins*, that it was a rare thing in the Old Testament to see Prophets who had not before been a long time vers'd in the Study of *Physics* and *Metaphysics*; and that the reason of the Calling of *Amos* being thought an extraordinary Case, was because he had never been educated in the Schools of the Prophets. But this Opinion is not built on solid Grounds. *Jeremiah* was destin'd to the prophetick Office before he was born; neither had *Elisha* ever studied among the *Prophets*; nor *David*, nor *Daniel*, nor several others.

To these Societies of Prophets, and to the Schools wherein presided the Holy Spirit, succeeded the Synagogues. 'Tis question'd whether there were any before the Captivity. But it would be very difficult to believe that they could do without them for so long a Space of Time. Mayn't we take for a Synagogue the House of the Prophet *Elisha*, where the good *Shunamite*, and other pious Persons, resorted on Sabbath Days and New Moons (b)? *Nebuchadnezzar* burnt all the Synagogues of *Judea*, as appears from *Psalms* lxxiv. 8. which was written during the Captivity. And *St. James* in the *Acts* (c) says, that *Moses* of old time had in every City them that preached him, being read in the Synagogues every Sabbath-day. The which makes appear that Synagogues were of a very ancient standing in *Israel*.

If one meets elsewhere in the *Valgate* and *Septuagint* with the Term *Synagogue*; it means only the Place where the People of *Israel* assembled. But after the Captivity, the Number of Synagogues was very great. They were Places of Prayer, and of Religious Assemblies, where Matters relating to the Law and Worship of God were handled. Here the Scriptures were read and

(a) In Sap. vii. 27.

(b) 2 King. iv. 23.

(c) Acts xv. 21.

B

cx.

explain'd; here they preach'd to and instructed the People. *Philo* in his *Life of Moses* says, *What are these Oratories, which we call Proseuchas, but Schools, where Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance, Justice, Piety, Holiness, and all sorts of Virtues are taught?* The *Hebrews* affirm, that the *Synagogues* increased in such a manner towards the latter end of their Republick, that there were in *Jerusalem* alone no less than 394, according to some, but according to others, 460. Each Trade had its peculiar *Synagogue*, and Strangers had likewise several (a). *St. Luke* in *Ch. xxiv. 12.* of the *Acts*, speaks of the *Synagogues* of *Jerusalem*. The *Talmud* mentions those that the *Alexandrian Jews* had built at their own Charge. The *Synagogue* of the *Free-men* is noted in the *Acts* (b). Each *Synagogue* had its Judges, Patriarchs, Apostles, Presidents, Chiefs, and other Officers, whom they term'd *Angels* or *Messengers*. The Gospel makes mention of the *Chief* or *Ruler* of the *Synagogue* (c).

'Tis suppos'd, that *St. Paul* alludes to the *Angels* of the *Synagogue*, when he orders the Women to be veil'd *because of the Angels* (a). The Judges of the *Synagogue* exercis'd their Authority upon those that openly violated the Law of God, or that broach'd false Doctrines. By these it was that *St. Stephen* was stoned, and *St. Paul* scourged. There has been a great deal writ in the last Century about certain Officers, which were call'd *The Birds of the Synagogue* (e): But this is foreign to our purpose. Some learned Men (f) are of opinion, that very often the *Synagogue* serv'd for a *School*; and also that there was a *School* sometimes adjoining to the *Synagogue*.

The Method of teaching in the *Synagogue*, and the Discipline observed there, are distinctly set down in the *Gospel* and the *Acts*. Our Saviour going into the *Synagogue* of *Nazareth*, according to his usual Custom, and standing up to read, the Book of the Prophet *Isaiah* was put into his hands; he unfolded it, and having read a Passage out of the Prophet, he folded it up

(a) Burman. Differt. p. 257. & Vitringa de Syn. l. i. p. 2.

(b) Acts vi. 9.

(c) Luke xiii. 14.

(d) 1 Cor. xi. 10.

(e) See Lightfoot, Vitringa, Basnage.

(f) Vitr. de Syn. l. i. p. 1.

again,

again, and sat down to explain (a). *St. Paul* went one day into the *Synagogue* of *Antioch* in *Pisidia* (b); and after the reading of the Law and the Prophets, the Rulers of the *Synagogue* sent to *Paul* and *Barnabas* to let them know, that if they had any Word of Exhortation for the People, they might speak. *St. Paul*, in return to their civil Invitation, stood up, and beckning with his Hand that Silence should be kept, he began to preach to them *Jesus Christ*. They sometimes held Disputes in the *Synagogues*, and very often great Contests arose; as it happen'd several times upon *St. Paul* and the other Apostles preaching Truths repugnant to the Prejudices or Inclinations of the Hearers.

The *Hebrews* tell us, that still the Days of *Gamaliel*, People stood up at the reading of the Law; that is, says *Grutius* (c), the Reader and People stood up whilst the Text was reading, as we do at the Gospel for the Day; but that afterwards they sat down at the Explanation; as we find our Saviour did in the Place above mention'd. *St. Paul* says, that he had studied the Law at the Feet of *Gamaliel* (d). *Philo* relates, that in the Assemblies of the *Essenes*, the Youths were placed at the Feet of their Masters, who interpreted the Law to them, and explain'd the Allegories and Figures in the same manner as the Philosophers of old. The Author of the Commentary published under the Name of *St. Ambrose*, on the xvth. of the first to the *Corinthians*, distinguishes two sorts of Scholars in the *Hebrew Schools*: *The Rabbins were seated in high Chairs: The Scholars that had made some progress in their Studies, on Forms under their Masters, and the youngest on Mats upon the Ground. This was the ancient Method of the Schools, and probably of the Synagogues.*

The *Ruler* or *Master* of the *Synagogue* or *Academy*, was in the highest Place, and the Scholars were round him, that all might see and hear him. But the *Master* was not seated in a Chair whilst the Scholars were on the Ground, says the *Talmud* (e): But they all sat in Chairs, or on the Ground. However, it adds, at first the *Master* sat, and the *Scholars* stood up. But this Custom was alter'd even before the Destruction of the Temple by the

(a) Luke iv. 16, 17.

(b) Acts xiii. 14, &c.

(c) In Acts xxii. 3.

(d) Acts xxii. 3.

(e) Talm. Thora. c. 4.

Romans. For the Master and the Scholars were seated in the manner above-mention'd. The Master taught either by himself, or by an Interpreter (a). If he made use of an Interpreter, he spoke to him in Hebrew; and the Interpreter explain'd to the Assembly in the vulgar Tongue, what the Master said. If the Scholars had a mind to ask the Master any Questions, they applied to the Interpreter, who propounded them to the Rabbins, and explain'd his Answer to the Scholars.

It was the Multitude of Scholars and Doctors, and the Diversity of their Opinions, which occasion'd in the later Times the erecting so many Academies or private Schools. The Jews were amaz'd to hear our Saviour reason so well, and to find him so expert in explaining the Scriptures, without having frequented the Schools of the Doctors (b). St. Paul was sent from Tarsus to study at Jerusalem, and in his Time, the City of Jerusalem was full of Scribes, and Doctors learned in the Law.

St. Jerom (c) says, that a little before our Saviour's Birth, two famous Rabbins, Shammai and Hillel, the chief Teachers in two celebrated Schools, form'd two Parties among the Jews, and were Masters of the Scribes and Pharisees. Akiba succeeded them, and was Master, say they, to the Proselyte Aquila. Akiba had for Successor Meir, after whom came Johanan Son of Zachari, then Eliezer, and after him Delfo and Joseph the Galilean; and lastly Joshua, who was chief Teacher in the Divinity School till the Destruction of Jerusalem. In this manner the Jews gave the Succession of their Doctors in St. Jerom's Time. They ascribe their Mishna to Shammai and Hillel. Josephus the Historian speaks of Sameas, who is the same with Shammai, in the beginning of the Reign of Herod (d); and in another place he says (e), that this Doctor was Disciple of Pollio the Pharisee; I don't find he ever mentions Hillel. But the modern Jews reckon the Succession of their Schools in a different manner. As to what St. Jerom says of the Origin of the Pharisees, he was somewhat mistaken in that matter. I shall make appear in the Dissertation upon the Jewish Sects, that the Pharisees

(a) Talmud Thora. c. 4.

(b) Joh. viii. 15.

(c) In IC. c. 8. l. 3.

(d) Jos. Antiq. l. 14. c. 17.

(e) Antiq. l. 15. c. 1.

were

were long before Hillel, and that we must look for their Rise at least as far back as the Beginning of the Maccabees.

After the Destruction of Jerusalem, which was, as it were, the Metropolis of the whole Nation, a Divinity School was erected at Japhne (a) a City of Palestine, since called Ivelin (b). The same, perhaps, with that which Josephus calls Japha, and the Inhabitants Japhenians (c). He says, that it was one of the largest, most populous, and strongest Cities of Galilee. It was not far from Jotapat; but its Situation is not exactly known. Some will have it that Gamaliel, St. Paul's Master, was a Professor in this Academy.

There was another at the same time, they say (d) at Lydda, otherwise called Diospolis, situated in the Tribe of Ephraim, about 30 Miles North of Jerusalem. The famous Akiba was Professor there. Gamaliel causing him to go from thence, took his Place at Lydda, and gave him his at Japhne. After the death of Gamaliel, appear'd Tarpho, who taught in this same School. But their most celebrated Academy in those Days, was at Tiberias, a City lying on the Sea of Gemelareth, or Lake of Tiberias. The Number of Scholars multiplied greatly by the Reputation of the Teachers, who are held in the highest Reverence by the Jews at this day. The Schools of Japhne and Lydda became almost quite desolate by the Neighbourhood of Tiberias, to which all the Students resorted. Here it was that Judah the Holy Disciple of Meir, was Professor. Judah was one of the Descendants of the famous Hillel the Elder. To Judah succeeded Chanina, to him Johanan, the last of the Doctors at Tiberias.

At this Place it was that the Mishna and Jerusalem Talmud were compil'd. Here likewise they pretend, that the Masorites added the Vowel-Points to the Hebrew Bible, which till this time had been without them. But this Fact is contradicted by very learned Writers, and such convincing Proofs are brought to the contrary, that it is hard to hold out against them, and not own that the Punctuation of the Hebrew Bible is of a much later Date.

(a) Morin. Exer. l. 5.

(b) Benj. Tud. Iter.

(c) Jos. de Bel. l. 3. c. 21.

(d) Bainsage Hist. des Juifs, l. 7.

As

As for the *Mishna*, it is known to the *Antient Fathers* by the Name of *Deuterofes*, or the Second Law. *Eusebius* (a) accuses the *Jews* of adulterating the true Meaning of the Scriptures, by their vain Explanation in their *Deuterofes*. *St. Epiphanius* (b) says, that they quoted four sorts of them. The first bore the Name of *Moses*; the second, the Name of *Akiba*; the third, of *Adda* or *Judab*; and the fourth, the Sons of the *Asmonaans* or *Maccabees*. It is hard to determine whether the present *Mishna* be the same with these, whether it contains them All, or whether it be different from them; but it is certain that they were never of any Authority in the Church, and that the *Fathers* look'd upon them as a parcel of idle Fictions. *St. Jerom* had seen these *Deuterofes*; he mentions them more than once, but always with the utmost Contempt. He consider'd them as a Collection of childish and obscene Fables. He says, that the principal Inventors of these fine Decisions were, according to the *Jews*, *Bar-Akiba*, *Simeon*, and *Helles* (c). *Bar-Akiba* is apparently the Grandfather or Father of the famous *Akiba*, *Simeon* is the same with *Shammai*, and *Helles* no other than *Hillel*, so much celebrated by the *Rabbins*.

Judab the Holy, after he had been some time at *Tiberias*, removed to *Sepphoris*, which was reckon'd in *Josephus's* Time the Capital of *Galilee*, and the strongest Place in the whole Country (d). It lay North of *Tiberias*, and West of the Sea of *Gennesareth*. The Doctrine and Reputation of *Judab* drew thither Multitudes of Scholars. He died there at the end of seventeen Years. These were the principal *Divinity-Schools* of *Palestine*.

But when one goes about to reconcile these Things with the real History of the *Jews*, one finds it a hard Task to remove all the Difficulties which occur. We learn from *Josephus*, that all the Cities of *Galilee*, and particularly *Japha*, *Sepphoris*, *Tiberias* were destroy'd by the *Romans*, not only during the Wars which *Vespasian* and *Titus* waged in that Country, but likewise in that which *Adrian* made against them: Inasmuch that till the Fourth Century of the Church, it was not lawful for the

(a) In *Isai*. i.

(b) *Hæref.* 33. n. 9.

(c) *Jerom. Ep. ad Algas, & alias.*

(d) *Lib. 1. de Bello, c. 3.*

Jews

Jews to be seen in *Judea* (a). *St. Jerom* (b), who liv'd in that Century, observ'd that the *Jews* had but few learned Men: *Dicerem quod ab Hebræorum Magistris uno & altero acceperim; quorum & apud ipsos jam rara avis est, dum omnes deliciis student & pecuniis.* Moreover, to maintain their *Traditions*, they make their *Doctors* live to so great an Age, that 'tis visible they go upon no certain Grounds, and that all they vent is either fabulous, or inconsistent with *Chronology*. The Reader may consult *Morinus* in his *Exercitationes*, *Lib. 2. Exer. 2. c. 1, & 3.* The *Academies* of *Palestine* subsisted not, by the *Jews* own Confession, but till the middle of the Third Century.

After the closing of the *Jerusalem Talmud*, during 187, or at least 150 Years, the *Hebrews* have no manner of knowledge of their own History (c); and after the Death of the *Doctors* of *Palestine*, mention'd above, which is fix'd to the Middle of the Third Century, we hear no more of that Country, than if there had never been any such Nation as the *Jews*. The which it is of moment to remark, in order to show how broken the Succession is of the *Tradition* of the *Jewish* Schools. For want of *Academies* in *Palestine*, they were fain to go in search of them beyond the *Euphrates*, at *Sora* and at *Punabita*; at *Naborda*, *Machbaza*, and *Perutz-Schiller*. These Cities, for the most part, were in *Babylonia*, and upon the *Euphrates*; but their Situation is so uncertain, that the most Learned know not where to place them. *Bochart*, *Ventil*, and after them *Cellarius* (d), have examin'd this matter without being able to determine it. But we will not dispute with them their *Babylonian Academies*. They fix the Beginning of them about the Year of our Lord 220. They were founded by *Rab* and *Samuel*, Disciples of *Judab the Holy*, and lasted, say they, above 800 Years, till 1032. Then these Schools were destroy'd by the *Saracens*, who ruled in *Babylonia* and *Persia*. From the Ruins of these Schools beyond the *Euphrates*, sprung up those of *Egypt* and *Europe*. It was chiefly into *Spain* that the *Jews* fled for Refuge. The principal *Rabbins* whose Writings are in our hands, lived in those Days: For example, *Rabbi Na-*

(a) *Euseb. in Isa. vi. Jerom. in Sept.*

(b) *Præf. in Heb. 1.*

(c) See *Morin. Exer. 1. 2. Exer. 2. and Bafnage Hist. des Juifs, l. 9. c. 3.*

(d) *Vide Cell. Geograph. Antiq. t. 2. l. 3. c. 16.*

than,

than, Chief of the Academy at Rome in the beginning of the twelfth Century: He has explain'd all the Terms of the Talmud, and died at Rome in 1106. *Abenezra* died at Rhodes in 1174. He was a famous Astronomer, Physician, and Grammarian. He is one of those who have succeeded the Best in explaining the Literal Sense of the Scriptures. *Moses*, Son of *Maimon*, or *Maimonides*, liv'd in the same Century; he was born at Cordova in 1131, or 1133. His Father boasted himself to be of the Race of David. *Maimonides* was Disciple of *Averroës*, who was then in great Repute in Spain. He retir'd into Egypt, where he spent the residue of his Days; the which was the reason of his being stiled *Moses the Egyptian*. He was distinguish'd for his Learning, and his Skill in Physick. He is suspected of having embrac'd, at least privately, the Mahometan Religion. It is certain he had very loose Notions about Idolatry (a). He founded a School at Alexandria, to which his Name drew a great number of Disciples. 'Tis said, he understood not only Hebrew, but likewise Greek and Arabick. He died about the Year 1205, or 1208.

Rabbi Solomon, Son of *Isaac*, surnam'd *Raschi*, which is a contraction of his own and his Father's Name, call'd otherwise *Jarchi*, because he was, as they say, a Native of *Lapcl* in Provence: but others make him a Native of *Troy* in Champagne. He flourish'd in the twelfth Century, and was Coteremporary with *Maimonides*, as well as *Kimchi*, another famous Rabbi, of whom we shall speak hereafter. *Raschi* travell'd to several Places, to Italy, Greece, Palestine. He went afterwards into Egypt to see the famous *Moses* Son of *Maimon*. He applied himself to writing Commentaries on the Bible, and several Treatises on the Talmud. He died at Treves in the 65th Year of his Age, in 1180. His Body was carried to Prague. *Raschi* was Master of Languages, and was very expert in Physick and Astronomy. He was some time Chief of the Synagogue at Montpelier. The Rabbins *David* and *Jonah* were his Disciples, who joined with their Master against the Doctrine of *Maimonides*. They burnt the Works of that Doctor, and excommunicated those that should read them. The Rabbins of Narbonne, at the Head of whom was the famous *Kimchi*, undertook the Defence of *Maimonides*, in conjunction with most of the Spanish Rabbins. This Dispute,

(a) Basnage Hist. des Juifs, t. 7. l. 10. c. 9.

after

after having lasted 40 Years, was decided in favour of *Maimonides* and his Adherents.

David Kimchi, above-mention'd, was Son of *Joseph Kimchi* a Spaniard, and mortal Enemy to the Christians. He was born at Narbonne, which was in subjection to Spain. So that *David Kimchi* was both Frenchman and Spaniard in different respects. He wrote several Commentaries on the Scriptures, which are highly esteem'd for giving the Literal Sense of the Text. His Father *Joseph Kimchi*, and his Brother *Moses Kimchi*, were likewise Men of Learning, and compos'd several Works; but *David* was more Learned than either his Father or Brother. The Jews alluding to his Name, which signifies a Miller, say commonly, There is no Flower without the Miller; that is, There is no Knowledge of the Law without *Kimchi*. He is stiled, The Prince of the Grammarians and Interpreters. He flourish'd from the Year 1200, till about 1250.

In fine, in this Century the Jews had Authors who distinguish'd themselves in all the Sciences. They had excellent Grammarians, as *Kimchi*. They had famous Poets, as *Juab Alcharisi*, *Hallevi*, *Joseph Haadajan* of Cordova. They had Astronomers, as *Avram Chaja*, *Abraham Nafi*, and *Abenezra*. They had celebrated Professors, and the French boast especially of *Isaac the Elder*, who had sixty Disciples so well vers'd in the Gemara, that they could dispute pro and con upon all Questions propos'd to them. *Julian* of Paris, who was one of his Disciples, made a great noise in the XIIIth Century. They had likewise their noted Cavalists and Karcies. Besides the famous Rabbi *Solomon Jarchi*, France produced Rabbi *Gerson*. Some affirm he was born at Mayence; but it is more certain he was a French Man. He published in France his Book of Constitutions. The Jews call him the Light of the French Captivity. His Collection of Laws was not receiv'd till the middle of the XIIIth Century. As for him, he liv'd in the XIth. He died, according to some, in 1028, but according to others, forty Years later.

One of his chief Disciples was *Jacob* Son of *Jekan*, a great Musician, and famous for his Decisions of Cases of Conscience. *Judab*, surnam'd *Albarcellonita* or Doctor of Barcelona, studied likewise under Rabbi *Gerson*, as well as *Moses Hadarician*, or the Preacher. He was a Native of Narbonne, and it is said he introduced, or at least restored the Use of Preaching in the Synagogues; which

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which had been till then very much neglected. The *Schools* partook of the Fate of the *Jews* in *France* and *Spain*. Whilst they were left in Peace, *Learning* flourish'd among them; but it lay uncultivated during the times of *Persecutions* and *Distress*.

Germany receiv'd not the *Jews* so early; or at least they erected not *Academies* so soon there as in *France* and *Spain*; but they subsisted longer, and enjoy'd more quiet, and in the XIIIth Century there were famous *Rabbins* in that Country. The City of *Gersheim* alone produced two; *Baruch*, and *Eliezer* of *Gersheim* or of *Carneham*. The latter taught the *Cabala* to *Moses* Son of *Nachman*, who died in 1260, aged 66 Years. *Isaac* of *Vienne* composed several Works on the *Scriptures*. He employ'd himself in copying the Books for the use of the *Synagogues* of his own Country, in order to render them more correct. He is said to live about the Year 1242. He had for his Disciple *Meir* of *Rottenbourg*, who surpass'd his Master, and became a *Judge* and *Doctor* of his Nation. The Emperor *Audolphus* of *Nassau*, or rather *Albertus* of *Austria*, Son of *Rodolphus*, confin'd *Meir* in Prison in 1299. *Rabbi Hajar* of *Hambourg* became Security for his Master, but *Meir* not being able to raise the Fine laid upon him, died in Prison in 1305, and *Hajar* was forced to fly into *Spain*. *Rabbi Ammon* was famous also about the Year 1242, in the Bishoprick of *Mayence*. The *Jews* reckon him a Martyr, affirming, that the Archbishop of *Mayence* caus'd his Hands and Feet to be cut off, and that *Ammon* ascended into Heaven in the sight of the whole *Synagogue*.

In the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries, *Italy* produced some learned *Rabbins*. The Expence that *Daniel Bomberg*, Printer at *Venice*, was at in printing the *Hebrew Bible*, and Works of the *Rabbins*, drew thither great Numbers. 'Tis said, that he maintain'd above a hundred at his own Charge, to correct his *Proofs*, and compose several Works after the manner of the *Jews*. *Rabbi David Gantz*, Author of a Book intitled *David's Branch* or *Scepter*, printed in 1587, liv'd at that time in *Italy*. *Rabbi Zuchas*, otherwise call'd *Simeon Luzari*, published his *Socrates* in 1638. It was also at *Venice* that *Samuel Macanias* liv'd, though he was originally of *Thessalonica*. The little Town of *Sancro* became likewise famous for the Editions of the *Rabbinical* Works which were undertaken by some *Jews* there, who came from *Spira*, about the Year 1490. There was a *Synagogue* at *Imola*, where

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was born in 1500, the celebrated *Gedaliah*, of Portuguese Extraction. His Grandfather was Chief of the *Academy* and *Synagogue* at *Naples*, when *Charles V.* banish'd the *Jews* from thence in 1539. There was another *Synagogue* at *Modena*, to which belong'd *Rabbi Samuel*, who published in 1650, *The Judgment of Solomon*; which Book is a Course of *Canon Law* according to the *Jews*. There was likewise in 1558 an *Academy* at *Pavia*, of which *Rabbi Meir* was Chief. *Joseph* of *Pavia* and *Isaac Pheba* were noted for their Learning about the same time.

The *Synagogue* and *Academy* at *Mantua* were famous long ago. *Leo* of *Mantua* and *Kah* were the Heads of them in the XVth Century. They were expell'd thence by the Duke of *Mantua*, on the score of the Divisions which they caus'd there. *Moses the Elder* succeeded them, and became famous for his Learning. In a word, not to stay to make the Catalogue any larger, it may be affirm'd, that the *Jews* have not been without their *Doctors* in *Europe* since the XIth and XIIth Centuries, and that in the Opinion of good Judges they far exceed the *Eastern* ones in Solidity and Capacity. But it must be confess'd, that their Capacity is very narrow in itself, and their Solidity very slender, when compar'd with what the World expects in Writers, especially that take in hand to treat of *Religious Matters*.

Thus we have carried down the Succession of the *Jewish Schools* and *Academies* from the Origin of their Nation to the present time. The *Jews* commonly divide the Succession of their *Doctors* into nine Clases. (a). The first takes in *Moses*, *Joshua*, *Eleazar*, and the 70 Elders, to whom the Lord imparted his *Holy Spirit*. The second contains the *Prophets* that had seen *Moses*, *Joshua*, *Eleazar*, and had learnt from their mouth the Law of the Lord; in this Class are all the *Prophets*, twelve in Number, from *Osai* to *Eli*. The third is of the *Prophets*, who handed down from one to another the *Traditions* of the Fathers: This Chain begins with *Samuel*, and ends with *Ezekiel*; it includes all the *Prophets* from *Samuel* to the *Babylonish Captivity*. The fourth is of the Members of the *Great Synagogue*, which was made up of *Haggai*, *Zachariah*, *Malachi*, *Zerubbabel*, *Mordecai*, *Ezra*, *Jesus* Son of *Joseph*, *Seraiah*, and several others, to the number of

(a) See Morin. Exercit. Bib. l. 2. Exercit. 2. c. 1.

120 Men. They make most of them to live till the time of *Alexander the Great*.

The *fifth Class* is that of the *Mishnaical Doctors*, or those mention'd in the *Mishna**. They commonly call them *Tannaim*, or *Traditionaries*, whom they make to live from *Alexander the Great* to *Judah the Holy*, Head of the *Academy* at *Tiberias*, and Author of the *Mishna*, which he compil'd about 120 Years after the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*. The *sixth* is of the *Amoraim*, that is to say, of the *Doctors* who have explain'd the Text of the *Mishna*: from the Explanations of these *Doctors* is compos'd the Body of the *Talmud*, as well the *Jerusalem*, as the *Babylonian*. Their

* *Mishna*.] The *Jews* finding about 200 Years after *Christ*, that there was Danger of their *Traditions* being lost and forgotten, resolv'd that they should be all collected together; accordingly, *Rabbi Judah Hakkadish* undertook the Work, and digested under proper Heads all that had been handed down concerning their Law and Religion in Six Books. This Volume is call'd the *Mishna*, and was receiv'd by the *Jews* as of equal Authority with the Written Law itself. As soon as it was publish'd, it became the Subject of the Studies of all their Learned Men, who employ'd themselves in making *Comments* on it. These *Comments* they call *Gemara*, that is, the *Complement*, because by them the *Mishna* is fully explain'd and compleated. So that the *Mishna* is the Text, and the *Gemara* the *Comment*, and both together is what they call the *Talmud*. That made by the *Jews* of *Judea* is call'd the *Jerusalem Talmud*, and that by the *Jews* of *Babylonia* is called the *Babylonish Talmud*. The former was compleated about the Year of our Lord 300. and is publish'd in one large Folio: the latter was publish'd about 200 Years after, in the Beginning of the Sixth Century, and hath had several Editions; the last at *Amsterdam* is in twelve Folios, which is what the *Jews* chiefly follow; for the *Jerusalem Talmud* being obscure, is not now much regarded by them. Out of this *Talmud*, *Maimonides* hath made an Abstract, containing only the Determinations made on every Case, without the Descants, Fables, and other Rubbish which they lay buried under. The *Jewish Doctors* from the Time of the Men of the *Great Synagogue*, to the publishing of the *Mishna*, were call'd *Tannaim*, i. e. *Traditionaries*, (the same as *Shanah* in the Hebrew, from whence the Word *Mishna*) out of whose Doctrines the *Mishna* was compos'd. From the *Mishna* to the *Babylonish Talmud*, they were called *Amoraim*, i. e. *Dictators*. And these are the *Gemaraical Doctors* who compos'd the *Talmud*. About 100 Years after the *Talmud*, they were call'd *Sebaraim*, i. e. *Opinionists*; and after that *Gemim*, i. e. the Sublime Doctors. But now the general Name of their Learned Men is *Rabbi*. See *Prod. Connect. P. 1. B. V.*

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Continuance is from the Death of *Judah the Holy*, to the closing of the *Talmud*; the which is a very uncertain Epochæ. 'Tis thought that the *Jerusalem Talmud* was taken in hand a little after the *Judah*, and the *Babylonian* not till a hundred Years later. Some fix the compleating them to the IIIrd, some to the IVth, and others to the Vth Century of the *Church*. Father *Morinus* affirms they were not finish'd till the VIIIth Century.

To the Commentators on the *Mishna*, succeeded the *Sebaraim*, or *sceptical Doctors*. The Epochæ of their Continuance is not very certain, because, say they, of the Persecutions of the Kings of *Persia* (a). It has been already observ'd, that from the Death of *Judah the Holy*, the Schools were remov'd beyond the *Euphrates*, about the middle of the IIIrd Century. The eighth Class is the *Gaonim* or *Excellent*; this is the Title the *Doctors* of *Babylonia* assum'd, who dwelt at *Sora*, *Pumbedita*, *Nabardea*, and elsewhere, till the Year 1037. Lastly, the ninth Class is that of the *Rabbins*, which is still in being in all Countries where any *Jews* are to be found, and where they have free Exercise of their Religion. These *Rabbins* are divided into three Sects, the *Rabbinists*, the *Cabbalists*, and the *Karaites*, who all follow a particular Method, and different from the others. The *Rabbinists* are great Sticklers for the *Traditions* and *Explanations* of their Forefathers. They pretend that the *Traditions*, which are included in the *Talmud*, were all revealed to *Moses* on Mount *Sinai*, at the same time that he receiv'd the Law; and therefore that the *Traditions* are of equal Authority with the written Law itself. The *Cabbalists* pretend to a secret and mysterious Knowledge, which consists in *Trifles*, playing with Words, *Chimerical Calculations* and *Resemblances of Letters and Figures*, without any Foundation or certain Principles. The *Karaites** keep closer to the literal Sense of the written Law than the others, and receive not indifferently all sorts of *Traditions*; but however, they reject not

(a) See *Basnage Hist. des J. ifs*, l. 10. c. 2. n. 12.

* From the *Babylonish* Word *Kara*, which signifies *Scripture*, as much as to say *Scripturarius*. There are few of this Sect in these Western Parts. Most of them are to be found in *Poland*, *Russia*, and the Eastern Countreies. In the middle of the last Century, there was an Account taken of their Numbers, whereby it appears, that there were then in Poland 2000, at *Cassa* in *Crim-Tury* 1200, at *Caro* 300, at *Damascus* 200, at *Jerusalem* 30, in *Babylonia* 100, in *Persia* 600. They are reckon'd Men of the best Learning and most Purity of all the Jewish Nation. They read the *Scriptures* and their *Liturgy* in the Language of the Country where they dwell. See *Prod. Connect. P. II. B. V.*

all.

all. These are the most rational and judicious of the *Doctors* of the *Synagogue*.

The three first *Classes* of *Doctors* from *Moses* to the *Babylonish* Captivity, furnish us with as certain a Succession and authentick a Doctrine, as one can desire: seeing the Persons which compos'd it were guided by the infallible Spirit of God. And altho' the *Genius* of the *Rabbins* has somewhat clouded, and blended with Fables, the Succession and Order of the Members of the great *Synagogue*, we may however see the Marks of a true Tradition, because Israel was tiled the *true Church*, and the *Holy Spirit* was not yet extinguish'd in the *Members* which govern'd it, and of whom it consisted.

But since the Coming of our Saviour, and the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, we meet with nothing almost but Uncertainty in the *Jewish* History; nothing but idle Fancies in their Writings, Ignorance in their *Schools*, and Darknes in their Understandings. The *Holy Ghost* having deserted them, they are become like Blind Men at Noon-day, who run after *Chimeras*, and turn their Backs upon the Truth which surrounds them on all sides. Whether we consider the Books which they regard as essential, next to the *Holy Scriptures*, as the *Mishna*, the *Gemara*, the *Talmuds*, and the *Targums**: or whether we consider their Commentaries on these Books, or their Histories, or their Interpretations of *Scripture*, or their controversial Writings; we find scarce any thing but *Fables* and *Trife*: we may observe every where the visible Marks of a hardened and reprobate Nation.

The first Source of the Corruption of the *Doctrine*, and of the Decay of the *Hebrew Schools*, is, as hath been intimated, their hardened Obstinacy in Error. Ever since they rejected *Jesus Christ*, God has rejected them, and the Truth is far from

* The *Targums* are Paraphrases and Translations of the *Old Testament*, directly from the *Hebrew* into the *Chaldean* Language, for the Use of the vulgar Jews after the Captivity. There were abundance of these *Targums*, but the most noted are the *Targum* of *Onkelos* on the Books of *Moses*, and the *Targum* of *Jonathan* on the Prophets; that is, *Joshua*, *Judges*, the two Books of *Samuel*, *Kings*, *Isaiab*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and the twelve *Minor Prophets*. The first is a strict Version, the last rather a Paraphrase. They are both supposed to be made about our Saviour's Time. *Targum* is a *Chaldee* Word, signifying *Translation*.

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them. The second Source, which is a Consequence of the First, is on one hand the want of a certain, divine, infallible Authority, to regulate their Sentiments; and on the other, their blind Deference to ignorant and presumptuous Men. As soon as they substituted the *Doctrines* of Men instead of *Light* of the *Holy Ghost*; *Human Traditions* in the room of *Divine Truths*; the *Decisions* of their *Doctors*, in the place of those of the *Old Prophets*, and of *Moses* himself, there arose among them Diversity of Opinions, Errors in their *Sense*, Obstinacy and Ignorance in their *Schools*. By Virtues and Qualities directly opposite to These, it is that the *Catholic Church* preserves Purity in her *Faith*, Uniformity in her *Doctrine*, Truth in all the Objects of her *Studies* and *Researches*.



A



A
DISSERTATION
ON THE
Several SECTS of the JEWS:

N A M E L Y,

The PHARISEES, SADDUCEES, ESNENES, and HERODIANS.

S E C T. I.
Of the Pharisees.



BEFORE the *Babylonish Captivity*, there was no particular *Sect* among the *Jews*. Wholly intent upon the Study of their *Law*. (a), and the *Ceremonies* of their Religion, they neglected those curious Points which were in so high Esteem among other Nations. The *Temple* of the Lord, and the Houses of the *Prophets*, were their chief *Schools*. There the *Priests*, the *Scribes*, the profels'd

(a) *Jos. con. Ap. l. 1.*

Scholars

Scholars and Men inspir'd by God, explain'd the manner of *erving* the Lord and keeping his Ordinances. As long as there were *Prophets* in *Israel*, they never dreamt of dividing about Matters which they made the Object of their Study. The Authority of those great Men kept the People in uniformity of Opinions, and the *Holy Spirit*, which spoke the same Language in all the *Prophets*, caus'd, on one hand, that there were no *Religious Sects*; and on the other, that their Decisions were beyond all dispute. When in the time of the *Maccabees* (a), they had pull'd down the Altar of *Burnt-Offerings*, which the *Heathens* had profaned, *Judas* says, that these Stones must be laid up in a convenient Place, till there should come a *Prophet* to shew what should be done with them. And when the *Jews* receiv'd *Simon Maccabeus* for their Leader, 'twas only till such time that there should arise a faithful *Prophet* (b).

After the *Captivity* we find no such thing as *Sects* among them till the time of the *Maccabees* and the Empire of the *Greeks*; and it was apparently in imitation of the *Greek Philosophers*, that the Learned among the *Hebrews* divided into three famous *Sects*, namely, the *Pharisees*, *Sadducees*, and *Esnenes*. As there is frequent mention of these *Sects* in the *Old Testament* *, we have judg'd it proper to show their Original and Opinions: To them we shall add the *Herodians*, who are spoken of in several Places of the *Gospel*, tho' they were not known to the *Jews* by that Name.

The first mention, we meet with, of the three *Jewish Sects*, is in the fourth *Apocryphal* Book of the *Maccabees*, where we read, that in the time of *Hircanus*, High-Priest and Prince of the *Jews*, there were three *Sects* of the Learned, the *Sects* of the *Pharisees*, of the *Sadducees*, and of the *Esnenes* (c). *Josephus* (d) places them a little before that time, immediately after his Account of *Jonathan* the High-Priest's Letter to the *Lacedaemonians*. This Letter was written in the Year 3860. The Death of *Jonathan* fell out the Year following; *Simon* succeeded

(a) 1 Mac. iv. 46.

(b) 1 Mac. xiv. 41.

* In the *Apocryphal Books*.

(c) 4 Mac. vi.

(d) *Jos. Antiq. l. 13. c. 9.*

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him, and govern'd eight Years. *Hircanus* succeeded *Simon*, and was Head of his Nation 29 Years.

Neither the Author of the fourth of the *Maccabees*, nor *Josephus*, give us the Date of these *Sects*. But *Josephus*, who wrote in the Reign of *Vespasian* and *Domitian*, says, in one Place (a), that these *Sects* had been of a long standing, without marking precisely the time when they first sprung up: And supposing one should fix their Original to the Year of the World 3850, ten Years before *Jonathan's* Letter to the *Lacedemonians*; yet that would not be above 220 or 230 Years before *Josephus*. But let us carry it back, if you will, to the time when the *Jews*, fickle and uncertain, gloried in imitating the *Greeks*, in contempt of the *Laws* and *Studies* which had till then been cultivated in their Nation (b), yet this will but gain about 20 Years. I am of Opinion, their Beginning cannot be placed higher than the Year 3820.

The *Pharisees* seem to have been Followers of the *Stoicks*; as the *Sadducees* were of the *Epicureans*. They both borrow'd some of their Opinions from these two *Sects*: But they accommodated them to the Notions of the *Jews*, and Practices of the Law of *Moses*. The *Pharisees* were Austere, Proud, Vain-glorious, and Strict, like the *Stoicks*; the *Sadducees* were less Rigid, and more free; but in Matters of Justice inflexible: The former held the Immortality of the Soul, Existence of Angels and Spirits, and a future State, wherein Men were to be rewarded or punished according to their good or bad Actions. The *Sadducees* got above the Fears of what was to come, by denying the Immortality of the Soul, and all the Consequences of that Opinion. In the Days of *Salomon*, there were some among the *Hebrewes* who had the same Sentiments with the *Epicureans* or *Sadducees*, as appears from *Ecclesiastes* (c); but they became not a *Sect* till long after. It is certain, however, that they are of a longer standing than the *Pharisees*, if it be true, as is generally

(a) Lib. 8. c. 2.

(b) 2 Mac. iv. 15, 16. The Priests despising the Temple, and neglecting the Sacrifices, hasten'd to be Partakers of their Exercises; not letting by the Honours of their Fathers, but liking the Glory of the *Grecians*, whose Customs they follow'd eagerly, unto whom they desir'd to be like in all things.

(c) Chap. iii. 21. and in several other Places.

believ'd,

believ'd, that they derive their Origin from *Sadoc* Disciple of *Antigonus* of *Socho*.

St. *Jerom* (a) brings down the first Rise of the *Pharisees* very low, affirming that the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* sprung from the Division of the two famous Schools of *Hillel*, and *Shammai*. To *Hillel* succeeded *Akiba*, Master of *Aquila* of *Pontus*, who translated the Holy Scriptures into *Greek*. 'Tis well known when *Aquila* liv'd, namely in the Second Century of the Church. *Hillel* therefore could not live but very few Years before our Saviour's Birth.

The *Rabins* differ but very little from St. *Jerom*. They own *Hillel* for the Father of *Pharisaism*, or at least as one of the greatest Ornaments of that *Sect*. They are extravagant in their Commendations of him: there is no Title magnificent enough for him. They relate several Stories of his indefatigable Application to Study; and of the Number and Merit of his Disciples. He had some, say they, fit to be put in the Balance against *Moses* himself; and others, to the number of forty, capable of commanding, like *Joshua*, the Sun to stand still. He was President of the *Sanhedrim*, and famous all over the World. *Ganz* in his *Chronicle* makes him live in the Time of *Herod the Great*. St. *Epiphanius* (b) says, that the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* reckon four Authors of their Opinions, or four Classes of their *Doctors*. First, *Moses*; secondly, *Akiba*; thirdly, *Anan*, otherwise called *Judah*; lastly, the *Asmonaeans*; the which seems to insinuate, that *Akiba* was long before the *Asmonaeans*. But this is too opposite to what is known of *Akiba*, who was Successor of *Hillel*, and liv'd a little after our Saviour.

But however it be with the Antiquity of these *Sects*, they are distinguish'd from one another upon the following Accounts. The *Pharisees* derive their Name from the *Hebrew* Word *Pharais*, which signifies to separate, because they distinguish'd themselves, and were separated, in some measure, from the rest of the *Israelites*, by a strict and rigid way of living, to which they pretended. They ascrib'd a great deal to Fate, or Destiny (c), and to the eternal Decrees of God, who predestinated all Things,

(a) In Isa. viii. Quas domus Nazaræi duas Familias interpretantur *Sammai* & *Hillel*, ex quibus orti sunt *Scribæ* & *Pharisei*.

(b) Epiphani. Hæres. 15.

(c) Joseph. l. 18. c. 2. Antiq.

before all Time. *Josephus*, who was a *Pharisee* (a), and who tells us, that the Opinions of this *Sett* were much the same with those of the *Stoicks* (b), * acknowledges that the *Pharisees* did not ascribe all to *Fate*, but left to Man the liberty of acting or not acting in moral Matters (c). So that their Notion of *Fate*, destroy'd not entirely *Free-will*, as *St. Epiphanius* (a) seems to be desirous to make them affirm.

The *Pharisees* differ'd from the *Essenes* in this Point; whereas these last held an absolute *Predestination*, the *Pharisees* ascribed but such and such Actions to *Fate*, allowing a Power, as to other things, to act or not to act. As a Consequence of their Notion of *Fate*, *St. Epiphanius* says, they were very much addicted to *Astrology*, as if by the Observation of the Stars, they could attain to the knowledge of what was decreed in Heaven, and predestinated by God.

This *Sett* was not confin'd to one Family or *Kindred*, but there were *Pharisees* in every Tribe and Family, and of all Conditions. The Reputation they had gain'd, for their Learning, and strict Lives, made them very quickly to become formidable to Kings themselves; we have an Instance of this in the Reign of *Alexandra*, a Princess pious even to *Superstition*. The King her Spouse, upon his Death-bed, recommended to her the gaining the *Pharisees* to her Interest: She follow'd his Advice, and the *Pharisees* making the best use of the Opportunity, render'd themselves Masters of the Government, and disposed all things according to their pleasure (e). Besides, the People were highly prejudiced in their favour, on account of the outward Appearances of Virtue, Learning, and Piety they beheld in them; they were look'd upon as those that were most vers'd in the Law and Traditions of the Elders. Their way of living was

(a) Joseph. in vitâ suâ, initio.

(b) Jof. ibidem. vide Cicer. de Nat. Deorum, de Fato.

* *Doduel* supposes that *St. Paul*, who was a *Pharisee*, receiv'd his Doctrine of *Fate* from the Masters of that *Sett*, as they received it from the *Stoicks*. And he likewise observes, that the *Stoick* Philosophy is necessary for the explication of Christian Theology; and that there are Examples in the Holy Scriptures of the Holy Ghost's speaking according to the Opinions of the *Stoicks*, particularly *St. Paul*, in what he has discoursed about *Predestination* and *Reprobation*, is to be expounded according to the *Stoicks* Opinion of *Fate*. *Proleg. ad Stearn de Obsin. Sett.* 40, & 41.

(c) Joseph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 9.

(d) Epiphani. Hæres. 16.

(e) Joseph. de Bello, lib. 1. cap. 4. & lib. 13. cap. 18. Antiq.

austere,

austere, their Outside grave, and their Food plain; not given to sensual Pleasures (a), and Observers of the Law even to a scrupulous exactness.

Jesus Christ, in the Gospel, gives them no Quarter, and by expressing great Contempt for their pretended Virtue and Knowledge, plainly shews that their strict Lives in appearance had more of Ostentation than Reality. They were great *Fasters*, made long Prayers, were punctual Payers of Tithes, even of those things which were not tithable by the Law, and gave large Alms. But all these things were tainted with Pride and Hypocrisy; these were their predominant Vices: Vanity, Ostentation, the Spirit of Power and Vain-glory, were the true Principles of their Actions. The empty Applause and Praises of Men were their chief Objects. Like Sepulchres, beautified and adorn'd (b), they appear'd without, quite different from what they were within.

They wore *Phylacteries*, or Bands of Parchment on their Foreheads and Arms, larger than ordinary: The Fringes of their Robes were longer than usual; and there were some, says *St. Jerom* (c), who fastned Thorns to their Fringes, on purpose to prick their Legs, to put them in mind of saying their Prayers, and thinking continually on God's Presence. They frequently wash'd their Hands, and never return'd home from the Market or Streets, but they wash'd from their Elbow to the Tops of their Fingers (d): they very often bathed their whole Bodies in cold Water, to purify them (e). All the Dishes and Plates, which they used at Table, the Beds they lean'd on at Meals, and every thing else, were frequently plung'd into Water. Out of a vain affectation of Purity, they would not so much as touch a Man, whom they thought was an ill Liver; for example, a *Pullican*, no, not to eat or drink with him (f).

The Traditions of the Elders in Matters of Religion, were the chief Subject of their Studies. By the means of these Traditions, they had clogg'd the Law with an infinite Number of frivolous Observances: they had even corrupted it in several

(a) Id. lib. 18. Antiq. cap. 2.

(b) Mat. xxiii. 27.

(c) Jerom. in Mat. xxiii. 27.

(d) Mar. vii. 4.

(e) Joseph. in Vitâ suâ.

(f) Mat. ix. 11. Luc. vii. 39.

main

main Articles, which *our Saviour* upbraids them with in the *Gospel*. For instance; whereas the Law enjoins without Exception or Limitation, the Honouring and Succouring our Parents (a), the *Pharisees* taught, that, by saying to their Fathers and Mothers, *The thing you require of me, is God's, I have devoted it to him, and you shall partake of my Offering*, they were freed from the Obligation of assisting them (b). When their Parents demanded any thing of them (c), they swore by the *Corban*, or, by the Gift of God, not to give it; and from thenceforward they were obliged not to do any thing for a Father or Mother, sinking under the Weight of old Age, or extreme Poverty. The Love of one's Neighbour was almost commented away by their ill Interpretations. The keeping the *Sabbath* was an Article which they had very much refin'd upon. Our Saviour had frequent Disputes with them upon that Head; and it was one of the Pretences they made use of, to put him to death; alledging that a Person, who kept not the *Sabbath* after their manner, could never be sent from God (d). They maintain'd, that it was unlawful on that Day, either for *Jesus Christ* to heal the Sick, (e) tho' he did it by his bare Word, or for the Sick to come to be healed (f); they took offence at a *Paralytick's* daring to carry his Bed after he had been cured on the *Sabbath-day* (g). The *Apostles*, prompted by Hunger, pluck'd some Ears of Corn, and rubb'd them with their Hands on the *Sabbath-day*; this was enough to give offence to the *Pharisees*, and to cause them to charge *our Saviour* and his Disciples with the Breach of the *Sabbath* (h).

They had many *supererogatory Fasts*: The *Pharisee* in the *Temple* boasts of fasting twice a Week (i); that is, *Mondays* and *Fridays*, says *Epiphanius* (k); and they affected to fast more strictly than the rest of the *Jews*. It is to them our Saviour

(a) Exod. xx. 12.

(b) Mat. xv. 4, 5, 6.

(c) Mar. vii. 10, 11, 12.

(d) Joh. ix. 16.

(e) Luc. vi. 7. Joh. xix. 16.

(f) Luc. xiii. 14.

(g) Mar. ix. 11. Joh. v. 8, 9.

(h) Mat. xii. 1, 2, 3, &c.

(i) Luc. xviii. 12.

(k) Epiphan. Hæres. 16.

alludes

alludes in these words (a); *When you fast, be not like the Hypocrites, of a sad Countenance; for they disfigure their Faces, that they may appear unto Men to fast: but thou, when thou fastest, anoint thy Head, and wash thy Face, that thou appear not unto Men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret: and thy Father which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly*. The *Pharisees* complain in another Place, that They and *John's* Disciples fast often; whereas the Disciples of *Jesus* eat and drink like other Men (b). And *Josephus*, in his own Life, says, that he was bred up under one *Bannus*, a Man of great Austerities, who eat nothing boil'd or roasted; but was satisfied with such Food as the Earth produc'd of itself.

St. Epiphanius (c) tells us surprizing Stories of the Effects of their *Mortifications* and *Austerities*, which they underwent to keep their Bodies pure and chaste: Sometimes they impos'd upon themselves laborious and painful Exercises for four Years together; and sometimes for eight or ten, before they married. They would hardly suffer themselves to sleep, for fear of involuntary nocturnal Pollutions; giving themselves up almost incessantly to Prayer. There were some that would lie a-nights on a Board about two Inches wide; that, in case they should happen to fall fast asleep, they might tumble down, and so wake themselves, in order to say their Prayers. Others lay upon small sharp Stones of an unequal bigness, to prevent them from sleeping at their ease. There were even some who lay upon Thorns, that they might be under a necessity of being always awake. *Our Saviour* upbraids them with making long Prayers, and standing in the *Synagogues*, and Corners of the Streets; and with devouring Widows Houses under the pretence of Praying (d).

But as these *Austerities* were enjoin'd by no Law, and as the *Pharisees* were not bound by any Vow, or otherwise, to the Practice of them, every one follow'd his own Inclination in the manner of performing them. Hence it is, that there was never any Uniformity among them in these Matters. The *Talmud* describes seven Sorts of *Pharisees*. The first were those who made

(a) Mat. vi. 16.

(b) Marc. vii. 11.

(c) Epiphan. Hæres. 16.

(d) Mat. xxiii. 14.

Gain,

Gain, and Glory, the Measure of their Obedience : by whom were meant, in all appearance, such as adher'd not constantly to this *Sect*, but fell off when they found it more for their Interest so to do. The second sort lifted not up their Feet as they walk'd, to show a greater degree of Mortification and Modesty. The third knock'd their Heads against the Walls as they went along the Streets, till they made them bleed; perhaps out of Ostentation of their Virtue and Patience, or of Weakness and Faintness from an Excess of Mortification. The fourth hid their Heads in a Cowl, and look'd thro' it as from the bottom of a Mortar, to denote the Spirit of inward Retirement, Penitence and Compunction. The fifth demanded with an Air of Self-sufficiency, *What is it that I must do? I will do it. What is it that I have not done?* The sixth were obedient for the sake of Virtue, and to render themselves deserving of the Reward promis'd to such as kept the Law. And the seventh did their Duty purely out of Fear of Punishment, or with a selfish View to the Reward. We see in this List the different Degrees of *Pharisaical Perfection*, and the several *Classes* of this famous *Jewish Sect*.

One of the main Points of their *Devotion* consisted in making *Profelytes*, or converting *Heathens* to *Judaism*. Our Saviour taxes them with traversing Land and Sea to convert a *Pagan* (a), and when they had so done, with making him worse than he was before, by instilling into him pernicious Doctrines, and filling his Head with vain and superstitious *Traditions*, instead of shewing him the Way of Righteousness, and instructing him in the true Spirit of the *Law*. He upbraids them likewise with affecting to build the Tombs of the *Prophets* (b), and publicly declaring that they blam'd the Conduct of their Fathers who persecuted them to Death; whilst they themselves, treading in their Steps, barbarously sought the Destruction of *All* those that endeavour'd to take them off from their Errors, to unmask their Hypocrisy, and display their Pride.

An Oath was ever most *sacred* among the *Hebrews*. God order'd them to swear by his Name (c), but strictly forbid them

(a) Mat. xxiii. 15.

(b) Mat. xxiii. 29. Luk. xi. 47, 48.

(c) Deut. vi. 13.

to take the Names of *strange* Gods into their Mouths (a). The *Pharisees* explain'd these Laws after a very odd manner. Whoever, say they, swears by the Temple, is not bound to keep his Oath; but whoever swears by the Gold of the Temple, is oblig'd to perform it (b). Again, he that swears by the Altar, is not bound; but he that swears by the Offering on the Altar, is bound. They had likewise introduc'd other Oaths, as, by *Heaven*, by *Jerusalem*, by *their Head* (c). In most of these Oaths, where the Name of God is not mention'd, they did think themselves bound to perform what they had sworn; as if the *Sacredness* of an Oath was not violated, whether one calls to witness inanimate Things, and such as are incapable of Hearing, or whether one swears by animate Beings, when one breaks his Word, after having sworn even by *Creatures*. The *Temple*, *Altar*, *Heaven*, *Jerusalem*, and the *Offerings* which were made to the Lord, receiving their Value from the Majesty of God, to whom they belong'd, it was affronting the Divine Majesty not to perform their Oath, after having sworn by the Things before-mention'd.

The *Pharisees* believ'd the Immortality of the *Soul*, and Existence of *Spirits* and *Angels* (d), and admitted a kind of *Transmigration* of Souls, not indeed of all sorts of Men, but of the *Good* only. These pass from one Body into another; but the Souls of the *Wicked* are condemn'd to subterraneous Abodes, there to remain eternally in dark Dungeons (e). It was these Notions that made some of them affirm, that *Jesus Christ* was either *John the Baptist*, or *Elias*, or one of the antient *Prophets* (f); as much as to say, that the *Soul* of some one of these *Great Men* was transmitted into his Body, and animated it.

Josephus (g) says, in another place, that the *Demons* which possess Men, are no other than the *Souls* of the *Wicked*, which enter into the Bodies of other Men, and are sometimes expell'd thence by *Exorcisms* and *Conjuration*, and by the virtue of certain Herbs. He acknowledges therefore that there were some

(a) Exod. xxiii. 13.

(b) Mat. xxiii. 16, 18.

(c) Mat. xxiii. 22. & v. 35, 36.

(d) Acts xxiii. 8.

(e) Joseph. l. 2. de Bello, c. 12. & l. 18. Antig. c. 2.

(f) Mat. xvi. 14.

(g) Joseph. l. 7. c. 25. de Bello.

of the *Souls* of the *Wicked* which were not immediately shut up in *Hell*. See *St. Matthew* viii. 30, 31. The *Pharisees* believ'd likewise, with the generality of the *Jews*, the Resurrection of the *Dead*, with all its Consequences, which were contested by the *Sadducees* (a).

They had acquir'd a great Name for their *Doctrine*, of which they were extremely jealous; they had engross'd, as *our Saviour* says (b), the *Key of Knowledge*, and pretended that none could open the *Kingdom of Heaven* but themselves; and yet they enter'd not in themselves, neither would they suffer others to do it. *Our Saviour* says, that they sat in *Moses's Chair* (c), had a Right to teach, and were invested with a *Character* which gave them Authority for that purpose; that the People were to hearken to them, and practise what they taught; submitting to their Decisions, provided they were not repugnant to the *Law* of God. But, continued he, take great heed of following their Example; for they lay upon others heavy Burdens, which they will not so much as touch with one of their Fingers. They are, says he (d), *blind Guides which lead the Blind*; and if your Righteousness exceed not that of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, you shall in no wise enter into the *Kingdom of Heaven* (e).

He does not mean, therefore, that a blind Deference should be paid them, or that People were imprudently to give themselves up to the Direction of such ill Guides: His Intent is, that one should submit to them no farther than is consistent with *Sense* and *Reason*, and regard not their Opinions but as they are conformable to the *Law* of the Lord. He would have the *Chair* of *Moses* respected, in which the *Pharisees* were seated, and likewise the *Doctrine* they taught from that *Chair*, provided, however, it was not contrary to *Moses* himself. *Utrumque delictis advertere*, says *St. Augustin* (f), & *quatenus honor delatus sit doctrinae Moysi, in cujus Cathedra etiam mali sedentes, bona dicere cogebantur*. But, at the same time, he bids them beware of the *Leaven*, or *Doctrine* of the *Pharisees* (g); *cavete à fermento Phari-*

(a) *Mat.* xxii. 23.

(b) *Luc.* xi. 52.

(c) *Mat.* xxiii. 1, 2.

(d) *Mat.* xxiii. 16, 17, 18, & xv. 14.

(e) *Mat.* v. 21.

(f) *Aug. Lib.* xvi. contra *Fauft.* c. 29.

(g) *Mat.* xvi. 6.

ſcorum.

ſcorum. What is *Good* in their *Doctrine*, is from *Moses*; what is *Bad*, is from themselves.

To stamp a Credit upon their *Traditions*, the *Pharisees* make them as old as *Moses* himself. They affirm, that having received them at the same time with the *Law* on *Mount Sinai*, he committed the *Law* to Writing, but deliver'd the *Traditions* to the *Elders*, by word of mouth, by whom they were handed down to their Days, without having undergone the least Alteration. It must be confess'd, that there were among the *Hebrews*, true and real *Traditions*. It is impossible that a System of Religion should subsist, without leaving many things to the Practice and Memory of the Professors, especially in Matters of Ceremonies and Customs. These things are never particularly set down in Writing; and as long as a lawful Authority is watchful to stop the Progress of false *Traditions*, and ill Explanations which may be made of the *Law*, there is nothing to fear from that Quarter.

But the worst is to be dreaded, when such as the *Pharisees*, full of Ambition, Pride, and Vain-glory, get into the *Chair*, and govern the Affairs of Religion with an absolute Sway. They are capable of perverting the *Laws* themselves, by giving too great an Authority to their Opinions, which they will have pass for ancient *Doctrines* handed down by their Fore-fathers. The *Catholic Church* admits of *Traditions*, but she requires them to be authoris'd by Antiquity, conformable to the *Laws* and *Canons*, approv'd by the Heads of the Church, certain, universal, solid, and apt to edify. She rejects all novel, doubtful, uncertain, trifling *Traditions*, and such as are contrary to the antient and approved Opinions, Laws, and Practices.

The *Sect* of the *Pharisees* ceas'd not with the *Temple*, nor expir'd with the *Liberties* of the *Jews*. The modern *Jews*, for the most part, are *Pharisees* (a); attach'd, like the *Antients*, to the *Traditions*, which they call the *Oral Law*, and fierce Adversaries to the *Karaites*, who mind only the bare Text, without admitting any pretended Explanations, or *Traditions* of the *Elders*. He that rejects the oral *Law*, is an *Apostate*, and deserves Death, say the modern *Pharisees* or *Rabbins*, which is the Name they generally go by at present.

(a) *Serrar. Triharez.* c. 16. *Basnage Hist. des Juifs*, l. 3. c. 3.

Benjamin of Tudela (a), who liv'd towards the latter-end of the twelfth Century, says, that he met in his Travels with *Pharisees*, who lament without ceasing, the Desolation of *Sion* and *Jerusalem*; they abstain from Meat, Wine, and generally go clad in Black. They live in Caves, or Huts in the Country. They fast every Day, except the *Sabbath*, and pray continually for the Deliverance of *Israel*. But this Writer, like most Travellers, is apt to stretch a Point. It is a Question, whether there is any such thing in being, as these pretended *Pharisees*.

The Notions of the *modern Pharisees*, are the same with those of the antient. They ascribe to Fate every thing that depends not on Free-Will. Their Maxim is, *All things are in the hand of Heaven, except the Fear of God*: as much as to say, that in the exercise of moral Actions the Will is free, and at liberty to chuse Good or Evil. *M. Basnage* (b) says, that they differ but little, in this Point, from those they call *Remonstrants* in *Holland*. They acknowledge the Concurrence of God in meritorious Actions, and leave to Man an entire Liberty to chuse between Good and Evil.

The Character and Temper of this *Sett* is visible in the Prayer of the *Pharisee* in *St. Luke* (c), *Lord, I thank thee that I am not as other Men are, Extortioners, Unjust, Adulterers; nor even as this Publican*. He owns the Decree of God, who had predestinated him to have a purer and more upright Life than the rest of Mankind. But he boasts also of the good Use he had made of his Free-Will, by chusing to practise Virtue, whilst other Men gave themselves up to Vice. This *Sett* condemn'd only evil Actions; as for vicious Desires, wicked Thoughts and Designs, they believ'd them lawful, and counted them as nothing. *Josephus* (d) laughs at *Polybius*, for imagining that the Gods had punish'd *Antiochus* for his Design to plunder the Temple of *Diana*, which he never put in execution.

The *modern Pharisees* are not so rigid as their Ancestors in the matter of Food, and other *Austerities*; but they come not behind them in Vanity, Hypocrisy, and an obstinate Attachment to the Traditions of the Elders. They hold the same Opinions as to the Transmigration of Souls, and Freedom of the Will.

(a) Itineris, p. 75.

(b) Basnage Hist. des Juifs, l. 3. c. 2.

(c) Luc. xviii. 10, 11.

(d) Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 13.

Ob.

Objections are made against this Doctrine of *Transmigration*, and some will have it that the ancient *Pharisees* believed no such Thing. They have but two Reasons to alledge for their Assertion: First, the Silence of *Jesus Christ*, of *St. Clemens Alexandrinus*, and of *St. Epiphanius*, who tax'd them with no such Doctrine. Secondly, This Opinion destroys the Doctrine of the *Resurrection*, which the *Pharisees* certainly held; for to which Body shall a Soul belong, that has successively animated several!

To the first Reason it is replied, 1st, That the Silence of *Jesus Christ* is no Argument, since our Saviour intended not to acquaint us with all the erroneous Doctrines of the *Pharisees*. 2^{dly}, It is certain, that the Opinion of the *Transmigration* of Souls was spread among the *Jews* in our Saviour's Days, as appears from *St. Peter's* Answer, of whom he had demanded what Men thought of him; some, replied *St. Peter, say that thou art John the Baptist, some Elias, and others JEREMIAH, or one of the Prophets* (a). And King *Herod, Tetrarch of Galilee*, hearing of the Fame of *Christ's* Miracles, thought *St. John* was come again in his Person (b). The Apostles seeing a Man that was born blind, asked our Saviour, whether it was for his own or his Parents Sins, that he was born blind (c)? All these Things seem to suppose the Doctrine of the *Transmigration* of Souls. 3^{dly}, To the Silence of the Books of the *New Testament*, is oppos'd the Testimony of *Josephus*, an unexceptionable Testimony, since he was of the *Sect of the Pharisees*, who says in express Words, that they held the *Transmigration* of the Souls of good Men. 4^{thly}, The *Modern Pharisees*, who hold the *Transmigration* of Souls, yet believe a future Resurrection (d). They profess, that of the several Bodies which the same Soul shall have animated, there will but one rise again; the others will remain in the Dust, like dry and useless Trunks. But will it be in the Soul's power to chuse which Body she pleases, or will she be constrained to pitch upon one in particular? In

(a) Matt. xvi. 14.

(b) Mar. vi. 16, 17. Luk. ix. 9, 10.

(c) Joh. ix. 1, 2.

(d) Vide *Manasse Ben-Israel*, de Resurrect. Mortuorum, l. 2. c. 18. p. 216.

this

this Point they are not agreed; some (a) give it in favour of the first Body the Soul inform'd, and others (b) for the last. But this Diversity of Opinions brings no manner of Prejudice to the Certainty of these two Articles of their Faith, the *Transmigration* of Souls, and the *Resurrection*.

Some (c) affirm that the *Pharisees* were *Jewish Hereticks*; their erroneous Doctrines concerning the chief Points of Duty, their ill Explanations of the Law, their Belief of *Transmigration* of Souls, are more than enough to constitute a *Heresy*. Their obstinate Adherence to their Opinions, and their barbarous persecuting All that differ'd from them, are the true Characters of *Heresy*. This is what is alledg'd to prove them *Sectarists* or *Hereticks* in the *Jewish* Religion. *Josephus* (d) calls the three Sects of the *Jews* three *Heresies*.

But this is no solid Proof, since the *Greeks* gave the Name of *Heresy* to what we call *Sect*; and altho' both these Terms are Names of Reproach in our Language, yet neither of them were so among the *Greeks*, from whom we borrow'd them. A *Sect* is nothing more than a Number of People attach'd to the same Set of Notions, as we find in the *Church*, as well with regard to *Philosophy* as *Divinity*; who, without meddling with the Essential Articles of Faith, and without breaking the Union of the *Church*, have divers Ways of explaining certain *Tenets*, but all subordinate to the Authority of the *Pastors*, under whom they live.

But if by the Name of *Heresy* is meant Erroneous Doctrines obstinately persisted in by a *Sect* of Persons distinguish'd from all others, it must be confess'd that in this Sense of the Word the *Pharisees* were *Hereticks*; their Errors are plainly set down in the *Gospel*, and their *Obstinacy* is not contested: But if to be an *Heretick*, one must not only differ in Opinion, but also be of a *separate Communion*, and divide from the Society of the *Faithful*, or at least be dispos'd to do so, and obstinately continue in one's Errors, in spite of the Decisions of the *Church* to the contrary; in this Sense it can't be said that the *Phari-*

(a) Abarbanel Comment. in Pentateuch.
(b) Zoar. Paras. Hayc. Sara. Manasse *Ben-Israel* loco citato.
(c) Epiph. Hæref. 16. August. de Hæref.
(d) L. 13. Antiq. c. 9. Τρις Αἵρεσις.

sees

sees were *Hereticks*; they held *Communion* with the rest of the *Jews*, they even sat in *Moses's Chair*, as our Saviour says (a): They were in the highest Posts in their Nation: They were reckon'd the most Able, the most Zealous, and the most Regular of the *Jews*: There were *Pharisees* among the Priests in the *Sanhedrim*, and among all Ranks. They frequented the *Temple*, offer'd Sacrifices; many among them were really good Men, and some there were that believ'd in *Jesus Christ* (b), as *Nicodemus* and *Gamaliel*. St. Paul (c) calls the *Pharisees* the *strictest Sect* of the *Jews*; neither did our Saviour ever tax them with *Heresy*.

Their Errors were then either not known or tolerated. The Belief of the *Transmigration* of Souls was common all over the *East*; it must not be imagin'd that before our Saviour's Time they were so exact and precise in *Theological* Matters, or that their Knowledge was so Extensive as it was afterwards. In fine, the *Pharisees* were not *Hereticks* in the Opinion of the most learned Writers on that Subject (d). The *Fathers*, who affirm'd them to be so, took the Term *Heresy* in the same Sense as *Sect*; and understood by *Heretick* one that is Erroneous and Singular in his Notions*.

(a) Matt. xxiii. 2.

(b) Joh. iii. 1. ix. 16. Acts v. 34.

(c) Acts xxvi. 5.

(d) Serar. Trihæref. cap. 9. Genebrard. Drusius. Basnage, &c.

* In conjunction with the *Pharisees*, the *Scribes* are often mention'd in the *New Testament*. But they were not a *Sect*, but a Profession of Men following *Literature*. They were of divers Sorts; for generally all that were any way learned among the *Jews*, were in our Saviour's Time call'd *Scribes*, but especially those, who by reason of their Skill in the Law and Divinity of the *Jews*, were advanc'd to sit in *Moses's Seat*, and were either Judges in their *Sanhedrim*, or Teachers in their *Schools* or *Synagogues*. They were mostly of the *Sect* of the *Pharisees*. And they being the Men that dictated the Law both of *Church* and *State*, hence *Lawyers* and *Scribes* are synonymous Terms in the *Gospels*, and both of them do there signify the same Sort of Men. For the same Person, who in Matt. xxii. 35, is called a *Lawyer*, is, in Mark xii. 28. said to be one of the *Scribes*. Prid. Connec. Part II. B. v. p. 343.

SECT.

S E C T. II.

Of the Sadducees.

THE Sadducees own for the Founder of their Sect, one Sadoc, (a) who was, say they, Disciple and Successor of Antigonus Sochans, who immediately follow'd Simon the Just, High-Priest of the Jews. Not that Antigonus succeeded him in the High Priesthood, but in the Presidentship of the Sanhedrim and Divinity-School. Simon the Just, who was High Priest after Onias I. held the Pontificate from 3701 to 3711: He had for his Successor Eleazar, in whose Time 'tis pretended that the famous Version of the Septuagint was made. This may serve to fix the Date of the Rise of the Sadducees.

Antigonus Master of Sadoc was Head of a particular Sect, who, out of an Excess of Devotion, inculcated to his Scholars (b) that the Lord must be worshipp'd in a pure and disinterested Manner. Be not like Slaves, said Antigonus to his Disciples, Obey not your Master merely for the sake of a Reward; but serve him without any selfish Views, and without any Hopes of reaping the Fruits of your Labours: Let the Fear of the Lord be ever before you. These Maxims are extraordinary in the Mouth of a Jew, bred up under a Law, which speaks not but of temporal Rewards for the Just, and temporal Punishments for the Wicked: accordingly, Antigonus had but few Followers.

Sadoc his Disciple not being able to come up to so high a Pitch of Disinterestedness, and unwilling withal to desert his Master, for whom he had a great Respect, embraced his Maxim, but put a wrong Construction upon it; he infer'd from thence, that there were no Rewards or Punishments in another Life; that Good was to be done, and Evil to be avoided in This, without any Hopes or Fears. This, according to the Hebrews, was the Original of the Sadducees.

(a) Ita lib. 4. Macc. c. 6. & Philastr. Elias in Tifsi. R. Jacob. Prefat. in lib. En. Auth. Cizri. R. Abr. Levi in Cab. Historica. Rab. Nath. Ita Perhe-Aboth. alij plures.

(b) Vide R. Nath. Comment. in Pirhe-Aboth. Manasse Ben-Israel in lib. 1. c. 6. de Resurrectione mort.

Josephus

Josephus relates no Particulars concerning their first Rise; and the Author of the Fourth Book of the Maccabees, says only, that Sadoc was the Founder of the Sadducees. If this Account which the Rabbinus give us of the Origin of this Sect, be true, the Sadducees are of a longer Standing than the Pharisees, whose Rise we place no farther back than the Beginning of the Maccabees. The Pharisees made their first Appearance about 160 Years before Our Saviour, and the Sadducees made theirs about 100 Years before the Pharisees.

The Rabbinus make Sadoc a Schismatick, and a Separatist from the Jews and the Temple of the Lord: He withdrew into Samaria, and worshipp'd on Mount Gerizim. But this is a Calumny invented out of Hatred to the Sect of the Sadducees, who were an utter Abomination to the Pharisees; neither is it lately cast on them, since we find Footsteps of it in Epiphanius (a) and Philastrinus. They tell us, that the Sadducees were a Branch of the Disciples of Dositheus, and that Dositheus separated from the Jews, and retir'd into Samaria, finding he could not have his Ends in his own Country. He lived Hermit-like, in a Cave, and starv'd himself with Hunger, out of a vain and foolish Ostentation of Fasting and Abstinence; this is Epiphanius's Story: But Dositheus liv'd long after Sadoc, a little after the Death of our Saviour (b); he had a mind to pass for the Messiah or Christ (c).

Some Jews (d) give a different Account of Sadoc's Schism: They say, that Alexander the Great being come into Judaea, the Samaritans obtain'd his Permission to build a Temple to the Lord on Mount Gerizim; upon which, the People of Israel were divided into two Parties. Simon the Just and Antigonus Sochans his Disciple, with the Majority of the People, remain'd firmly attach'd to the Service of the Lord, and worshipp'd him in his Temple at Jerusalem. Sadoc and Baithus, Disciples of Antigonus, with a great Number of wicked Jews, espous'd the Party of Sanballat the Horonite, and of his Son-in-law Manasse, Son of the High-Priest Joshua Son of Josedech, and became

(a) Epiphanius. Heref. 14.

(b) Origen. in Matt. Tract. 27.

(c) Idem, l. 2. contra Celsum.

(d) R. Abrah. Levi. in Cabal. Historica.

F

Favourers

Favourers of the *Samaritans* and their Way of worshipping on *Gerizim*: this, according to these Men, was the Original of the *Sett* of the *Sadducees*.

But here is a great Inconsistency in the point of *Chronology*. It was the High Priest *Jaddas* that receiv'd *Alexander the Great* at *Jerusalem* in 3673, and the High-Priest *Simon the Just* died in 3711, many Years after *Alexander the Great*, and the Licence granted by him to the *Samaritans* to build a Temple on *Gerizim*.

Others affirm (a) that they took the Name of *Sadducees* from *Zedech, Righteousness*; because they pretended to be more *Righteous* than the Generality of the *Jews*. But in what could they make this same *Righteousness* to consist, unless perhaps in the Disinterestedness wherewith they discharg'd all the Duties of *Civil Life*, and even several Religious ones, not having in View either the Rewards or Punishments of another World, or else in their inflexible Strictness in causing the Laws to be observ'd, and the Guilty to be punish'd without Mercy.

The Opinion first propos'd, which makes them to descend from *Sadoc* Disciple of *Antigonus*, and Successor of *Simon* the High-Priest, is the most probable. If the *Sadducees* had been *Samaritans* or *Schismatics*, *Jesus* would not have fail'd to remark it. He would not have rank'd them among the ancient *Jewish Sects*; neither would they have been permitted in the Temple, and in the highest Posts of the State, as they were by *Jesus*'s own Confession.

The main Error of the *Sadducees* turn'd upon the Existence of Angels (b), and the Immortality of the Soul (c). They denied not the Existence of the Soul, which renders us intelligent and rational Creatures; but they maintain'd, that the Soul perish'd with the Body, and consequently they affirm'd that the Rewards and Punishments of another Life are meer Chimæras (d), and that there was no Resurrection of the Dead (e). St.

(a) Epiph. Hæres. 14. Junius & Jerom. in Matt. xxii. & Tostat. ibid.

(b) Acts xxiii. 8. The *Sadducees* say there is no Resurrection, neither Angel nor Spirit, but the *Pharisees* believe both.

(c) Joseph. l. 2. c. 12. de Bello.

(d) Joseph. ibid.

(e) Matt. xxii. 23. The *Sadducees* say there is no Resurrection. See Marc. xii. 18. Luc. xx. 27.

Epiphanius

Epiphanius (a) says they were ignorant of the *Holy Ghost*; perhaps he means by that the *Spirit of Prophecy*. For 'tis said they rejected the *Prophets*. *Arnobius* infers from hence, that they believ'd God to be Corporeal (b). St. *Augustin* (c) understood St. *Epiphanius* in a literal Sense, since he expressly says, that the *Sadducees* denied the *Holy Ghost*, and that the *Pharisees* believed in Him: But denied only that he resided in *Jesus Christ*.

However, neither the *Scriptures* nor *Jesus* lay this to the *Sadducees* charge. It was no great wonder if they knew not the *Holy Ghost*, as the second Person in the *Holy Trinity*. This Mystery was never distinctly preach'd to the *Jews*. St. *Epiphanius* perhaps would only oppose them to the *Pharisees*, who in his Opinion, believ'd the Existence of the *Holy Ghost*; that is, of the *Spirit of Prophecy* which inspir'd the *Prophets*, and was distinct from them. But it must be confess'd, that we know not exactly either what the *Pharisees* meant, or what the *Sadducees* denied, under that Term; Whether it was a Substance distinct from God, or whether a substantial *Emanation* of the Divinity, a *Divine Person*.

As to God's being Corporeal, it can't be prov'd that the *Sadducees* ever believ'd so, or even that it was a necessary Consequence of their Tenets concerning Angels and the Mortality of the Soul. Supposing that neither Angels nor spiritual Substances shou'd exist, and supposing that the Soul was not immortal, does it follow from thence, that God is Corporeal?

The *Sadducees* receiv'd the Books of *Moses*, wherein is frequent Mention of Angels and Apparitions. How could it be then, that they denied their Existence? We don't know how they got over these Difficulties, or what Constructions they put upon these Passages; but it has been thought that they consider'd Angels as *Virtues* inseparable from God (d), just as the Rays and Light are inseparable from the Sun; and that they might appear upon Earth under different Appellations, according to the different Functions they took upon themselves.

(a) Epiph. Hæres. 14.

(b) Arnob. l. 3. p. 100. See also Scultetus.

(c) Aug. Sermon. olim xi. de verb. Domini, Num. lxx. c. 3. n. 5.

(d) This was the Opinion of certain *Jews* in the Time of *Justin Martyr*. See *Grotius* on Matt. xxii. 23. and Mr. le Clerc on the Acts xxiii. 8. and St. *Justin's* Dialogue against *Trypho*, p. 358.

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This

This Hypothesis is ingenious enough, but does not altogether answer the Objection. The *Angels* whose appearing is spoken of in the Books of *Moses*, were not simple *Emanations* of the *Divinity*, but real Persons sent from God, acting in his Name and by his Power. They might have said much rather that those Angels were nothing but airy *Phantoms*, which appeared for a while and had no real Substance; that they were *phantastical* Bodies, mov'd about by the Power of the Creator; or, if you will, that they were mov'd and animated by some mortal *intelligent* Being, like the *Soul* of Man, which, in their Opinion, exists not after Death. But it is not here our Business, to make an *Apology* for the *Sadducees*, but barely to give an Account of their Opinions.

Altho' they denied the Rewards and Punishments of a future State, they were for all that not only strict Observers of the Laws themselves, but made others so too (a). This was a natural Consequence of their Principles. If there are no Rewards nor Punishments but in this Life only, all Faults are to be punish'd and all good Actions are to be rewarded exactly as they deserve.

They might ground their Notions upon *Scripture* ill-understood and ill-interpreted. *Moses* in the *Law* speaks only of *Temporal* Rewards. God strikes in this Life by visible Punishments such as offend him. The Crimes of the *Sodomites*, of the *Canaanites*, of *Her* and *Onan*, of *Pharaoh*, and of the *Egyptians*, were punish'd in this World. These Instances, and Abundance more taken notice of in the *Pentateuch*, countenanc'd their Opinion.

Their Principle was false, as well as the Consequences they drew from thence. God punishes and God rewards Men very often in this World; but it does not follow therefore, that he does so always, and that all our Fears and Hopes ought for that Reason to be confin'd to the *Goods* or *Evils* of this Life. One may fetch even from *Genesis*, Arguments for the Immortality of the Soul. Man was made after the *Image* and *Likeness* of God. God is a *Spirit*, Man therefore is a *Spirit*, as to that Part of him which *thinks* and *reasons*. *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and many other *Holy Men*

(a) Joseph. l. 2. de Bello. c. 12. & Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 23.

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had no Reward in this World proportionable to their Merits, and to the Promises God made them. We must say therefore, that they received their due Reward in another Life; or that God is unjust, and not so good as his Word. In fine, the Lord said unto *Moses* (a), *I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob*. Now God is not the God of the Dead, but of the Living. These *Patriarchs* therefore are living. This was our Saviour's Argument (b).

The *Sadducees* are charg'd with rejecting all the *Scriptures* except the Books of *Moses* (c). To make good this Charge, 'tis said that our Saviour took the Answer he return'd them in the *Gospel*, only out of the Book of *Exodus*, which they receiv'd; and that he us'd not the *Testimony* of the other Books of the *Bible*, tho' more express for the *Resurrection* which he was proving, because the *Sadducees* receiv'd them not for *Canonical*. Neither did they admit of the *Traditions of the Elders*, nor the *Commentaries* of the *Pharisees*. So that their *Sect* was nothing near so numerous or powerful as that of the *Pharisees*, neither had the People that Veneration and Respect for them, as for these last. However, Persons of the greatest Riches and best Quality among the *Jews* were generally *Sadducees*. But in the Civil Government they were oblig'd to conform to the *Maxims* and Sentiments of the *Pharisees*; otherwise they would have had no Quarter from the common People (d).

What has been said of the *Sadducees* admitting of only the *Pentateuch*, labours under some Difficulties. *Scaliger* (e) observes, that they did not appear 'till after the *Canon of Scripture* was settled, and the Number of *inspir'd Books* fix'd. Now at that time there was no longer any picking or chusing among the *Sacred Writings*, for all the *Books* were equally *sacred* and *canonical*.

1. If they had been to chuse among the *Holy Writings*, such as were not contrary to their Notions, they would never have given the Preference to the *Books of Moses* wherein *Angels* and

(a) Exod. iii. 6, 15, 16.

(b) Matth. xxii. 32. Marc. xii. 26.

(c) See Serap. Trihæref. c. 21. n. 1. & R. Eliam. in Tisbi. Tertull. præscript. c. 49. Origen. l. 1. Jerom. in Matt. xxii. Beda Alij.

(d) Joseph. Antiq. l. 18. c. 2.

(e) Scal. Elench. Trihæref. c. 16.

Apparitions

Apparitions are so frequently mention'd. 2. The *Sadducees* assist in the Temple and at *Religious Assemblies*. All the *Books of Scripture* were read there, particularly the *Prophets*. Who can believe then, that they look'd upon these *Books* as *Apocryphal*, and of no Authority? 3. They expected the *Messiah* as well as the rest of the *Jews*. They must therefore receive the *Prophets* also, who promise him, and who give his true Character. 4. *Josephus* (a), who knew this *Sett* better than any body, says, that they were contrary to the *Pharisees*; inasmuch as these last taught and practis'd many *Traditions* which they receiv'd from their Fathers, and which were not contain'd in the Law of *Moses*; whereas the *Sadducees* reject all *Traditions*, and maintain that nothing ought to be observ'd but what is written. This Passage is quoted on both sides of the Question; and 'tis true indeed, that *Josephus* seems to confine what he says there to the *Books of Moses*. But it does by no means follow from thence, that the *Sadducees* receiv'd not likewise the other *Books of Scripture*. The *Rabbins* who combated the *Sadducees*, made use against them of Passages taken not only from *Moses*, but likewise from the *Prophets*, and other *Books of Scripture*; and the *Sadducees*, instead of rejecting them, endeavour to evade the Force of them by vain Subtilties and strain'd Interpretations. 6. Is it credible that they shou'd have continued in *Communion* with the rest of the *Jews*, that they shou'd have been in the highest Posts in the *State*, and that some of them shou'd have been promoted even to the High Priesthood it self, if they had rejected the greatest part of the *Jewish Scriptures*? Moreover, *St. Peter* and the rest of the *Apostles* (b), addressing to the *Sadducees*, quote the *Psalms* as well as the other *Scriptures*.

It seems then, that the *Sadducees*, like the rest of the *Jews*, receiv'd all the *sacred Writings* (c). And when the *Antients* say, that they rejected all but the *Books of Moses*, my Opinion is, that they are to be understood in the Sense we put upon the Passage in *Josephus*; that is to say, they receiv'd for Law, none but the *Books of Moses*, and rejected all the *Pharisaical Traditions*. As to the rest of the *Scriptures*, without throwing them out of the *Canon*, they interpreted them according to their pre-conceiv'd Notions,

(a) *Joseph. Antiq.* l. 5. c. 18.

(b) *Act.* iv. 1, 2. v. 17.

(c) See *Manasse Ben-Israel*, l. 1. c. 6. Neque tamen derogabant fidem Prophetis, sed Prophetarum in alium longe sensum interpretabantur.

and wrested the Passages wherein mention is made of *Angels*, in the same Manner as they did those in the *Pentateuch*.*

It must be confess'd, that since the Captivity, the *Immortality of the Soul*, and *Existence of Spirits*, were not reckon'd *Fundamental Articles* of the *Jewish Religion*, seeing the *Sadducees* remain'd in *Communion* with their Brethren, and had even *High-Priests* of their *Sett*, tho' they believ'd neither (a). These Things pass'd among them for *Controversial Points*. The *Pharisees* and *Sadducees* disputed one against another, but did not *communicate* with one another; they receiv'd all alike the *sacred Books*, but not in the same Sense. The *Pharisees* held all the *Scriptures* as the *Rule of Faith*, and their *Traditions* as the *Rule of Practice*. The *Sadducees* gave not that Prerogative but to *Moses*, and the other *sacred Writings* explain'd after their Manner.

The *Sadducees* denied *Fate*, says *Josephus* (b), they affirm that it is a *Word* without any Meaning, and nothing happens to Men by the Power of *Fate*. They hold that Man hath perfect Liberty and full Power to do as he pleases; so that we are the sole Causes of our Happiness or Unhappiness, by the good or bad Choice we make. He says elsewhere (c), that they deny *Fate* and *Providence*, or, which is the same Thing, That God can neither do nor know Evil; that Man is absolute Master of all his Actions; and that nothing happens to him but as he wills it, by the good or ill Use he makes of his Liberty.

One can't hardly ascribe more to Man or less to God. If God has no manner of Influence upon the good or ill we do, or suffer; that is to say, if we stand in no need of his Assistance, to practise what is Good or avoid what is Evil, that after this Life there are no Rewards nor Punishments; I don't see what a *Sadducee* cou'd ask of God, or wherein his Religion or Worship cou'd consist. If he wanted not the Assistance of God in this Life, and if he had nothing to fear or hope from him after Death, to what Purpose is it to fear, serve, or worship Him? Nothing

* When *John Hyrcanus* deserted the *Sett* of the *Pharisees*, and went over to the *Sadducees*, no other Alteration is mention'd to have been made by him in that Change, but his rejecting all the *Traditions* of the *Pharisees*. *Joseph. Antiq.* l. 13. c. 18.

(a) *Manasse Ben-Israel* in his Book of the Resurrection says, that the ancient *Jews* cut off from the Number of the *Israelites*, those who denied the *Immortality* of the Soul, and 'twas asserted that such Men have no Part in the World to come.

(b) *Joseph. Antiq.* l. 13. c. 9.

(c) *Joseph. l. 2. c. 12. de Bello.*

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discovers more fully to what Degree of Corruption the *Jewish* Religion was arriv'd at that Time, than the suffering in its Bosom a *Sett* of such monstrous Principles. *Sadducism* was much the same with *Epicurism*, and I see no difference between them but the *Sadducee's* dreading at least in this Life God's Punishments, and hoping for a temporal Reward for the Virtues he practises; whereas the *Epicureans* had not even these Motives to the Fear of God.

The *Sadducees* have subsisted a long time, and still do subsist, tho' their Number is very inconsiderable (a). They are look'd upon by the other *Jews* as *Hereticks*; but formerly it was not so. The High Priest *Hircanus* Prince of the *Jewish* Nation, after having been a long while a Favourer of the *Pharisees*, openly left them and went over to the *Sadducees* (b); 'tis said that he enjoin'd the *Jews* on pain of Death, to embrace the Opinions of *Sadoc* (c). *Aristobulus*, and *Alexander Jannæus* Sons of *Hircanus*, continued to protect the *Sadducees*, and persecute the *Pharisees*. *Maimonides* (d) affirms, that in the Reign of *Alexander*, the *Sadducees* got into their hands all the Offices of the *Sanbearim*. There was not one left, except *Simon* Son of *Seera*, that espous'd the Side of the *Pharisees*. But the *Pharisees* were in Favour and Credit again in the Reign of *Alexandra*, Wife to *Alexander Jannæus*. *Caiphas* who condemn'd our Saviour was a *Sadducee*, as appears from the *Acts* of the *Apostles* (e), as well as *Annis* the younger (f), who put to death *James* the Brother of our Lord.

They who wou'd pass the *Sadducees* upon us for *Samaritans* and Disciples of *Dositheus*, tax them with worshipping God in the Shape of a *He-Goat*, and with corrupting the Text of the first Chapter of *Genesis*, by reading it, *In the beginning Azyrna*, or, the Goat, created Heaven and Earth. But these Imputations are groundless, and deserve not to be minded. The *Sadducees* worshipp'd God in his Temple at *Jerusalem*, and liv'd in expectation of the *Messiah*; but in this Point they gave into the common No-

(a) See Basnage History of the Jews, l. 3. c. 5. Sect. 13, 14, 15 ---- 21. Serar. Tri-haref. c. 25. Manasse Ben-Israel de Resur. l. 1. c. 1.

(b) Jos. Antiq. l. 13. c. 18.

(c) See Abn. Ben-Dior, Cabala; apud Trigland. de Sectâ Carait.

(d) Maimon. Halar. Sanhedr. c. 11.

(e) Acts v. 17. xiv. 1.

(f) Antiq. l. xx. c. 8.

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tions of the *Jews* and of the *Pharisees* themselves, who expected only a temporal *Deliverer* and *Monarch*. Being both of this Belief, it is no wonder that they acknowledg'd not *Jesus Christ*, who talk'd to them only of a *Spiritual Kingdom*. We don't find by the *Gospel* that so much as one *Sadducee* believ'd in *Christ*. They had in their *Sett*, insurmountable Obstacles to the *Faith* and *Salvation* preach'd by our Saviour.

SECT. III.

Of the Essenes.

THE Original of the *Essenes*, and Etymology of their Name, are unknown; neither *Philo* nor *Josephus* say any thing expressly about the Time of their first Appearance, or of the Founder of their *Sett*. The fourth Book of the *Maccabees* (a), which we have translated into *French*, calls them *Hafdanim*, and says they were in being in the Time of *Hircanus Maccabæus*, about the Year of the World 3894. *Josephus* (b) speaks of one *Judas*, a famous *Essene*, who liv'd in the Time of *Antigonus* Son of *Hircanus*, and Brother of *Aristobulus* King of the *Jews*. This *Judas* foretold, that *Antigonus* shou'd be put to death under *Strato's* Tower; and his Prediction came to pass, to the great Astonishment of the whole City of *Jerusalem*, and of *Judas* himself.

Pliny (c), who had read with Admiration the Description *Josephus* gives of the *Essenes*, describes them himself in a pompous Style, and pretends that they had subsisted for thousands of Ages, without any Commerce with Women: *Ita per seculorum Millia incredibile dictu, gens aterna est in qua nemo nascitur*. But he is assuredly mistaken as to the Point of their Duration: one can't place their Beginning before the *Maccabees*, neither is it true that all the *Essenes* liv'd without Women. *Josephus* (d)

(a) Mac. vi.

(b) Jos. Antiq. l. 13. c. 19.

(c) Plin. l. 5. c. 17.

(d) Joseph. de Bello, l. 2. c. 12. in Latin & Greek. p. 788. D.

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says,

says, there was one Society of them, which in every thing follow'd the Rules of their *Sect*, except in the single Point of Marriage.

Some (a) conjecture that they were descended from *Zonadab* Father of the *Rechabites*. The only Grounds they have for their Opinion, is the *Essenes* manner of Living, abstaining from Wine (b), and using great Temperance in all other Things. But as they liv'd in Cities, and Houses, it can't be affirm'd that they were *Rechabites*, since these last neither dwelt in Cities, nor had any Houses; but liv'd in Tents in the Country. I don't find neither that the *Essenes* wholly abstain'd from Wine, or that they made it a fundamental Article of their Practice, as the *Rechabites* did.

St. *Epiphanius* (c) thinks the *Essenes* were a *Sect* of the *Samaritans*, and that their Name was derived from *Jesse*, Father of *David*, or from *Jesus*, which, according to him, signifies *Physician*; a Quality which perfectly well agrees with the *Essenes*, who wou'd pass for *Physicians of Souls*. He says, that in the Time of the Emperor *Trajan*, one *Elxar* introduc'd some new *Tenets* among the *Essenes*, and gave them a Book full of his pretended *Prophecies*, and that he had a Brother call'd *Jeaxus*, who persuaded them to worship the Stars. It is not known whence St. *Epiphanius* had these, and some other Particulars, which he relates concerning the *Essenes*; but they are of very doubtful Authority, especially their having their Original among the *Samaritans*. It is certain they were *Jews*, and very far from *Samaritans*. St. *Epiphanius* apparently judg'd of the ancient *Essenes* by those of his Times, who were very much corrupted, and exclaim'd against, even to their being charg'd with passing divine Honours to two living Women.

Serrarius (d) mentions a dozen Opinions about the Name of the *Essenes*. *Salmasius* (e) will have it, that they took their Name from the City of *Essa*, in *Palesine*, mention'd by *Josephus* (f). Others derive their Name from the Hebrew Word

(a) See Suid. in *αἰσχρονομία* or *ἀσχηρονομία*. Nilus asserit. c. 3. Alij quidam.

(b) Phil. de vitâ Contemplativa. p. 900.

(c) Epiphani. hæres. 29. de Nazaræis.

(d) Serrarij. Trihæres. l. 3. c. 1.

(e) Sal. ad Solin. c. 35.

(f) Joseph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 23. *ἔστιν ἑσάνας*.

Hofen

Hofen, which signifies the *Breast-plate* of the High-Priest. Others from the Chaldee Word *Chesin*, very strong; or the Hebrew (a) *Ala*, to heal; or from *Havlah*, to make, to do; or from *Jesus*, or *Jesse*, or the Verb (b) *Chasa*, to contemplate; or from *Schanah* (c) to divide, to separate. Others (d) from the Greek, *Hosoi*, Saints; or lastly, from *Chafid*, or *Hafid*, Mercy. This last Etymology seems to me the most probable. We find in the *Psalms*, the *Merciful* (e) as making a Society of religious Persons. I am apt to think that these are the same with *Assideans* in the *Maccabees* (f).

Drausus maintains, that the *Essenes* were a Branch of the *Pharisees*, and in the Number of those *Hircanus* persecuted (g), and who being fled into desert Places, inur'd themselves out of Necessity to fare hard, and voluntarily persisted afterwards in that kind of Life. But we have shewn, that the *Essenes* were of as old a date as the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees* themselves; since the Author of the fourth Book of the *Maccabees*, which neither *Salmasius*, nor *Scaliger*, nor *Serrarius*, nor *Drausus*, ever saw; the first Appearance of this Book being in the *Polyglot Bible*, of Mr. *le Feay*: Since, I say, this Author places all these *Sects* in the Time of *Hircanus*, and supposes them to be thoroughly establish'd, and distinguish'd from one another in those Days; *Josephus* himself, who, in all appearance, compil'd his History from the like Memoirs we have just mention'd, seems to suppose them in being under *Hircanus*, since after he had spoken of the Quarrel which induc'd *Hircanus* to quit the *Sect* of the *Pharisees*, in order to go over to the *Sadducees*, he says (h), But I have spoken largely of these two *Sects*, of the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*, and of the third, that of the *Essenes*, in my second Book of the Wars of the *Jews*.

Next to the Schools of the ancient Prophets, the *Hebrews* have had nothing more perfect, or more eminent than their

(a) נחם

(b) חזה

(c) שנה

(d) Phil. lib. quod omnis probat liber. He insinuates that the *Essenes* in Hebrew signified Saints. So that he countenances the Etymology from the Hebrew Noun *Chafid*.

(e) Psal. lxxviii. 2. lxxxiv. 9. vulgate.

(f) 1 Mac. ii. 42. 2 Mac. xiv. 7. See Eccl. xlv. 10.

(g) Joseph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 18. See Serrarij. Trihæres. c. 6. p. 81.

(h) Joseph. ibid. c. 18. to the End.

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Essenes.

Essenes. *Josephus* (a) gives us the following Description of them*. These Philosophers live in entire Friendship to each other, and have an Aversion to *Pleasure*, as to a dangerous Poison. To live continently, and keep their Passions in subjection, they esteem a Virtue of the first Rate. They marry not, but taking other Men's Children, while they are yet tender, and susceptible of any Impressions, they treat them as their own, and carefully breed them up in the *Institutions* of their Sect. However, they are not absolutely, &c. — as far as these Words, *after they are found to be with Child*.

The *Essenes* (b) acknowledge, that God governs all Things, without Exception; they maintain, that nothing is done but by his Decrees. *Josephus* (c) in one place, says, that they ascribe all to *Fate*, and that nothing happens but by its Appointment. To reconcile these two different Assertions, *Serrarius* (a) finds no better Expedient, than to say, that by the Term *Fate*, *Josephus* meant nothing else than the absolute Decree of God, which governs all, according to the Nature of each particular Thing, and consequently, without destroying *Free-will*. Their Sect answers, in great measure, to that of the *Pythagoreans* among the *Greeks* (e), or of that of the *Plisies* among the *Dacians* (f); 'tis not known what these *Plisies* were, and possibly, the Passage in *Josephus* may be corrupted. *Serrarius* conjectures, that it must be read *Elisies*, the Name of certain Priests, who liv'd single Lives among the *Tivacians* (g).

Tho' the *Essenes* were the most religious among the *Jews*, yet they frequented not the *Temple* of *Jerusalem* with their Brethren, and offer'd no *bloody* Sacrifices, at least in the *Temple*; for it seems, one must understand it so, to reconcile *Josephus* with *Philo*, who says, without exception, that they never sacrifice any living Creature; but prepare their Minds, and make

(a) *Joseph. l. 2. de bello. c. 12. &c.*
* I have in a great Measure follow'd *Prideaux's* Translation of *Josephus*, which is something fuller than *Cabnet's*.

(b) *Joseph. Antiq. l. 18. c. 2.*

(c) *Joseph. l. 13. c. 9.*

(d) *Serrar. Tribaref. c. 4. art. 2.*

(e) *Joseph. Antiq. l. 15. c. 15.*

(f) *Joseph. Antiq. l. 18. c. 2. τῶν πλείους λεγόμενοι.*

(g) *Strabo, l. 7.*

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them a fit Offering to God. *Josephus* says, they offer no Sacrifices in the *Temple*, for fear of defiling themselves, by coming near the other *Jews*, who don't aspire to so high a Degree of Purity as themselves. They are satisfied to send their Presents thither, and devour them as Marks of their Thankfulness.

Philo (a) says, the *Essenes* are in Number about four Thousand in *Judaea*. *Pliny* seems to fix their Abode about *Engaddi* (b). He says, that they fed upon the Fruit of the *Palm-trees*, of which there are great plenty in those Parts. But *Philo* tells us, that they dwelt in several Cities and Villages, and prefer the Country before Towns; being of Opinion, that conversing with bad Men is as dangerous to *Souls*, as corrupted Air is to *Bodies*. They apply themselves to Husbandry, and other peaceable Trades, which take them not off from Solitude, and the Purity they profess. They live, says *Pliny*, far from the Sea, to avoid the Converse of People, which they look upon as hurtful to their *Institutions*.

They study neither *Logick*, nor *Physicks*, (continues *Philo*) (c): but *Josephus* (d) says, they diligently read the Books of the *Ancients*, from whence they learn'd the Knowledge of *Simples*, *Roots*, and other *Medicines*. Their chief Study is *Morality*, and the *Law of Moses*. They apply themselves to it more especially on the *Sabbath-day*. They meet together on that Day in their *Synagogues* (e), where every one is seated according to his Seniority, the *Juniors* sitting below the *Seniors*. Then one of the Company taking the Bible, reads out of it, and another of the more skilful expounds what hath been read; they make use of a great many *Simbols*, *Allegories*, and *Parables*, according to the Way anciently practis'd among them (f); they teach *Holiness*, *Justice*, *Oeconomy*, *Politics*, the Love of God, the Love of Virtue, and the Love of their Neighbour. They have no Slaves among them, holding *Slavery* as impious and destructive of the *Law of Nature*.

(a) *Philo, Quod omnis probat liber, p. 876.*

(b) *Plin. l. 5. c. 15.*

(c) *Philo, loco citato.*

(d) *Joseph. l. 2. de Bello, c. 12.*

(e) *Philo, ubi supra.*

(f) *Phil. ibid.*

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There were three Sorts of *Essenes*. *First*, Those we have been describing hitherto, who abstain'd from Marriage. *Second*, Such as us'd Matrimony, not with the Moderation above mention'd. *Third*, The *Contemplative Essenes*, whom *Philo* describes in his Book *de vita contemplativa*, and who are best known by the Name *Therapeutae*. The greatest part of them liv'd in *Egypt*, and were thought to be *Christians* by the *Fathers* of the *Church*. This Opinion has been receiv'd in our Days, and several learned Writers have wrote upon this Subject, and therefore it will be needless for me to enlarge here upon this Matter.

There were Women also who observ'd the same Rules, as *Josephus* and *Philo* both inform us. Among the *Therapeutae*, they were either *Virgins*, or aged Women, who liv'd continently. They were present at the instructive Discourses on the Sabbath-days, but separated from the Men, by a Wall of three or four Cubits; however, they cou'd hear distinctly the Voice of him that spoke, without being seen at the same time. They likewise sat down at the common Table, the Men on the right, and the Women on the left. The Wives of such of the *Essenes* as allow'd of Marriage, follow'd the same Rule of living as their Husbands.

It is really strange, that the *Gospels*, and other Books of the *New Testament*, shou'd say nothing of this *Sect*, which was so great an Honour to the *Jewish* Religion, and, at that Time, in the highest Repute in the Country. How came it to pass, that such Persons as these were not eager to hear our Saviour? and how was it, that not one of them embrac'd *Christianity*? If *Jesus Christ* had wanted such as were of a ready Mind, exercis'd in the Practice of Virtue, thoroughly skill'd in the Law and the *Propheets*, he cou'd not have fail'd of making *Profelytes* among the *Essenes*. But he had other Views; he wou'd not order it so as that the Establishment of the *Christian Religion* shou'd look like the Work of Men's Hands; he made choice of what seem'd most improper to his Design. Moreover, it does not appear by the *Gospel*, that he ever preach'd in those Places where the *Essenes* had their Habitations. He preach'd not in *Egypt*, where they were more numerous than in any other Country; so that

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'tis no wonder they are not mention'd in the *Gospel*. Neither was *St. Paul* in those Parts, and we have not properly an Account of any of the Apostles Preaching, but *St. Paul's*. It is very probable, that after the *Ascension* of our Saviour, several *Essenes* were converted. And I don't see any thing but what is very likely, in the Opinion of the *Fathers*, that the *Therapeutae* were the first *Christians* in *Egypt*. It is certain, that the first *Monasteries* in the *Church* were built upon their Model; and in those Places it is, that one remarks several Footsteps of the ancient *Institutions* of the *Essenes* *.

S E C T. IV. Of the Herodians.

THE Original of the *Herodians* is very obscure; but 'tis agreed that their *Sect* is not antient, and that it began but in the Reign of *Herod the Great* in *Judea*. Neither *Josephus*, nor *Philo*, nor any Author that wrote in those Days, has mention'd them by the Name of *Herodians*. But the *Gospel* expressly speaks of them in several Places. We find them in *St. Matthew* and in *St. Mark* conspiring with the *Pharisees* at *Jerusalem*, how to circumvent our Saviour (a). And another time at *Capernaum* (b).

* *Prideaux*, in his Connection of the Old and New Testament, makes appear at large, against the Opinion of *Bellarmino* and *Baronius*, that the *Therapeutae* were not *Christians*; and likewise against the *Deserts*, that *Christ* and his Followers were not a *Sect* of the *Essenes*, as they pretend to assert. He likewise shews, that *Monkism* took not its Rise from the *Therapeutae*, as the *Roman Catholics* affirm. The Original of the *Monks* was this: In the Year of our Lord 250, *Paul*, a young Gentleman of *Thebes* in *Egypt*, to avoid the *Decian* Persecution, fled into the adjoining Desert, and retiring to a Cave, began, the first of all *Christians*, to practise an *Asseck* Life. About 20 Years after, (he being grown famous) *Anthony*, another young Gentleman of the same Province, induc'd by his Example, retir'd into the same Desert, and there devoted himself to the same Course of Life. Many others, after a while, out of the like Zeal of Devotion, coming to him, he form'd them into a Body, and becoming their *Abbot*, he prescrib'd them a Rule, and govern'd them by it many Years. From this Beginning all the *Monkism* of the *Christian World* took its Rise. *Prod. Part II. B. v. p. 305*.

(a) *Matt. xxii. 16. Mar. xii. 14.*

(b) *Mar. iii. 6.*

Our

Our Saviour bids his Disciples to take heed of the *Leaven* of the *Pharisees*, and of *Herod*, or the *Herodians*, as some *Copies* read it (a). After the death of *Jesus Christ*, we hear no more of them either in the *Acts*, or in the other *Apostolical Writings*, the which makes it thought that their *Sect* was not so numerous, so famous, so powerful, or so extensive as the rest of the *Jewish Sects* were in those Days.

We have seven or eight different Opinions concerning the *Herodians*. The *Antients* are by no means agreed about them, and the *Moderns* are still more divided. Some believed that the *Herodians* took *Herod* for the *Messiah*. But as there were several *Herods* that reign'd in *Judea*, 'tis doubted which of them they meant. 1. *Herod the Great*, who died a little before the Birth of our Saviour. 2. *Herod Antipas*, Son of *Herod the Great*, who reign'd in *Galilee*, put *St. John Baptist* to death, and endeavour'd to apprehend *Jesus Christ* (b). 3. *Herod Agrippa*, Grandson of *Herod the Great*, who put to death *St. James Major*, Brother of *John*, shut up *Peter* in Prison, as we read in the *Acts* (c), and was struck by the Hand of God as he was haranguing to the People of *Cæsarea*.

St. Epiphanius (d), *St. Jerom* (e), *Tertullian* (f), or the Author that has tack'd some Chapters to his Book of *Prescriptions*, and several *Moderns* (g) were of opinion, that it was *Herod the Great*, whom the *Herodians* held to be the *Messiah*. In his time all *Judea* was in expectation of a new King. The whole *East* was persuaded, that a Deliverer and Monarch was to make his Appearance about that Time, who was to reign over all the World. They perceiv'd, according to the Prophecy of *Jacob*, the Scepter was departed from *Judah* (h). Moreover, *Herod* was a valiant, fortunate, magnificent Prince, highly favour'd by the Emperor, and whose extraordinary good Fortune seem'd almost miraculous. This Prince express'd great Regard for the *Laws of Moses*;

(a) See Mill's various Readings on Mar. xviii. 15.

(b) Luk. xiii. 31, 32.

(c) Acts xii. 2.

(d) Epiphani. Hæres. Herodian.

(e) Jeronim. contra Luciferian.

(f) Tertull. de Præscript. ap. initio.

(g) See Nicet. Choniat. Thesaur. Orthod. l. 1. c. 14. Baron. App. n. 5. If. Voss. de Sybillin. Orac. Grot. in Matt. xxii. alij.

(h) Gen. xlix.

and

and altho' he violated them in the most material Points, he got it overlook'd on pretence of the Necessity of cultivating the Friendship of the *Romans*, who were then Masters of the known World (a).

In fine, *Herod*, who was of a boundless Ambition, wanted not, perhaps, Flatterers, who might inspire him with a Notion, that he might be the *Messiah*; and tho' he believed nothing of the matter, he might be so good a Politician as to countenance an Opinion, which would be of great use in the Administration of the Government. 'Tis even affirm'd that he caus'd the *Archives*, where the *Genealogies* of Families were laid up, to be burnt, that no one might know the Lineage of *David*, from whom 'twas known the *Messiah* was to spring. Add to this, his jealousy of every thing that eclips'd his Grandeur; witness his Slaughter of the *Innocents*. All these things together, seem to insinuate either that he believ'd himself to be the true *Messiah*, or that he was not displeas'd to be thought so. A *Heathen Poet* (b) speaks of a Feast *Herod* made at *Rome*, with great Illuminations and much Drinking:

*Herodis venere dies, unctaque Fenestrâ,
Dispositæ pinguem nebulam vomere lucerna.
———Tumet alba fidelia vino.*

'Tis affirm'd (c) that this was the *Festival Day* of this Prince, whom some *Jews* reverenc'd as the *Messiah*. Others have imagin'd, that it was the *Festival* of his Grandson *Herod Agrippa*, who was in great favour in the Reigns of *Caligula*, *Clæudius*, and *Nero*. Others have advanc'd (d), that by the Name of *Herod*, the Poet meant the whole *Jewish Nation*. They talk likewise of another of *Herod's Festivals*, mark'd down in an ancient *Hebrew Calendar* in these words: *There is a Festival on the seventh Day of Chislen (or November) on account of the Death of Herod; for he hated the Wise Men: And one rejoices before the Lord, when the Wicked depart out of this World; for it is*

(a) Jos. Antiq. l. 15. c. 12.

(b) Pers. Satyr. v. 180.

(c) Cornut. in Pers. Herodis diem natalem Herodiani observant, ut etiam Sabbathi.

(d) Petit. var. Lect. c. 18. Vitringa de Synag. l. 1. c. 9.

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written,

written, *The Hand of the Lord is against them, to drive them out of the Camp.*

But without staying to shew that the Death of *Herod the Great* was not in *November*, it is visible that this *Festival* was not a *Rejoicing* in Honour of that Prince, but on the contrary, in Remembrance of his Cruelty; and for his miserable Death, most certainly it was not those who are said to have taken *Herod* for the *Messiah*, that instituted such a Festival, but the *Pharisees*, the chief Persons among whom, were persecuted by *Herod* (a). This Prince had none of the Characters of the *Messiah*. His *Life* and *Death* cou'd not give any advantageous *Idea* of his Person. He had reign'd like a Tyrant, and had trampled upon the *Jewish* Liberties, and his Religion had been no more than *Policy* requir'd. He died in a very wretched Manner, the which was look'd upon by the *Jews* as a Punishment from the Hand of God (b). Fifty *Deputies* from *Judea*, back'd by Eight Thousand *Jews*, which were at *Rome*, brought Accusations against his Memory to *Augustus*, and declar'd, they had rather have a Heathen for their Governor, than see one of the Sons of *Herod* mount the Throne (c).

This, doubtless, was no fit Person for the *Messiah*, and Deliverer of *Israel*. And granting his Platterers were able to procure him a Set of Followers during his Life, they wou'd soon be dispers'd after his Death, when neither Fear nor Hope had any Effect upon their Minds. There were none of them left in the 33d or 35th Year of *Christ*. In fine, if *Herod* had been thought to be the *Messiah*, wou'd he have consulted the *Jews* upon the Arrival of the *Wise Men*, in order to know in what Place the *Messiah* was to be born (d)?

The second *Herod*, whom some have taken for the Founder of the *Herodians*, and who is said to be honour'd by them as the *Messiah* (e), was *Antipas*, Tetrarch of *Galilee*. He was a Prince, that set no Bounds to his Ambition; he confederated with *Sejanus*, against *Tiberius*, and was convicted of having made an Ar-

(a) Joseph. de Bello, l. i. c. 21.

(b) Joseph. de Bello, ibid.

(c) Jos. Antiq. l. 17. c. 12.

(d) Matt. ii. 4.

(e) Basnage Hist. des Juifs, l. 3. c. 8. n. 8. 16, 17. Ita Theophyl. Euthym.

senal,

senal, where he had Arms for Seventy Thousand Men (a). He was a Person of great Subtilty, since *our Saviour* calls him *Fox* (b). He affected to adhere to the Fortune of the *Roman* Emperors; and we have a Medal of his, on which he styles himself, a *Lover of the Emperor* Claudius (c). It appears he was alive when *our Saviour* said to his Disciples: *Beware of the Leaven of Herod* (d). His Ambition carried him to *Rome*, to demand the Title of *King*: His Attempt prov'd very unlucky (e); he was banish'd to *Lions*, where he died with the incestuous *Herodias*, whom he had taken from his Brother *Philip*, altho' the last was alive, and had a Daughter by her call'd *Salome*.

Herod's sad Catastrophe ill agrees with the *Idea* the *Jews* had of the promis'd *Messiah*; they hated the Race of *Herod*: His taking *Herodias* to Wife, and his Murder of *John Baptist*, were Acts not at all proper to characterize the *Messiah*. *Herod's* Dominions lay within a narrow Compass, but, to answer the Expectations of the *Jews*, a potent, glorious, valiant Prince, was necessary, who shou'd free them from *Servitude* and *Oppression*: *Herod Antipas* did nothing of this, neither was he ever in a Condition to undertake it.

Philastrinus (f), and some others, believ'd that *Herod Agrippa*, appointed King of *Judea* by *Caligula*, was the Person that gave Name to the *Herodians*; but this Opinion has no better Grounds than the former ones; we find *Herodians* in the *Gospel* before the Reign of *Agrippa*. This Prince ascended not the Throne, 'till three or four Years after the Death of *our Saviour*; he certainly had no Followers, and it never came into any one's Head to look upon him as the *Messiah*, as long as he was a private Man, and in Disgrace with *Tiberius* (g). This Opinion therefore must be given up, as entirely without any Foundation.

Several *Moderns* (h) will have it, that the *Herodians* were *Saducees*. Indeed *our Saviour* having said in St. *Matthew* (i), to his

(a) Joseph. Antiq. l. 18. c. 9.

(b) Luk. xiii. 32.

(c) Apud Harduin.

(d) Mar. viii. 15.

(e) Joseph. Antiq. l. 17. c. 9.

(f) Philastr. de Hæres. Præcol. Elench. Hæres. n. 14.

(g) Joseph. Antiq. l. 18. c. 8.

(h) See Harduin, de Nummis Herodias. p. 97. Le Clerc on the New Testament, and Hammond, Lightfoot Horæ Hebr. Faber. Grot.

(i) Matt. xvi. 6.

Disciples, Beware of the Leaven of the Pharisees, and of the Sadducees, tells them in St. Mark (a), to beware of the Pharisees, and of the Leaven of Herod. Herod, or the Herodians, were the same then with the Sadducees, since they are put for one another in two parallel Places.

This Conclusion is very plausible, but not convincing: 1. Herod might be a Sadducee, and the Herodians not so. 2. Jesus Christ might, possibly, speak of the Pharisees, Herodians, and Sadducees, and St. Mark might supply what St. Matthew had omitted, as St. Matthew added one which St. Mark did not. 3. The Sadducees might be attach'd to Herod's Party, and yet be no Sadducee. 4. The Gospel clearly distinguishes the Sadducees from the Herodians; for in the same Chapter, where it is said, that the Disciples of the Pharisees and the Herodians came to try to entrap our Saviour (b), it is remark'd in one of the following Verses (c), that the same Day, came to him the Sadducees, which say there is no Resurrection, and asked him, &c. Is it probable, that the same Writer, in the space of 7 or 8 Lines, shou'd call the same Persons by so different Names; and that after barely styling them Herodians in the 16th Verse, he shou'd call them Sadducees, and specify their particular Tenet in the 23d?

The Author of an imperfect Work on St. Matthew, thinks, that the Herodians were Heathens, Subjects of Herod Antipas; but 'tis by no means likely, that the Pharisees shou'd act in concert with Heathens, to try to ensnare our Saviour. The Heathens never troubled themselves about the Disputes of our Saviour with the Jews.

Drusus (a) advances, that the Herodians might be Greeks, whom Herod found in the Desert, and brought with him to Jerusalem, where they multiplied greatly. But Drusus took the Hebrew Word *Jonim*, for Men, when they were certain Pidgeons, which King Herod caus'd to be bred up tame at Jerusalem, and which were of a very particular Kind.

The Father (e), for the most part, were of opinion, that the Herodians belong'd to Herod's Train, his Soldiers and Officers. Herod

(a) Mark xiii. 15.

(b) Matt. xxii. 16.

(c) Ibid. 23.

(d) Drus. in præteritis. ex libro Aruch.

(e) Chrysost. Jerom. Janf. Vassal. Eras. Gerard. Hammond. Scultetus. Natal. Alexand.

being

being at Jerusalem, at the Passover, as St. Luke (a) informs us, our Saviour happen'd to be there at the same Time: Herod had a great Desire to see Jesus, to whom he bore an ill Will (b). His Attendants, to satisfy his Curiosity, or their Malice, or to please the Pharisees, and, it may be, their own Master, came, and put to our Saviour, a captious Question, relating to the present Juncture of Affairs; namely, to get him to declare his Opinion concerning the paying Tribute to the Romans. It is well known, that formerly, the Domesticks, and Officers of Princes, and Persons of Distinction, had Names given them from their respective Matters; hence the Pompeians, Cæsarians, Germanicians, were the People and Soldiers of Pompey, Cæsar, Germanicus: in the same manner might the Domesticks of Herod be call'd Herodians*.

This is a plausible Hypothesis, and if the Herodians had appear'd but upon this Occasion only, might have been satisfactory; but we meet with them at other Times and Places, where there was neither the King, nor the Court. It is evident from all the Passages wherein they are mention'd, that they were a particular Sect, in Contradistinction from the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, and differing from them in their Tenets, as appears from our Saviour's charging his Disciples to beware of their Maxims (c).

Some (d) assert, that the Herodians were Politicians, who adher'd to Herod, and favour'd the Dominion of the Romans, and maintain'd against the rest of the Jews, too zealous Assertors of their Liberties, that it was lawful to pay Tribute to the Romans, and to Herod. They were call'd Herodians by way of Reproach, as it happens in States where several Factions prevail, that some are term'd Royalists, others Republicans, &c. This Opinion stands in need of Proofs. It must be shewn, that the Herodians were for paying Tribute, the which is the Point in question. Now we are of opinion, they were entirely against it.

(a) Luk. xxiii. 7, 8.

(b) Luk. xiii. 31, 32.

* The first of these Kind of Societies, were the *Sodales Augustales*, in honour of Augustus. But this being done several Years after Herod's Death, could be no Pattern for his Followers to institute the like in honour of Herod. This is Scaliger's Opinion.

(c) See Mar. iii. 6. viii. 15.

(d) Origen. in Matt. Tom. 17. Grot. Maldon. Lightfoot. Menoc. See also Cyril Alex. L. 2. in Isai. c. 11. and Theoph. in Matt.

St.

St. *Justin Martyr* (a) believ'd, that the *Herodians* were Partisans of *Herod*, not as *King*, but as *High-Priest*. *Josephus* does not say, that this Prince was ever *High-Priest*; he was not of the Family of *Aaron*. But *Strabo* (b) positively asserts it; and 'tis certain, that *Herod the Great*, after the Death of his Brother-in-law, *Aristobolus*, did dispose of the *High-Priesthood* at his pleasure, putting in, and turning out the High-Priests just as his Fancy led him. But granting that *Herod the Great* had in his Life-time a Party in *Judas*, who own'd him for lawful High Priest, the which is a great Question, this Party could not subsist 33 Years after his death, at a time when *Herod*, Grandson of *Herod the Great*, did not pretend to the *High-Priesthood*, the disposal whereof was in the power of the *Roman* Governors, who were Masters of the Province.

After having laid down and confuted the several Opinions concerning the *Herodians*, we shall now propose our Thoughts of this matter. These then are the Marks whereby we may know for certain who the *Herodians* were. I. They were a *Sect* distinguish'd from the *Pharisees*, *Sadducees*, and *Essenes*. No one has confounded them with the *Pharisees*, or the *Essenes*; and we have shewn they were not *Sadducees*. II. Their Name is a Demonstration that they began to appear after the Reign of the *Herods*. III. They were link'd with the *Pharisees*, and always appear with them in the *Gospel* (c). IV. They were concern'd to know whether it was lawful to pay Tribute to the *Romans*. V. They held dangerous *Tenets* in Morality, seeing our Saviour bids his Disciples to beware of their *Leaven*.

Now I can't see, to whom all these Things may be ascribed but to the Disciples of *Judas the Gaulonite*, or *Galilean*. They constituted a *Sect* well known in the Country, and expressly taken notice of by *Josephus* (d). This Historian, after mention of the *Pharisees*, *Sadducees*, and *Essenes*, says there was a fourth *Sect* of *Philosophers*, who own'd *Judas the Gaulonite* for their Chief, and in every thing agreed with the *Pharisees*. The only thing that distinguish'd them, was their excessive Love of *Liberty*, being possess'd with a Notion that God alone was the *Lord* and *Master* to whom they ought to pay Obedience.

(a) Justin Mart. Dialog. cum Tryphone.

(b) Strabo, l. 16. p. 765.

(c) Mat. xxii. 16. xii. 15. Mar. iii. 6. viii. 15.

(d) Joseph. Antiq. l. 18. c. 1, 2.

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This *Sect* was in a flourishing Condition at the time of our Saviour's Preaching. And *Gamaliel* in the Acts (a) informs us that *Judas the Galilean* liv'd when the *Taxing* or *Registering* of the People was made by the Order of *Augustus* (b). *Josephus* describing the *Sects* among the *Jews* before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, reckons among them the Followers of *Judas*. But after *Judea* was become Desolate, and the City and Temple of *Jerusalem* destroy'd, the People were reduced to a Condition wherein there was no further occasion to dispute whether they should, or should not, pay Tribute to the *Romans*. Accordingly this *Sect* vanish'd, and we hear no more of it afterwards.

St. *Matthew* (c) admirably well displays the Genius of the *Herodians*, when he says that they accosted our Saviour in these words; *Master, we know that thou art true, and teachest the Way of God in Truth; neither carest thou for any Man, for thou regardest not the Person of Men*. They endeavour'd to gain our Saviour, by giving him his just Commendations, and by ascribing that Contempt of Human Authority, and Readiness, which they valued themselves upon, to undergo all kinds of Sufferings, rather than call any mortal Man, *Lord*. After which, they put a Question to him, which discovers their main Doctrine was the true Temper of their *Sect*, *Is it lawful to pay Tribute to Caesar, or not?* Our Saviour's Answer intimates that they held the *Negative*, since he says to them, *Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's*. They expected that he would have proved to them the Obligation incumbent upon them of paying Tribute, and submitting to the Dominion of the *Romans*, as he did himself. This Answer touches not the *Pharisees*. We have seen by *Josephus*, that the Notion of not owning for King any but God alone, was peculiar to the Followers of *Judas the Gaulonite*, and that it was the only thing that distinguish'd them from the *Pharisees*, with whom they agreed in all other Points.

The *Herodians* evidently had their Name from *Herod*, to whom they were subject as *Galileans*. The rest of the *Jews* had petition'd *Tiberius* (d) to free them from the Dominion of the *Herods*, and give them a *Roman* Governor. The *Galileans* continued in submission to *Herod*; they were suspected of holding the Errors of the *Herodians*, and were look'd upon at *Jerusalem* as

(a) Acts v. 36. (b) Compare Josephus l. 18. c. 1. (c) Mat. xxii. 16, 17.

(d) Joseph. Antiq. l. xvii. c. 12. p. 610, 611.

People

People of dangerous Principles. When *our Saviour* stood before *Pilate* (a), he was charged with preaching up Sedition, and inspiring the People with the Spirit of Rebellion, by asserting they ought not to pay Tribute to *Cæsar*. In a word, they would fain have made him pass for an *Herodian*. We conjecture that those *Galileans* whose Blood *Pilate* mingled with the Sacrifices (b), were Followers of *Judas the Gaulonite*, and that *Pilate* treated them thus rigorously for their seditious Discourses against the *Roman Government*.

But whence is it that *Josephus*, who makes frequent mention of the Followers of *Judas*, never gives them the Name of *Herodians*? I answer, I. This Historian never calls them by any Name; but only marks them out by the general Appellation of the Disciples of *Judas the Gaulonite*: So that nothing can be infer'd from his Silence against the Name of *Herodians*. II. This Name was apparently a Name of Reproach and Contempt, which they themselves never admitted of, and which *Josephus* for that reason wou'd not give them. III. They are known in his Books of the Wars of the *Jews*, by the Name of *Zealots*; and it was they that blow'd up the Coals of Sedition and War in *Judea*, and were the Cause of the Ruin of their Country (c). But the Name of *Zealots* was never common to all their Sect. The *Evangelists* have given them the Name by which they were best known to the People in their Days.

St. Jerom (d) is of opinion, that they were still very numerous when *St. Paul* wrote his *Epistles*; and that it was in order to stop the Progress of this *Heresy* that the Apostle is so careful to insinuate into the Faithful, as well *Jews* as *Gentiles*, Obedience to the *Civil Powers* (e). The Apostle *St. Peter*, takes the same care to prevent *Christians* from embracing the pernicious Maxims of the *Herodians* with relation to Government (f). He was ever mindful of what *our Saviour* said to his Disciples, to beware of the *Lewen* of the *Herodians*. *St. Jerom* (g) does not in the least question but that it was the Disciples of *Judas the Gaulonite*, who demanded of *our Saviour*, *Is it lawful to pay Tribute to Cæsar, or not?* And that it was to them he made answer, *Render unto Cæsar the Things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the Things that are God's*.

(a) Luk. xxiii. 2-5. (b) Luk. xxiii. 1. (c) Joseph. Antiq. l. 18. c. 1. (d) Jer. in Tit. iii. (e) Rom. xiii. 1, 2, &c. Tit. 2. 1. 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2. (f) 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14, 16, 17. (g) Jeron. loc. cit. in Epist. ad Tit. III.

